

THE
DYNASTIC
HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA
(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

By

H. C. RAY, M.A. (Cal), Ph.D. (Lond.)

UNIVERSITY LECTURER IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND
SANSKRIT, CALCUTTA

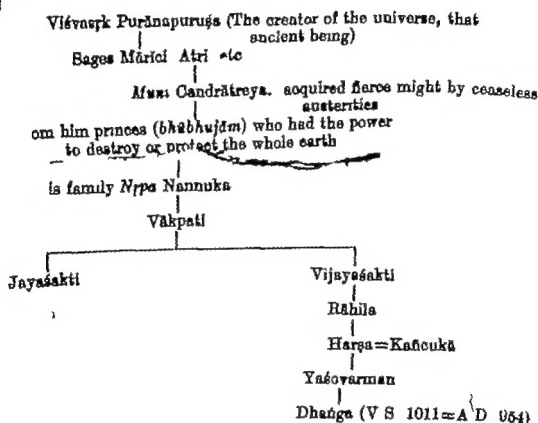
VOLUME II

CALCUTTA

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1922

225¹ The traditions preserved by the family of the Qānūngo of Mahoba inform us that Candrar-varmā overthrew the Parihārs in Bundelkhand.² The genealogies preserved in the official charters of the Candella princes, however, are ignorant of the existence of this prince. Thus the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga (V S 1011) gives the following account of the origin of the dynasty* —



Ibid

¹ *JASS* 1881 Vol. L, p. 8. The date of this event is given as Sadāsat 877

² *EI* Vol. I, pp. 129 ff. This is the earliest record of the line, as far known which gives any information about the origin of the family. There are slight variations in other records. Thus in the Khajuraho stone inscription of Kōṭhala (V S. 1058) we have Atri : from his eye the Moon; His son the sage Candrarātreya :—In the family of the Candrarātreya : Candrarātreya Nannuka; see *ibid*, pp. 137 ff. The copper plates usually begin with the praises of Candrarātreya : he donor of the grant : praises of only the Moon, VI pp. 9 ff. A fragment : From the beloved of the : on does not come : and then give the name of the grandfather of : (as the inscription begins with the : see *EI* Vol. I)

THE
DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA
(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

IN THREE VOLUMES
VOLUME II

TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY FATHER
PRASANNA KUMAR RAY

PREFACE

I must express my regret that circumstances entirely beyond my control have delayed the issue of this second volume for so long a period. Part of the book was already in print as far back as 1931. But the preoccupation of the University Press in printing certain under-graduate text-books, the difficulty of getting the maps ready and grave family bereavements are some of the reasons which delayed the publication of the volume. I have however utilized the time at my disposal by bringing up to date certain portions in the light of fresh material.

With this volume ends the analysis of the political history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the three or four centuries preceding the establishment of the imperialism of Delhi under the Turks. The beginnings of some of these dynasties however have been traced as far back as the middle of the sixth century A D while there were others which retained their vigour till the fourteenth century. The ruling tribes of some areas again were never thoroughly subjugated by the empire builders of Delhi while those of one area at least remained permanently outside their sphere of influence. The power of these dynasties during the period under survey, spread over a vast area extending from the Kishen Ganga in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the borders of Persia in the west to the Patkai hills in the east.

Though this volume is a continuation of the work undertaken in the first, it has got an individuality of its own. It deals entirely with Rajput dynasties most of which sprang up in the latter days of the Imperial Pratihāras. I hope it will be

of some use to the students of Hindu history in general and to those interested in Rajput history and the beginnings of Islam in India in particular

Lack of space and a natural bias for facts have led me to keep my 'generalizations and idealizations' strictly under control. In this volume also I have accepted the humbler role of a builder of foundations rather than that of an architect, planning and raising an imposing superstructure and magnificent façade of History. I agree with the view that Indian history is at present in a much too primitive condition to attempt safely anything so ambitious. I have therefore consciously followed a method which has perhaps made this work less interesting to a certain class of students of Indian history.

As the press and the publishers here ordinarily accept no responsibility in the matter of Indexes of its publications, this heavy and mechanical work again fell on my shoulders. But thanks to the ungrudging assistance of my pupil, Mr Matindramohan Sen, M A this task was very much lightened for me. I have added two new features to this volume. Firstly, I have accepted the suggestion of Prof Jules Bloch (University of Paris) and prepared an index of ancient and mediaeval geographical names in the twenty maps contained in the two volumes. As the maps are drawn on different scales, I have often given in this index different latitudes and longitudes for the same place, this I admit is rather cumbrous but may be found to be more helpful to the general reader. Secondly, in addition to the Synchronistic Table, I have added a list of dynasties and the territories controlled by them chronologically arranged. As to the spelling of Sanskrit, Persian and modern names, I have followed the same system as in Volume I the only exception is Brāhman for Brahman. I have again tried to correct any want of uniformity in spelling by providing in the indexes alternative forms of spelling of names.

The ten coloured maps of the first volume imperfect as they were, met with the approval of Indian and foreign scholars. I

have tried to effect some improvement in the ten tricolour maps of this volume. But lithography in Calcutta, so far as map-making of a technical nature is concerned, seems to be in a rather crude stage, and though I have tried to make the maps useful to students of Indian Historical Geography, I am not fully satisfied with their production. To Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury (Calcutta University), Mr. S. Dutt (St. Paul's College and Calcutta University), Mr. Chintamani Chakravarti (Bethune College) and Mr. Matindramohan Sen, I am thankful for a few suggestions and help in correcting proofs of the maps.

To the Archaeological Survey of India I am indebted for a photograph of a portion of the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque at Delhi. In the twelfth century, Delhi was the great frontier outpost of the Cāhamāna empire. The site of the mosque and its neighbourhood contained fortifications and various buildings and places of worship of the Hindu dynasty. When I was in Delhi in December 1933, I noticed a portion of the ruins of the mosque which still shows clearly, in addition to a group of human forms, a beautiful female figure in *tribhanga* pose on one of the sculptured pillars of a Hindu temple. As the period under survey saw the foundation of Turko-Afghan imperialism on the bed-rock of old Indian civilization, the photograph in a way acts as a symbol for the whole work. I have therefore reproduced it on the jacket and cover of the volume.

My task of seeing the volume through the press was much facilitated by the courtesy and consideration of the officers of the Calcutta University Library, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Imperial Library and the University Press. In particular I am thankful to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti (Registrar, Calcutta University), Mr. Johan Van Manen, C I.E., and Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hossain (General and Jt. Philological Secretaries, Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Mr. A. C. Ghatak (Superintendent, University Press), for help at various stages in the publication of the volume.

I have dedicated this volume to the memory of my father I owe much of whatever success I have attained as a student of history to his advice and inspiration

I conclude with the hope that my readers will find this volume, like its predecessor, of some use at least as ' a preparatory clearing ground for more ambitious work

DEPARTMENTS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

&

SANSKRIT

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

18th November 1935

HEM CHANDRA RAY

LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

				PAGE
Chapter XI	...	...	...	737
Chapter XII	...	...	...	820
Chapter XIII	...	...	...	836
Chapter XIV	...	...	...	931
Chapter XV	...	...	...	1049
Chapter XVI	...	...	...	1142
Chapter XVII	...	...	...	1152
Chapter XVIII	...	...	...	1210

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

				PAGE
Chapter XI	...	...	...	736
Chapter XII	...	...	...	816
Chapter XIII	...	...	...	835
Chapter XIV	...	...	...	927
Chapter XV	...	...	...	1047
Chapter XVI	...	...	...	1136
Chapter XVII	...	...	...	1151
Chapter XVIII	...	...	...	1206

LIST OF MAPS

For

1. Candrātreyas (Candellas) of Jejā-Bhukti (Bundelkhand) ... *before p. 665*
 2. Haihayas of the United and Central Provinces ... *between pp. 738 and 739*
 3. Kacchapaghātas (Kachwāhas) of Rajputana and Central India *between pp. 820 and 821*
 4. Paramāras (Pavaras) of Gujarāt, Malwa and Rajputana ... *between pp. 836 and 837*
 5. Caulukyās (Solankis) of Anahilapāṭaka *between pp. 932 and 933*
 6. Cāhamānas (Cauhāns) of the Punjab, Rajputana and Gujarāt *between pp. 1052 and 1053*
 7. Tomaras (Tuars) of Delhi ... *between pp. 1144 and 1145*
 8. Guhila-putras (Guhilots) of the Punjab *between pp. 1152 and 1153*
 9. India in the year 977 A.D.
(Accession of Sabuk-tigīn at Ghaznī) *between pp. 1212 and 1213*
 10. India in the year 1206 A.D.
(Accession of Qutbud-Dīn at Delhi) *between pp. 1216 and 1217*
-

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

AAK	<i>Ā'in-ī-Akbarī</i> Trans by Blochmann and Jarrett.
ABOI	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute</i> , Poona (India).
AGI	<i>The Ancient Geography of India</i> by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924
AO	<i>Antiquities of Orissa</i> by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880
AR	<i>Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> . Edited by William Crooke
ARB	<i>Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency</i> .
ASI	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i> . Annual Report
ASI, WC	<i>Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle</i>
ASR	<i>Archaeological Survey Reports</i> by Cunningham
ASWI	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient</i> .
BG	<i>Bombay Gazetteer</i> .
BHG	<i>History of Gujarat</i> by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, London, 1886.
BI	<i>Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar</i> , published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar
BR	<i>Buddhist Record of the Western World</i> by S Beal
Caliphate	<i>The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall</i> by William Muir.

CBMC	<i>Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS in the University Library, Cambridge</i> , by Bendall, Cambridge, 1883
CCIM	<i>Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta</i> , Vol I, by Vincent A Smith, Oxford, 1906
CHI	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
CI	Central India (Province)
CIC	<i>Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras and Ksatrapas)</i> by E J Rapson, London, 1908
CMI	<i>Coins of Mediaeval India</i> by Cunningham
CP	Central Provinces of India
CPMDN	<i>Catalogue of Palm leaf and selected paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal</i> by H P Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof C Bendall, 1905, Calcutta
CSBM	<i>Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum</i> by C Bendall, London, 1902
DHNI	<i>Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)</i> by H O Ray, Calcutta University Vol I, 1931 Vol II, 1935
DLI	<i>Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C P & Berar</i> by Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916
EHI	<i>Early History of India</i> 4th edition, by V A Smith
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
EIA	<i>Essays on Indian Antiquities</i> by James Prinsep Ed by Edward Thomas, London, 1858
Elliot	<i>The History of India as told by its own Historian</i> by Sir H M Elliot
GDI	<i>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India</i> , by N Dey, Luzac, 1927

GI	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol III, Gupta Inscriptions</i> by John Faithful Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.
GOS	<i>Gaekwad Oriental Series</i>
HA	<i>History of Issam</i> by Sir Edward Gait, 2nd Ed , 1926, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co
HR	<i>History of Rajputana</i> by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G H), Ajmer
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IB	<i>Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol III.</i> Edited with Translations and Notes by N G. Majum-dai, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1929
IGI	<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
IHT	<i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i> by F E. Paigiter, London, 1922
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of American Oriental Society</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JBORS	<i>Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society</i>
JBRAS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JBTS	<i>Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.</i>
JL	<i>Journal of the Department of Letters,</i> University of Calcutta
Journey	<i>A Journey in Nepal and Northern India</i> by C Bendall, Cambridge University Press, 1886
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.</i>
KFB	<i>Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān</i> of Balādhurī Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten
KH	<i>Kitāb ul-Hind</i> of al-Bīrūnī.

KY	<i>Kitāb i-Yamīnī</i> of 'Utbī Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London
KZA	<i>Kitāb Zain ul Akhbār</i> of Abū Sa'id 'Abd ul Ḥayy b ad Ḍabḥāk b Muḥammad Gardīzī (c 440 A H) Ed by Muhammad Naḡīm, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928
LEO	<i>Lands of the Eastern Caliphate</i> by Le Strange, Cambridge University Press
Life	<i>Life of Huen Tsiang</i> by S Beal
M	<i>Mahārājādhirāja</i>
MA	<i>Mirāt i-Aḥmadī</i> of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān
MASB	<i>Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
MASI	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i>
MER	<i>Madras Epigraphist's Report</i> by Dr E Hultzsch Nos 814, 815 Public 6th August 1896
MG	<i>Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni</i> by M Habib, 1927
MM	<i>Mukhaḥḥeśvara Temple at Mukhaḥḥgam Ganjam district (Madras)</i>
NA	<i>Notes on Afghanistan</i> by Raverty
NO	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NKGWG	<i>Nachrichten der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
OH	<i>Oxford History of India</i> by V A Smith
OM	<i>Orissa in the Making</i> by B O Mozumdar 1925
P	<i>Parameśvara</i>
PASB	<i>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
Pb	<i>Paramabhaṭṭāraka</i>
PB	<i>Pṛthivīrājaviṣaya</i>
PO	<i>Prabandhaśintāmanī</i> of Merutuṅga Āchārya Trans by C H Tawney Calcutta 1901
PI	<i>Preaching of Islam</i> by T W Arnold

PTOC	<i>Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference (India).</i>
QJAHS	<i>Quarterly Journal of Āndhra Historical Society</i>
Ras	Forbes' <i>Ras Mala</i> Edited by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924
RGD	<i>Records of the Gupta Dynasty</i> by Edward Thomas, London, 1876.
RMR	<i>Rajputana Museum Report</i>
<i>Šāhis von Kabul</i>	<i>Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubilaum</i> , Stuttgart, 1893. <i>Zur Geschichte der Šāhis von Kabul</i> by Marc Aurel Stein.
SC	<i>Sasanian Coins</i> by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924
TA	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Ākbarī</i> , Bibliotheca Indica. Trans. by B. Dey.
TF	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Firishṭa</i> .
TFSB	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Firūzshāhī</i> of Baranī.
TFSS	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Firūzshāhī</i> of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf
TH	<i>Ta'rikh-ul-Hind</i> of al-Birūnī
TK	<i>Tuhfat ul-Kuām</i> of 'Alī Shīr Qānī'.
TKA	<i>Āl-Ta'rikh ul-Kāmil</i> of Ibn ul-Athīr.
TM	<i>Ta'rikh-i-Ma'sūmī</i> .
TN	<i>Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri</i> of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raveity.
TRAS	<i>Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
UP	The United Provinces of India.
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'
YC	<i>On Yuan Chwang</i> , by Thomas Watters, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</i> .

CANDRATREYAS OF JEJA BHUKTI

English Miles



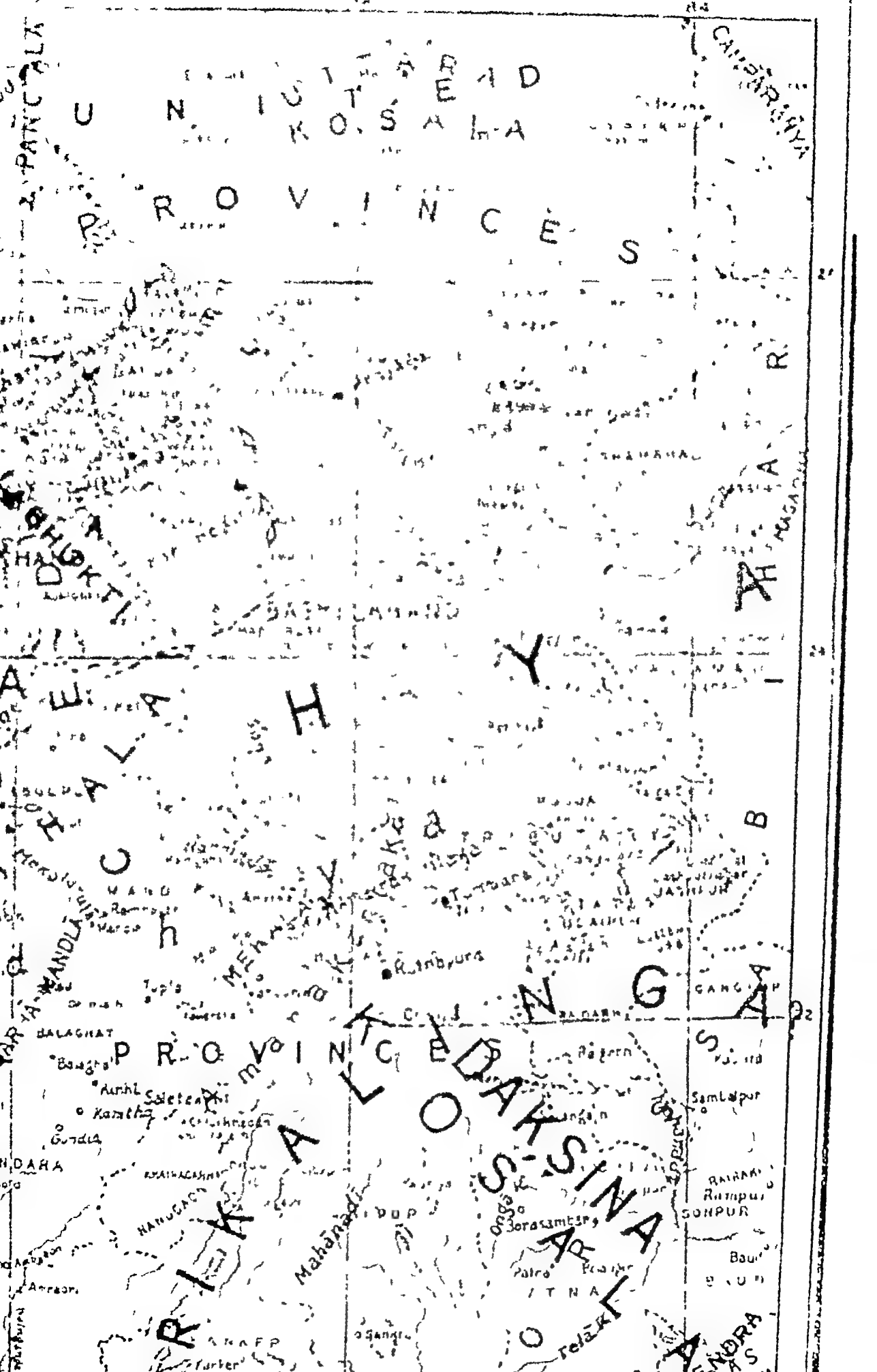
FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS

RIVERS AND THEIR NAMES

MODERN NAMES IN BLACK

ANCIENT & MEDIAEVAL NAMES IN RED





UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRY AND OUDH



It should however be observed that both tradition and inscriptions agree in tracing the descent of the family to the Moon. The fact that the traditional founder of the dynasty is first taken to Khajuraho¹ is also consistent with epigraphic and foreign evidence. For the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas come from that place, and the *Kāmīl*, one of the oldest compilations of Arab history, connects the dynasty with Kajurāhah (كجوراه).² Cunningham discovered another agreement between tradition and epigraphic evidence. By counting backwards from 954 A D, the earliest known date of Dhanga, the 6th lineal descendant of Nannuka, and assigning a period of 20 to 25 years for each generation, he fixed upon the first quarter of the 9th century A D., as the approximate date of Nannuka³. Then by referring *Samvat* 225, one of the traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella dynasty, to the Harsa era, he found it in perfect agreement with the above date ($225 + 606 = 831$ A D)⁴. There is yet another agreement between tradition and epigraphy if we accept the name Candia-varmā as a mere *brūda* of Nannuka. But the statement that the founder of the dynasty supplanted the Parihārs cannot be accepted. From about the time of Nannuka down to the beginning of the 10th century the Gurjara-Pratihāras were at the height of their power, and it is unlikely that, during this period, the Candellas would succeed in driving them out of the land lying to the south of the Jumna. It is more

that the name *Candrātreyas* was really a later Sanskritised form of the word *Candrella*. According to him this last word was formed from Candra by the addition of the Prakrit suffix *illa*. The form *Candella* occurs in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kirtivarman, *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 237 ff. The form Candella is found in the Benares grant of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karna *EI*, Vol II, p 306, while the form *Candela* occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cāhanāra Prthivīrāja III, (V) *Samvat* 1239, see *ASR*, Vol XXI, p 174. We reserve for discussion the question of the origin of the Candellas in Vol III of the present work.

¹ Sometimes spelt Khajuraho

² *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol IX, pp 115-16

³ *ASR*, Vol II, p 447

⁴ The other traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella power are 204, 661, and 682. We can of course refer the first of these to the Harsa era, but the three other

likely that the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāga bhata II (c 815-33 A D) and ruled over a small principality round about Khajraho, the Kharjjuravābaka of the inscriptions. This agrees with the tradition which places the original home of the Candellas at Maniyagarh in the Chhatarpur State (C I). In the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, Nannuka is called *nṛpa* and is described as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame, and whose enemies carried his commands on their heads, like a garland'.¹ In another Khajraho inscription of the same king Nannuka is called a *mahīpati* 'whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna'.² This is the only information available about the first historical personage in the genealogy of the Candellas. The Indian *prastāvikāras* at any rate do not err on the side of moderation and it is extremely impossible that they would have omitted such a tangible historical fact as the defeat of the Parihāras, if that incident really happened in the career of the founder of the dynasty, and attached to his memory such vague generalities which in Indian records mean practically nothing. It is also significant that Nannuka's name is omitted from all the other Candella inscriptions which are not few. He would have certainly loomed as a more substantial figure in the family tradition if he had really laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the family by violently uprooting another dynasty. The evidence available therefore suggests that his position was that of a petty feudatory ruler. It would even be risky to assume that he 'enjoyed some share of sovereign power' from the mere fact that in the inscriptions of his distant descendants he is designated a *mahīpati* or a *nṛpa*. There is also no evidence to prove the alleged connection of the founder of the dynasty and the *purohita* of the Gāhaḍavālas. In fact

¹ *SI* Vol. I p. 125 V 10.

² *Ibid* p. 141 Vs. 14-15.

epigraphic evidence is against the supposition that Nannuka could even be a contemporary of the early Gāhadavālas of Benares (11th century A. D.).¹

The next person in the Candella genealogy is Vākpatī, the son of Nannuka. His existence is also known from the two inscriptions referred to above. The first informs us that the illustrious Vākpatī defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhya his pleasure-mount (*Kīṇḍā-giri*).² According to the other record, the *Kṣitipa* Vākpatī is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valour (even) the mythical kings Prthu and Kakustha.³ From the fact that he is referred to as having made the Vindhya his pleasure-mount we may perhaps be justified in concluding that Vākpatī succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality. But in my opinion the persons who really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family, were his sons Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.⁴ Excepting in the two inscriptions mentioned above, these two brothers are generally described in records as the first ancestors of the Candellas. Verse 10 of a fragmentary inscription at Mahoba again tells us that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to *Jejā-bhukti*, just as Prthu did to *Prthivī*.⁵ This Jejā-bhukti⁶ is generally accepted as the 'old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular form Jajāhūtī or Jajāhotī, just

¹ See *ante*, DHNI, Vol I, pp 504 ff

² *EI*, p 125, Vs 11-12

³ *Ibid*, p 141, Vs 16-17

⁴ There are variant forms of these two names in the inscriptions. For the former we have Jejā (*EI*, Vol I, p 221, V 10), and Jejāka (*EI*, Vol I, p 122, line 6), for the latter, we have Vijaya (*EI*, Vol I, p 141, V 18), Vijjā (*EI*, Vol I, p 122, line 6) and Vijā (*EI*, Vol I, p 221, V 10)

⁵ *EI*, Vol I, p 221

⁶ There are variants of this name. A Madanpur stone inscription gives the form *Jejāka-bhukti* (Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, plate XXXII, No 10, lines 2-3). The same form of the name is found in several other Madanpur records, with the addition of *desa*, or *mandala* (See *ibid*, Vol XXI, p 174). The Ratnapur stone inscription of the Kalacuri Jajalladeva, (Cedi) *Saṃvat*, 866, gives the form *Jejābhuktika*, see *EI*, Vol I, p 35, V 21

as modern Tirhut is derived from Tira bhukti¹ Cunningham, who first proposed this identification, further identified this name under its vernacular form with the *Chih-chi t'o* of Yuan Chwang. But as the date of Jayasakti cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the 9th century, and as there is nothing to discredit the epigraphic evidence that he gave his name to the *Bhukti*, we must give up this identification.² Watters may be right when he suggests that the *Chih-chi t'o* of Yuan Chwang represents modern *Chitor* and not *Jajhoti*.³ From the fact that his dominion is called only a *Bhukti* we may infer that Jayasakti was at best a mere feudatory perhaps of the great Gurjara emperor Bhoja (c 836-88 A.D.). In the inscriptions he is generally praised vaguely for victories over his enemies. Thus in a Khajuraho inscription of Dhangra we are told that "by the unmeasured prowess of him and his younger brother" adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire.⁴ But in another Khajuraho inscription of the same king, the younger brother Vijaya is said to have, 'like Rāma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India'. It is not impossible that there may be some historical truth hidden in this reference. But if he really invaded peninsular India he must have done so as the feudatory of some more powerful sovereign. For though the brothers are repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions as having added 'radiance' to the family of the Candrātreyas

¹ *HI* Vol. I, p. 218; *AGI* 2nd ed., Calcutta 1924 p. 551. The form *Jejakēti* with its capital *Kajurāha* occurs in *Birūni's India* Trans. by Sachau Trübner Vol. I p. 202. Ibn Batuta visited *Kajurrā* in A. D. 1335. This city must be the same as the *Kajurāhah* of *Birūni* and Ibn al Athir. Cunningham in his footnote on p. 551 gives the name of the city visited by Ibn Batuta in the original Persian (a slip for Arabic) characters as *Kajurrā*. But in the text edited by Deffrémery and Sanguinetti (*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris 1868 p. 30) it is clearly written as *جرجان* see also *Ibn Batuta* by Gibb Routledge 1920 pp. 226 and 363.

² Unsuitability of this identification of Cunningham was first pointed out to me by Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the University of Dacca.

³ *YO* Vol. II, p. 251.

⁴ *HI* Vol. I p. 126 V. 15

⁵ *HI* Vol. I pp. 141-42, V. 20

princes, it is significant that they are seldom given the epithets of sovereign rulers, and are on the contrary often simply called heroes (*vīra*).¹ We may therefore conclude with some probability that *Vijayaśakti*, who succeeded his elder brother as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly of the Gujara-Pratīhāra Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla (c 893-907 A.D.). The position of Rāhila, *Vijayaśakti*'s son and successor, does not appear to have been different from that of his father. He is mentioned only in two of the Candella inscriptions so far discovered; and in both of them he is merely praised in conventional phrases for his bravery and victories. Thus in the Khajraho inscription of Dhanga, the royal *prasaṅga-kāya* says "Thinking of whom (Rāhila) the enemies-enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of *vasat*, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger"² In another Khajraho epigraph of the same king Rāhila is given credit for favouring his friends and punishing his enemies³ / It was not till the reigns of his son Harsa and his grandson Yaśovarman ✓ that circumstances favoured the growth of a strong Candella state. The continuous struggle between the Gujaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas which had been raging since the days of Vatsa and Dhruva suddenly took a bad turn for the Gujara-Pratīhāras some-time between 915-18 A.D.⁴ The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Indra III

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, p 157, line 2, Vol X, p 47, line 2, Vol XVI, p 12, line 3, and p 274, line 2

² *EI*, Vol I, p 131, V 17, also p 126 This idea of comparing battles to sacrifices is probably taken from the *Mahābhārata*, see *Bangavāsī* (Calcutta) ed., *Udyogaparva*, Chap 141, Vs 29-51, see also *JL*, Vol XIV, 1927, *Notes on War in Ancient India*, p. 1 ff

³ *EI*, Vol I, p 242, Vs 22-23

⁴ See *DHNI*, Vol I, pp 579 ff

captured Ujjayinī and overran Northern India. The imperial city of Kanauj itself was completely devastated. There is some evidence to show that the Deccanī kings held some portion of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb even as late as 930 A D. This severe blow and the strangle-hold on the very heart of the imperial power must have greatly weakened the control of the central government on its provinces. It is true that the Pratihāra emperor was assisted by a number of his feudatories to recover some of his dominions. A fragmentary Candella inscription at Khajraho for instance, says that either Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman placed Kṣitipāladeva again on the throne¹ (*Punar yena śrī Kṣitipāladeva nṛpatiḥ śimhāsane sthā[ptah]*). In their official records, also, till the year 954 A D, in the reign of Dhaṅga, the Candellas actually acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara Pratihāras. But there is enough evidence to show that their obedience to the Kanauj power was fast growing nominal. Harṣa, who was possibly reigning when the Rāstrakūṭa invasion took place, does not appear to have indulged in any open acts of hostility to the imperial power. In a fragmentary stone inscription discovered at Khajraho, he is said to have "conquered many proud enemies (*dhṛtārvindah*)"². The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V S 1011 tells us that "that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (*dharma*) and anxious to worship the feet of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of Madhu (He) married a suitable lady of equal caste (*savarnā*), named Kaṭicukā, sprung from the Cāhamāna family"³. In the Nanyaura plate of the same king, (V S 1055) Harṣa is said to have inspired terror by his terrific array of troops, and made tributary to himself other sovereigns⁴. Dhaṅga's Khajraho inscription of (V)S 1050 tells us that

¹ EI Vol I p. 122 line 10; see also DHNI Vol. I pp. 581-82.

² EI Vol. I, p. 121 line 7

³ Ibid Vol. I, p. 126 Va. 30-31.

⁴ IA Vol. XVI pp 203-03, lines 2-3.

Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries.¹ These references to Harṣa do not contain any historical facts, but in spite of their vague character they seem to indicate that his was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors. If Kielhorn was right in his assumption that 'the relative *yena* in line 10' of the fragmentary Khajraho inscription mentioned above 'refers to Harṣadeva,' the latter's claim to have reinstalled Kṣitipāla, his overlord, on his throne must indicate a considerable degree of power and prestige.² He further strengthened his position by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Cāhamānas, who were also gradually breaking away from the empire. Another matrimonial alliance of Harṣa seems to be revealed by the Benares grant of Lakṣmī-Kaṇa, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī. If the *Citrakūṭa-bhūpāla* of this inscription to whom Kokkalla claims to have granted 'freedom from fear' is identified with the Candella Harṣa, then it looks likely that the Candella princess Nattā (*Nattākhyadevī*), the queen of Kokkalla, was a relative of this Candella prince.³ Without openly defying his overlord, Harṣa thus appears to have slowly consolidated his position at home and abroad. It was left to his son Yaśovarman, alias Lakṣmavarman, to engage in more ambitious projects for increasing the Candella territory by launching into schemes of foreign conquest and aggrandisement. I have already shown⁴ that some time before 940 A.D. the Rāṣtrakūṭas' attacks on the

¹ *EI*, Vol. I, p. 142, Vs 25-28. This inscription also mentions his wife Kañcūkā, but it does not refer to her lineage, see *ibid*, pp. 142-43, V 29.

² Kielhorn suggested that Harṣa at first defeated Kṣitipāladeva and subsequently reinstalled him on his throne. But in view of recent discoveries and the identification of Mahipāla and Kṣitipāla, it would be better to accept the view that the vanquisher of the Kanauj monarch was the Rāṣtrakūṭa Indra III and not the Candella chieftain, see *EI*, Vol. I p. 122.

³ *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306, V 7, also p. 301. The acceptance of the suggested identification would show that this *Citrakūṭa* must be differentiated from the hill of the same name in Rajputana and identified with the hill bearing the same name in Bundelkhand. Cunningham identified a hill 'situated on the left, or west, bank of the Paisuni river, about 5 miles to the S.W. of Karwi, and 50 miles to the S.E. of Banda,' with the *Citrakūṭa* of the *Rāmāyana*, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13. See also *DHNI*, *infra*, chapter on the Haihayas.

⁴ See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff.

Gurjara-Pratihāra empire were renewed. The Jura inscription of Kṛṣṇa III, discovered recently in the Marhar state, shows that his claim to have captured Kālañjara sometime before 940 A D, from the Gurjaras, may not be entirely baseless. That the Gurjaras referred to in the Karhad and Deoli plates in connection with Kālañjara, were the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj is proved by the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva, which granted land in *Kālañjara maṇḍala* of the Kanyakubja *bhukti*.¹ The Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in 1011 V S. (A D 954) tells us that Yaśovarman easily conquered the mountain of Kālañjara, 'the dwelling place of Śiva'.² As Yaśovarman therefore appears to have been a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III, it is not unlikely that he may have captured the famous hill fort, not from the Gurjara Pratihāras, as was so long believed, but from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna may therefore be due partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan the predecessors of the Marāṭhā horsemen of a later period. In the Khajraho inscription, referred to above, the poet gives the following graphic, if somewhat exaggerated, account of the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman

"Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure creepers (*kṛīḍalata*), equalled the forces (*bala*) of the Khasas (and)³ carried off the treasure of the Kośalas, before whom perished the Kāśmīrī warriors (*naśyat Kāśmīra vīrah*), who weakened the Mithilas (*sithilita Mithilah*), (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas (*Kālavān Mālavānām*), who

¹ *HI* Vol. IV p. 284; *JBRAS* Vol. XVIII p. 247; *SI* Vol. XIX p. 18, line 6

² *HI* Vol. I, pp. 123 ff. V 31.

³ The settlement of the Khasas during this period extended in a wide semicircle from Kaṭiavār in the south-east to the Vitastā valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapuri and Lohara were held by Khasa families. Stein identified the Khasas with the modern Khasa tribe to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kāśmīr belong. See Stein & Eng. Trans. of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* Vol. I, pp. 47 48 footnote on I, 317 and Vol. II, p. 430.

brought distress on the shameful Cedīs (*Sīdat-sāvadya-Cedih*), who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees (*Kuru-tarusu marut*), and a scorching fire to the Gurjais (*Samjvaro Gurjarā-nām*)” (V. 23).

“Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless.....” (V. 28).

“At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountains, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umā from every tree of paradise, where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges.. ...” (V. 30).

“He easily conquered the Kālāñjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impeded the progress of the sun at midday ” (V. 31).

“The illustrious Laksavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to India, the daughter of Kalinda (*Yamunā*) and the offspring of Jahnu (Ganges) one after another his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries (and rendering) their waters muddy with the bathing of his furious mighty elephants” (V 39).¹

According to these verses, therefore, Yaśovarman dominated the whole region from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. As I have already pointed out, much of this is no doubt mere *praśasti*, and poetic exaggeration. Thus the expression *Kośalah Kośalānām* seems rather to convey a desire on the poet's part to show his skill in punning than an historical sense. But there is no inherent impossibility in the assumption, that he really raided a large portion of northern India. His victory over the Cedi king, which is mentioned twice, looks like a genuine fact ; and it is likely that one of the earlier Kalacuri princes of Tripurī, possibly Laksmanarāja or his predecessor Yuvarāja I, was the *Cedirāja* whose ‘countless forces,’ were defeated by

Yaśovarman after a fierce contest. The contemporary Gauda king was probably either Rājyapāla or his son Gopāla II. In Kashmir reigned at this period a series of comparatively unimportant princes beginning with Cakravarman (923-37 A D), and ending in Parvagupta (949-50 A D) while the Khasa state of Lohara was ruled by one of the predecessors of Sīmha rāja (c 950 A D), possibly Candurāja. The territories of the Mālavas, Kośalas, and Kurus appear to have been still under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, while Mithilā at this period may have been recovered by the Palas of Bengal and Bihar.¹ If there is any basis of fact in these claims of successful invasions and victories it is clear that he soon became a standing menace to the imperial house at Kanauj. The expression *Saṁjvaro Gurja rāṇām* suggests that he may have even come into violent conflict with his former overlords. But the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V S 1011 shows that though practically independent, the Candellas still retained in their official documents the fiction of their subservience to the Gurjara Pratihāras.²

The Khajuraho inscription referred to above informs us that Yaśovarman erected a 'charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow. We are told that the image of Vaiṣṇa which he set up in this temple was first obtained by 'the lord of Bhoja (Bhojanātha) from the Kailāsa, and from him Sāhi, the king of Kira received it as a token of friendship, from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from the *Hayapati* Devapāla,

¹ In the time of Mahendrapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra dominions extended from Grāvastī in U.P. right up to Paharpur in N. Bengal. See DHNI Vol. I, chapter on the Dynasties of Bengal and Bihar pp 569-70. The Asiatic Society a plate of Vinayakapāla which was issued from Mahodaya and grants land in Vārāṇasī Viṣṇu, in the Pratīṭhāna-bhakti in V S 938 the Rakheta stone-inscription of the same prince discovered in the Gwalior region dated in V S 990-1000 and the Partabgarh stone-inscription of Mahendrapāla (II) dated in V S 1003 seem to indicate that the Gurjara Pratihāras during the period c 931-48 held a large portion of the irregular quadrilateral formed by Mandu Gwalior Kanauj and Benares.

² See DHNI Vol I p 590

the son of (Herambapāla)¹ The temple mentioned above has been identified by Cunningham with the Vaisṇava temple at Khajraho variously known as that of Rāmacandra, Laksmana or Caturbhuja² The credit for building this temple, together with that for excavating a big tank (*tadāgāṇavam*), is given to Yaśovarman by verses 38 and 39 of another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V S 1059³ ✓

Yaśovarman had a son named Dhaṅga by his queen Puppādevī.⁴ The Dudahī stone inscriptions reveal the existence of probably another son of Yaśovarman. These records, six in number, were discovered in a temple of the village of Dudahī in the Lalitpur district of U. P. (Long 78°27'E, Lat 24°24'N). We know from these inscriptions that the temple was erected by the illustrious Devalabdhī belonging to the *Candrellānvaya*, the son of the illustrious Krsnapa and Āsarvā and the grandson (*naptr*) of *Mahārājādhirāja* Yaśovarman.⁵ Cunningham's identification of this Yaśovarman with Candella Yaśovarman of Khajraho has been generally accepted by scholars.⁶

Yaśovarman was succeeded by Dhaṅga sometimes before V S 1011, the earliest known date of the latter's reign The inscription which carries this date attempts to give us an idea of the extent of Dhaṅga's dominions. We are told that he “playfully acquired

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 129 and 134, Vs 42-43 For the identification of Herambapāla and Devapāla, see *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp 571 ff *Bhota* during this period indicated Tibet while the *Kiras* must be located somewhere near Kashmir The *Brhatsamhitā* (XIV 29) places them with the Kasmīras in the NE

² *ASR*, Vol II, pp 425-27 The temple is 85 ft 4 inches in length and 44 ft in breadth The stone-inscription of Dhaṅga which refers to the building of this temple was originally discovered at the base of the Caturbhuja temple, and is now built into the wall inside its entrance porch *EI*, Vol I, p 144

³ *Ibid*, Vol I, p 144

⁴ *Ibid*, V. 40 Is this name the Prākṛt form of *Puṣpa-devī* ?

⁵ First edited by Cunningham with the photo zincographs of five of them in *ASR*, Vol X, pp 94-95, and plate XXXII, Nos 1, 2 and 46 They were then re edited by Kielhorn in 1889 in the *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 236-237.

⁶ The undated fragmentary Khajraho stone-inscription discovered near the temple of Vāmana may belong to Yaśovarman or his father Harṣa See *EI*, Vol I, pp 121-23, *JRIS*, 1904, p. 654, fn. 1

by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālāñjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava (*Mālava nadī*), from here also to the bank of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country (*deśa*) and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (*Gopābhidhāna giri*)¹ As contrasted with the vague claims of victories from Kashmir to Bengal and the Himalayas to Malwa in the case of his father, this comparatively modest specification of the boundaries has the appearance of being based on fact. Though his *prastāśikāra* tells us that this wide dominion was acquired by Dhaṅga's strong arms alone, he was no doubt greatly aided by the campaigns of his father. The same inscription which mentions these boundaries of his dominions contains in the last line the following statement —

“While the illustrious Vināyaka-pāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated.”² This statement undoubtedly shows that up to 954-55 A. D., the Candellas retained in their public documents a formal, if nominal, recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj. But it is significant that the names of the Gurjara Pratihāra rulers do not occur again in any Candella document after this date, indicating that after 954-55 Dhaṅga became a sovereign ruler *de facto* and *de jure*. The expression ‘as far as Kālāñjara’ which occurs in the quotation cited above shows that up to the date of the inscription the capital of the Candellas was situated not in that hill fort but in some other

¹ *RI* Vol. I p. 129 V. 45. Kjelhorn identified *Mālavanadī* with the river *Vetravati* or *Betwa* and *Bhāsvat* with *Bhallasvamin*, the mod. *Bhilai*. *Gopagiri* is certainly *Gopāgiri* identified with mod. *Gwalior*. Unfortunately no inscriptions of the Candellas have yet been discovered in *Gwalior* but it is likely that the family of the *Kacchapaghāta Mahārājadhārāja Vajradāman* for whose reign we have the *Gwalior* image inscription dated V.S. 1034 (*JASB* Vol. XXXI p. 393) may have been feudatories of the Candellas. The *Dabhund* inscription (*RI* Vol. II, p. 337) dated in V.S. 1145 indicates that the *Kacchapaghāta Arjuna* was a feudatory of *Vidyādharma* the grandson of *Dhaṅga*.

² *RI* Vol. I p. 125 and p. 129 line 23. On the identification of *Vināyaka-pāla* see *DENI* Vol. I, pp. 578 ff., 590 ff.

city. That this city was Khajuraho is probably indicated by an epigraph of Dhanga which is dated "in (V.)S 1059 at Śrī-Kharjjuavāhaka in the realm of Dhaṅga"¹ This is further supported by the *Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athīr, which refers to Dhanga's grandson as ruler of Kajmāha.² It is also significant that the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas including those of Dhanga, came from Khajuraho and not from Kālāñjara³ or Mahoba. It should be noted however that as early as (V.) S. 1055 Dhanga is given the epithet *Kālāñjarādhipati*.⁴ This may indicate that Kālāñjara was regarded as a sort of second capital of the kingdom. But it is more probable that the epithet simply indicates the possession of one of the strongest hill-forts of India,⁵ which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable. The strategic importance of this hill was well-known in India at this time, and the Kalachuris, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Rāstrakūtas and the Candellas tried in succession to retain their hold on its fortifications. The possession of this fortress, as well as that of Gwalior must have consolidated the position of the Candellas in Central India and encouraged them to attempt the systematic conquest of portions of the Ganges valley. Yaśovarman is already said to have encamped his troops on the banks of the Ganges. The Nanyaua plate of Dhanga which was issued from Kāśikā (Benares), shows that this was no idle boast, and that in V.S 1055 the Candellas were certainly on the Ganges.⁶ The possession of Prayāga (Allahabad) by Dhaṅga is probably indicated by the fact that he is reported to have 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body in the waters of the Jāhnavī,

¹ *Ibid*, p 147, lines 32-33

² *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol IX, pp 115-116

³ The inscriptions of Kālāñjara (mod Kalinjar) mostly belong to a later period, the time of Maṇavarman (c 1128-63 A D) and Paramardī (c 1167-1203 A D)

⁴ *IA*, Vol XVI, p. 203, line 7

⁵ Nizāmud-Dīn says of this fort that 'it has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability,' *TA*, Trans, p 14. Bīrūnī also refers to Kālāñjar as one of the two 'most famous fortresses of India,' see his *Indica*, trans by Sachau (Trübner), Vol I, p 202

⁶ *IA*, Vol XVI, p. 203

and the *Kālindi*.¹ It is not unlikely that from these bases Dhaṅga may have penetrated further eastward in the Ganges valley. A Khajuraho epigraph tells us that the wives of 'the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā, and Aṅga lingered in his prisons'.² Another verse of the same inscription says that 'he was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha,³ Sūrhala and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands'.⁴ It is therefore possible that he may have even successfully raided some portions of peninsular India. In any case there is enough evidence to show that Dhaṅga had become one of the most powerful rulers of Central India during this period. One of the Candella inscriptions goes so far as to say that he, having defeated on the battlefield the *Kānyakubja nareṇdra*, obtained exalted sovereignty (or empire, *Sāmrājya*).⁵ If true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken away from them by the Candellas during the reign of Dhaṅga. But as 'Utbi in 409 A H (1018 A D) describes the Kanauj ruler Rājyapāla as the chief of all princes of India,⁶ we must conclude that the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratihāras for at least sometime after Dhaṅga's death. The accepted interpretation of another statement about Dhaṅga also appears to me to be doubtful. A fragmentary Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba thus describes his achievements: "Dhaṅga, who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hanuīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the

¹ *KI* Vol. I p. 189 and p. 146, V 53.

² *KI* Vol. I p. 145 V 46.

³ *Kratha* was a country in the peninsular portion of India possibly near modern Berar. In the *Maṭṭabhāraṭa* (Bomb. Ed. II Chap. 14 V 21) *Kratha-Kanikha* are mentioned in connection with the *Bhojas* and *Pāṇḍyas*. Some identify *Kratha-Kanika* with *Vidarbha*. See *GDI* p. 104.

⁴ *KI* Vol. I p. 145 V 45.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 197 V 3; also foot-note 62 on p. 203.

⁶ *KY* Trans. from the Persian version by Reynolds, p. 188. *DHNI* Vol. I p. 608.

earth.....''¹ The word *Hamvīra* is apparently a corruption of the Arabic word *Amīr* (امير, Commander, leader), derived from the root *Amr* (امر, command). The word *Amīr* in this sense is found in Islamic history in the title *Amīr ul-mu'minīn*, i.e., 'lord of the faithful' which became a regular title of the Caliphs since the days of 'Umar.² The term gradually came to be applied to kings, and later on to any high official of the state. The coins of the Yamīnīs of Ghazni show that they were known by the title of *Amīr*.³ Stein has shown that the *Hammīra* of Kalhana, who was a contemporary of Sāhi Trilocanapāla and the Kashmirian king Samgrāmarāja (1003-28 A.D.) must be identified with Mahmud of Ghazni. Thus *Hammīra* appears to be another Indian corruption of the Arabic word *Amīr*.⁴ That this is the correct interpretation is proved by the Sanskrit legend on the reverse of some of the gold coins of Muhammad ibn Sām, which runs as follows — *Śrīmad Hamīra Mahamad Sām*.⁵ From this time onwards up to the reign of Balban the epithet *Śrī-Hamīra* (*Śrī-Hamīra* or *Śrī-Hammīra*) occurs as the regular designation of the Ghūrī and Delhi Sultāns in their coins and inscriptions.⁶ The epithet also occurs on the coins of some of their provincial satraps.⁷ There is no doubt therefore that *Hammīra Hamīra*, or *Hamvīra* was to the Indians the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince at least during the period c. 1000-1300 A.D. But this word may have even a longer history. It is not unlikely that it came to acquire this meaning from the middle of the 9th century A.D., when the Arab chiefs of

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 218 and 221, V 17

² *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol I, pp 330 and 334

³ S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan Coins*, Oxford, 1888, p 18.

⁴ *Rājataranginī*, VII, 53, 64, Stein's note on VII, 47-69 on pp 270-71 in Vol I, of his *Trans*. See also *DHNI*, Vol I, pp 95 ff, 135

⁵ Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. II, Oxford, 1907, p. 17. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings in Delhi*, p 20, No. 18.

⁶ Wright, *op. cit*, pp 17-33, Thomas, *op. cit*, pp 15-127, also fn 1, on pp. 50-51. *JASB*, Vol XLIII, Part I, p 108, plate X

⁷ Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp 31 and 100-03

Sind became practically independent and assumed the title of *Amīr* ¹

To return to our discussion of the epithet, "equalled even the powerful *Hahvira*." The known dates of Dhaṅga (V S 1011-1059, c 954-1002 A D) show that he was a contemporary of the Yamīnī Sultāns Sabuk tigin (A D 976-97), Ismā'il (A D 997) and Mahmūd (A D 998-1030). It has been usually assumed by scholars that the *Hahvira* referred to above must be identified with Sabuk tigin. They further assume that the Kalinjar ruler who according to Firishta 'supplied troops and money to the Sāmī ruler Jayapāla must have been the Candella ruler Dhaṅga' ². I have elsewhere tried to show that there are reasons to suspect the veracity of Firishta on this point ³. The silence of 'Utbi, Ibn ul Athīr, and Nizām ud Dīn appears to me to be rather significant. I have already pointed out that the last known date of Dhaṅga is V S 1059, and the earliest known date of his successors is 410 A H, ⁴ so his death must have occurred sometime between c 1002 and 1019 A D ⁵. As he lived for more

¹ See *DHNI* Vol. I, chapter on Dynasties of Sind pp. 91 fn. 3; *Elliot*, Vol. I p. 36.

² *RI* Vol. I pp. 218-19 *IA* 1908, p. 140 *JRAS* 1909 pp. 276; *CHI* Vol. III p. 507.

³ See *DHNI* Vol. I, pp. 83, 91 22, 597 etc.

⁴ The date of his grandson Vidyādharma: see *infra* pp. 688 ff.

⁵ Kielhorn while editing the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V S. 1059 renewed by Jayavarmanadeva in V S. 1178 remarked: 'The date shows that Dhaṅga died between the Vikrama years 1033 the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper plate grant mentioned above (*IA* Vol. XVI pp. 202-04) and 1057 (*RI* Vol. I p. 139.) This has been accepted by other scholars see *IA* 1908, p. 141. But the inscription in question records in lines 32-3 V 63: *Saṁsat 1059 Śrī-Kharjuraśāhaka Dhaṅga-deva-rājya deva-Śrī-Marakataśvarasya prasastiḥ siddhaḥ*. This clearly shows that Dhaṅga was alive in V S. 1059. The fact that in line 29 V 55 refers to the death of Dhaṅga only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmanadeva in V S. 1173. It is of course strange that the record should contain no allusions whatever to the successor of Dhaṅgadēva. But this unusual character of the inscription remains unexplained even if we accept the theory of Kielhorn. To me it therefore seems that the epigraph does not give us any facts to fix the date of the death of Dhaṅga within very narrow limits of possible error. It is clear that he did not die a little before 1002 A.D. We only know that he died some time after A D 1002.

than a 'hundred autumns' (*Śaradāṁ śatam*)¹ it is not unlikely that he may have lived up to 1008 A.D., which date practically saw the downfall of the Śāhis. The defeat of Ānandapāla threw open the Ganges-Jumna valley to the inroads of the Yamīnī Amīrs. The shadow of the *Hamvīra* fell beyond the waters of the Sutlej. The achievements of Maḥmūd only served to heighten the prestige of his arms. Under the circumstances, to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible *Hamvīra* may have appeared to a late *praśastikāra*, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death,² to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the *Hamvīra*, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors.

The above discussion shows that Dhanga's reign was a long and distinguished one, probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turuskas. The temples of Khajūaho, which are regarded as 'the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India,' and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Candellas in the domain of peace.³ Some of these edifices certainly belong to the reign of Dhanga. The temple of Jinanātha, which contains an inscription of Dhanga's reign of the year 1011 recording a number of gifts by a Jain devotee, was probably built during that ruler's reign. The temple of Vaidyanātha, which contains an inscription of the year 1058 recording the building of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha by one Kokkala of the *Gahapati* family, also appears to have been built during this reign.⁴ Another Khajūaho inscription records the building of 'a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu, *Maṇakateśvara*, with two *lingas*

¹ *EI*, Vol I, p 146, V 55

² The Mahoba epigraph which contains this passage is unfortunately fragmentary. But in V 28 it seems to refer to the son of Kirtivarman (V 8 1154) *EI*, Vol I, p 221

³ Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol II, pp 419 ff., Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1910, Vol II, pp 49 ff., 140 ff., *Id.*, 1908, p. 63

⁴ *EI*, Vol I, pp 147 ff.

one of emerald and the other of stone. This inscription is dated in the year 1059, and is now built into a wall of the temple of Viṣvanātha.¹

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Maṇavarman supplies us with the name of one of his ministers, named Prabhāsa, who was born in the lineage of Āṅgiras and Gautama Akṣapāda, the reputed founder of the *Nyāya* philosophy. He was, we are told, 'highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (*naya-prayoge gahane sudakṣaḥ*)'. After being '(duly) tried (*sarv opadhāsuddhi*)' was appointed 'chief of all ministers by Dhaṅga and king Gaṇḍa.'

Dhaṅga after living for more than a hundred years at last "abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā, and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and muttering holy prayers. The following records and dates are known for his reign."

(1) *Khajuraho stone-inscription* —The stone which bears this inscription is said to have been discovered in the ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajuraho. It consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit. It opens with 'adoration to the holy Vāsudeva' and then invokes the god Vaiṣṇuṭha. Next follows the account of the rise of the Candrātreyas from the Sage Atri. The genealogy is traced from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. The inscription is mainly concerned with the *prasaṅga* of Yaśovarman, who constructed a splendid home of Viṣṇu and set up in it an image of Vaiṣṇuṭha, which he received from the *Hayapati* Devapāla (Vs 23-43). The last 6 verses give an account of Dhaṅga and then comes

¹ *Ibid.*, pp 137 ff.

² *BI* Vol. I p. 190 V 21.

³ *Bokṣiteḥ kṣiteḥ anubuddhiraśānām etām anar-ṣyate,*
Jiviteḥ taradām itatām samadhikāḥ Śrī-Dh-ṛga-prthivipatiḥ.
Badrak mudritalocanāḥ sa kṛdaye dhṛṣṭya. nipaṭṭhānāt-
Kāṇḍyoh saṁle kalevara-parityāgād agnau vṛtite. (EI Vol I, p 140, v 55.)

Such acts of suicide are not unknown in Indian History; see *BG* Vol I Part II, p 442 *DHNI* Vol I p. 347

the date (V) S. 1011 (A D. 953-54) and the name of Vināyakapāla 'protecting the earth.' It ends with 'adoration to the holy Vāsudeva! adoration to the sun.' The inscription was composed by the *Kavi* Mādhava and written by 'the *Karamka* Gauda Jaddha who was *Samskrta-bhāṣāvidvas*.¹

(2) *Khajraho Jain Temple inscription*.—It is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajraho. It consists of 11 lines of Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscription begins with 'om' and then gives the date (V) S. 1011 (A D 1055). It next records 'a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pāhilla,' who was 'held in honour by Dhā(a?)mga-rāja' and was a devotee of the 'lord of the Jinas.' The gifts mainly consist of gardens (*vātikā*) Line 10 mentions the name of *Mahārāja-guru Vāsavacandra*.²

(3) *Nanyaura (now Bengal Asiatic Society) grant*—It contains 15 lines incised on one side of a single copper plate, and was found with another plate of Devavarman (dated in V S. 1107) in a field at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari-Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District, U. P. There are no holes in the plate for rings, nor any seal attached to the plate. The grant opens with the sign *Om svasti* and then traces the genealogy of the donor from king Harṣadeva. We are told that Pb.-M.-P Harṣadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb -M.-P. Yaśovarmanadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Kālāñjarādhipati-Dhanga-deva in the (V.) year 1055 (A D 998), when there was an eclipse of the moon, granted from Kāśīkā (Benares) the village of Yu(Cu?)llī attached to (*pratibaddha*) *Usaravāha* to the

¹ The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham in *ASR* (Vol II, p. 426, Vol. XXI, p 65), and a very small photolithograph of it was published, *ibid*, Vol XXI, plate XVII. It was edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol I, pp 123-135. The stone bearing this record is now built into the wall inside the entrance-porch of the temple of Lakṣmana.

² The inscription was noticed by Cunningham in *ASR*, Vol II, p 433, and XXI, p 67. He also published a photolithograph of it, Vol XXI, plate XVI, No J. It was first edited by R. L. Mitra in the *JASB*, Vol XXXII, p 279, re edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol I, pp 135-36.

Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, an emigrant from Tarkarikā, whose ancestors had been settled at Dūrvāharā. The inscription ends with 'Sri Dhaṅga' ¹

(4) *Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala*—The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found at the temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajraho. The record contains 22 lines. It is a *prastāva* of a *Grahapati* family which originally came from Padmāvati (mod. Narwar, Gwalior State). The inscription opens with 'Om namah Śivāya', and then invokes Śiva in several verses under the names Vaidyanātha, Śaṅkara, and Sarva. Then the genealogy of Kokkala is traced from Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of Padmāvati. In lines 19-21 is recorded the erection of a temple of Vaidyanātha and a number of buildings for pious Brāhmanas by Kokkala at Khajraho. The date (V) *Saṃvat* 1008 (A. D. 1000-01) is given in the last line ²

(5) *Khajraho stone inscription*—It was discovered in a temple at Khajraho. It consists of 33 lines. The record opens with 'Om namah Śivāya', and then praises Śiva (Rudra, Digambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara), Bhārati, and Gaṇeśa. Next follows the usual story of the origin of the Candrātreyas. Then comes the regular genealogy of the family from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. In lines 48-51 we are told that the latter erected a magnificent temple for the god Sambhu. "He also distributed great quantities of gold and established in connection with the temple dwellings for pious Brāhmanas to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows (Vs 52-54). The record was composed when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was acting in the office of *Dharmādīkṛtā* ³

¹ The plate was first edited by V. A. Smith in the *JASB* Vol. XLVII, Part I p. 84, and was re-edited by Kielhorn in *Id.* Vol. XVI pp. 201-04. It is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

² Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR* see Vol. XXI p. 66 and plate XIX. Edited by Kielhorn in *BI* Vol. I pp. 147-52. It is now built into the wall of the entrance of the porch of the temple of Vīṣṇanātha.

³ This Yaśodhara is most probably to be identified with the donor of the Nanyasa plate *op. cit.* No. 3.

Lines 32-33 give the date as follows “ The (V.) year 1059 (A D 1001-02) ; at the glorious Khajuravāhaka, in the *nāya* of the illustrious king Dhanga, this *prāśasti* of the god *Maṇikateśvara* was completed ” The record was composed by the poet Rāma, grandson of the *kavi* Nandana of the *Sāvana* (Śābara)-*vamśa* and a resident of Tarkāṇikā. It was written by the *Kāyastha* Yaśahpāla, and engraved by Sīmha The temple was built by the *Sūtradhāra* Chicca.¹

Dhanga was succeeded by his son Ganda sometime between 1001-02 A. D , Dhanga's last known date, and 1019 A. D., the first recorded date of his grandson Vidyādhara. So far we have not discovered any inscription of this prince. His name is only mentioned in some late records of the Candellas which were composed at least a hundred years after his death The following statements regarding his reign can be collected from these epigraphs

A fragmentary Candella inscription which appears to have been composed after the reign of Kīrtivarman (V S. 1154) refers to Ganda as ‘an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms.’² The Mau inscriptions of Madanavaraman (V S. 1186-1220) tells us that Gandadeva was ‘a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride.’³ A rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (V. S 1345) mentions the name of the *Thakkura* Jājūka of the *Vāstavya Kāyastha-Vamśa* to whom was granted by Gaṇḍa, ‘the invincible in battle,’ the

¹ The inscription was first most carelessly edited by Sutherland in *JASB*, Vol III, pp 159-84 It was re edited by Kielhorn in the *NKGWG*, 1886, pp 441-62, finally edited by the same scholar, *EI*, Vol I, pp 137-47 The inscription was probably re arranged and re written in V S 1173, when it was renewed by Jayavarman This explains the occurrence of the description of Dhanga's death in V 55, while the date of his record is given in V 63 The inscription is now built into the wall on the right side of the temple of Viśvanātha

² *EI*, Vol I, pp 219, 221, and 222, V 19

³ *Ibid*, pp 197 and 203, V 4.

village of Dugauda, and who was appointed 'to superintend at all times all the affairs (of the state)'¹

The above will show that, apart from the name of this officer of his time, the Candella records contain nothing but vague generalities about the administration of Gaṇḍa. This agrees with the fact pointed out elsewhere² that he is, perhaps, not to be identified with the powerful Indian prince Nandā whose 'immense army, according to certain Muḥammadan chroniclers, inspired fear even in the mind of Maḥmūd, the Yamīnī king of Ghaznī'.³ I have tried to prove that Nandā نندا is a mistake not for Gaṇḍa (گندہ or گندہ) but for Bīdā (بیدا) which is approximately the Arabic phonetic equivalent of Vidyā, the first part of the name of Vidyādhara, the son of Gaṇḍa.

It is not known when Gaṇḍa's reign came to an end but he must have been succeeded by his son Vidyādhara some time before 1019 A. D. For Ibn ul Athīr tells us that in the year A. H. 409 (a mistake for A. H. 410) Maḥmūd of Ghaznī marched against India to protect his territories from a threatened attack by Bīdā. This king, we are told, 'was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory he had the largest armies' and his country was named Kajuraho کجوراهو. We are further told that some time before this date Bīdā, after a 'long quarrel,' had fought and killed 'Rājyapāl, the ruler of Kāśī' also distributed and the surrendering of his territories to the ^{action with} his Highness The

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 323 and 336 Va. 57

² *DHNI* Vol. I, p. 606

³ See Day's Trans. of the *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*) p. 12; also *DHNI* Vol. II p. 691.

⁴ *TKA* Bulak 1874 Vol. IX, pp. 115-16; see also edition by Tornberg published in 1863 Vol. IX, p. 218. This edition also gives the name as بیدا. But the editor notices a variant in some MSS as Bandā بندا which may have been mistaken in the earlier Persian chronicles as Nandā. The published edition of *KZA* (ed. by Muhammad Nazim Berlin 1928 p. 76) gives the name as نندا. This was perhaps the original source of Nigām ud Dīn. The stages of corruption were probably therefore: (1) بندا (2) بندا (3) نندا. On enquiry I find that even now in many parts of Bundelkhand the popular way of pronouncing *ṣ* sounds after dentals is simply by an *ḍ*. Thus they would pronounce *pratyakṣa* as *paṭiḥḥa* and not *paṭiḥḥa* as is done in many parts of U. P. T.

truth of the last statement of Ibn ul-Athīr is demonstrated by the Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vīkramasīmha (V.S 1145), which tells us that one of his predecessors named Arjuna, being anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla.¹ The statement is also supported by a Candella inscription from Mahoba which informs us that Vidyādhara "caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj"² These facts show that by the year 1019 A.D., Vidyādhara had come to be regarded as the most powerful ruler of India. The policy of Dhanga, who ceased to pay even a nominal homage to the throne of Kanauj, was thus successfully carried to its logical conclusion by his grandson when the latter forcibly uprooted the effete successor of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.

It is difficult to trace the actual limits of Vidyādhara's dominions. The Dubkund inscription certainly indicates that the Kacchapaghāta rulers of that place were his vassals,³ and his power probably extended in the west along the east bank of the river Chambal. Another Candella inscription tells us that 'Bhojadeva, together with *Kalacuri-candīa* worshipped' (Vidyādhara) 'this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil'⁴ Bhojadeva of this passage has been rightly identified with the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā of that name. It is also likely the prince referred to as *Kalacuri-candīa* is to be identified with

the Muslims followed the popular pronunciation of names and not the Sanskrit pronunciation of the Pandits is shown by the fact that Bīrūnī gives the name of the capital of Gangeya as *Taurī*, the predecessor of the modern *Tewar*, and not *Tripuri*. See KH, Trans. by Sachau, Vol I, p 202

¹ EI, Vol II, pp 237, lines 10, etc

² Ibid, Vol I, pp 219 and 222, V 22

³ That the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Candellas is probably shown by the fact that Nizām ud-Dīn when describing the invasion of *Nandā's* territory by Maḥmūd in 413 A.H., says He invaded the kingdom of *Nandā*, and when he reached the fort of Gwalior he laid siege to it At the end of four days the Commandant (or governor,

حاکم) of the fort sent envoys

See TA, Trans, p. 14 Text (*Bibliotheca*

Indica), p 15, DHNI, Vol. II, n 692 and fn 2 on that page

⁴ EI, Vol I, pp 219 and 22 V 22

the Cedi ruler Kokalla II ¹ If these identifications are accepted it seems likely that the weight of Vidyādhara's arms was felt in the S W and the S E as far as the sources of the Chambal and the Narbada. In the north after the defeat and the death of Rājyapāla his authority possibly extended over the Ganges Jumna Doāb. There was therefore not much exaggeration in the account of Ibn ul Athīr when he described Vidyādhara as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. We can also believe Niṣām ud Dīn when he tells us that he mustered an army 'consisting of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants to oppose the advance of Maḥmūd in 410 A H'. We have elsewhere discussed the reasons that led Maḥmūd to invade India on this occasion ². We have seen how 'Paru-Jaypāl,' after unsuccessfully trying to resist Maḥmūd's advance on the Rāhib, started to meet Bīdā. Before however he could effect any junction with the Candella ruler he was surprised and killed by some Indians. After this incident Maḥmūd plundered Bārī, and 'started in pursuit of Bīdā'. According to Ibn ul Athīr Maḥmūd overtook him on the bank of a river, and after having diverted the stream into new channels came into touch with the Indian camp. The same author gives the following account of the battle that followed: "Yamīn ud-Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them" ³. Niṣām ud Dīn supplies

¹ *Ibid* p. 219.

² *TA* (*Bibliotheca Indica*) Trans. p. 12. Ibn ul Athīr gives the number of the army as 56,000 cavalry 184,000 (?) infantry and 745 elephants; see *TKA* p. 216. The *KKA* (p. 78) gives the figures as 36,000 cavalry 145,000 (40,1000 & ?) infantry and 610 elephants. Firsihta gives the number as 36,000 cavalry 45,000 infantry and 610 elephants; Briggs' Trans. Vol. I, p. 61. As Firsihta generally closely follows Niṣām ud-Dīn 45,000 may be a mistake for 145,000.

³ See *DHNI* Vol. I pp. 606 ff.

⁴ *TKA* p. 216.

⁵ *Ibid*

a somewhat different account of these incidents. He says :
 “When the Sultan encamped in front of *Nandā*’s army, he first sent an envoy to him and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. *Nandā* refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of *Nandā*’s army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the giver of all mercies.”¹

Both the accounts bear evidence to the military power of the Candella ruler, on whom had now fallen the task of resisting the encroachments of Islam in the Ganges-Jumna valley. According to *Nizām ud-Dīn* there was no fight between the two armies. *Nandā*, as he lay encamped is said to have become alarmed, and fled at night ‘with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all the munitions of war behind’ I am rather disposed to place more credence on the earlier account of the *Kāmil*, and believe that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before the Candella beat a strategic retreat under cover of the night.² This version to me seems to be more consistent with the Muslim account of *Bīdā*’s power and prestige. According to *Ibn ul-Athīr*, when *Maḥmūd* found ‘the land deserted,’ each party of the Hindu army ‘having gone a different way,’ he plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He is said to have overtaken them ‘in forests and thickets,’ and slain and captured a large number; but ‘*Bīdā* escaped single-handed and *Yamīn ud-Daulah* returned victorious to *Ghazna*.’ An instance of the exaggerations of later historians is afforded by *Nizām ud-Dīn*’s account of the spoils that fell into the hands of

¹ *TA*, Trans, p 12. A similar account is also found in *KZA*, p 76

² On account of the diversion of the stream, the strategic importance of the field chosen by *Vidyādhara* to resist *Maḥmūd* in — have considerably diminished.

Mahmūd after this victory According to the *Kamil* Mahmūd found 'treasures and weapons, in the Hindu camp According to the *Tabaqāt i Akbari* 'immense quantities of booty, including 580 elephants, 'fell into the hands of the army of Islām

According to Nizām ud Dīn and Firishṭa, Mahmūd again invaded Nandā's territory in the year 413 A. H. (1022 A. D.)¹ The campaign in 410 A. H. did not bear any decisive results and Mahmūd apparently wanted to force a conclusion We are told that the Ghazni ruler advanced into the territory of Nandā and besieged the fortress of Gwalior At the end of four days the commandant (حاکم) of the fort submitted and paid a tribute of 85 elephants² The Sultan is then said to have invested the fort of Kālāñjara, which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā the ruler of the fort offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks Nandā then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue (زبلی هندی),³ in praise of the Sultan The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets⁴ who were in attendance on him

¹ Briggs's Trans. of the *TF* Vol. I p. 66 gives the date as A.H. 414 but the Lucknow Text (Vol. I, p. 81) gives the date as 413 A.H.; so it is likely that there is a mistake in the translation.

² The title حاکم which usually means a Commandant or a Governor shows that the Gwalior ruler was a feudatory of the Candellas. The *KFA* (p. 79) gives *Saidar* (سائدر, commandant). Firishṭa who is later in time has راجه which is more ambiguous.

³ *KFA* (p. 80) has *Lughat i Hindī*. (لغت هندی)

⁴ Firishṭa has learned men of India Arabia and Persia: Briggs's Trans. Vol. I p. 67 This is perhaps the earliest reference to *Hindī* poetry As Muslim writers like Birūnī or Amīr Khusrāu refer to Sanskrit as Sanakrit, it is not likely that *Hindī* is here an adjective of the word Hind (India) meaning Sanskrit the language par excellence of Hind Another fact which makes it probable that *Hindī* here means *Hindustānī* is the date of the earliest of the *Hindī* poets so far known viz. Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd who lived in

They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. *Nandā* also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultān. From that place the Sultān returned (to Ghazna) with victory and triumph ''¹

It is clear from the account of these Musalman writers that Mahmūd could not repeat the success which he obtained against the effete Gujara-Priatihāra rulers when he captured the 7 forts of Kanauj in a single day. Even after 'a considerable time,' he evidently could not capture the fort of Kālāñjara, and the campaign ended in mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute.'² The friendly relations thus established between Mahmūd and the Candellas may have continued till at least 1029 A. D., when the former seized one of Seljuq's sons and is reported to have sent him as a prisoner to the fort of 'Kalanjar' in India.³

the court of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Mahmūd, and died c 515 or 525 A H (1121 or 1130 A D). Mas'ūd's family were immigrants from Hamdan in Persia and his *Duans* of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi verses are referred to by Amīr Khusrāu. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the 12th century Hindi as a literature was so well known that even foreigners composed verses in it. It is not unlikely that a 100 years before this the beginnings of Hindi may be traced to the courts of the Indian princes, who had to carry on intercourse with the Muslim rulers on the frontier. I am indebted for the name and date of Mas'ūd to Dr M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University.

¹ *TA*, Trans., p. 14. *KZA*, pp. 79-80. This authority mentions in addition the payment of *Jizya* by *Nandā* as one of the conditions of peace. *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 66-67. Ibn ul-Athīr does not mention any Indian invasions under the year 413 A H. But under A H 414 he refers to Mahmūd's conquest of a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants. I am disposed to identify this fort with *Kālāñjara*. But in that case we shall have to correct the *Kāmil's* date by one year, see Vol. IX, p. 124.

² It would certainly be an exaggeration to represent him as a 'coward,' who 'capitulated without fighting.' *IA*, 1908, p. 112. In using these later historians one has always to guard against a tendency to exaggerate Mahmūd's achievements.

³ Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 1915, p. 170, *Rāhat uṣ-ṣudūr* Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921, p. 103. But it seems more likely that this *Kalanjar* is to be identified with the *Kālāñjara* or *Kālīñjara* of Kalhana and *Kalunjur* of Firishta, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 153, fn. 2.

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman gives us the name of an officer of Vidyādhara's court, the "virtuous Śivanāga" son of Prabhāsa the chief *Mantri* of Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa. We are told that Śivanāga 'as soon as he had assumed the post of minister (*Saciva-pada*), alone, by his excellent conduct made the government of the king Vidyādhara one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth ¹

Vidyādhara was succeeded sometime after A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022) and before V. S. 1107 the first known date of his grand son Devavarman, by his son Vijayapāla. The latter's name and position in the dynastic table are known from a number of Candella inscriptions ². But these documents supply practically no information about the political incidents of his reign. One epigraph tells us that he was a *nṛpendra*, while another praises his virtuous conduct and bravery and tells us that his reign 'put an end to the *Kali* age'. The only piece of information of any importance is the name of his minister (*Saciva*) Mahipāla, supplied by the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman ³. We are told that Mahipāla sustained 'to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla and, uniting valour with blameless policy 'became the standard of comparison among good ministers

Vijayapāla was succeeded sometime before V. S. 1107 by Devavarman his son by his queen Bhuvanadevi. The existence of this prince is known from his grant, which was discovered at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari Jaitpur Tahsil of the Hamirpur District of U. P. along with a grant of Dhaṅga-deva ⁴. The plate which is written on one side only, contains 19 lines of writing. The inscription opens with *Oṃ svasti*,

¹ EI Vol. I, p. 193 Vs. 23-24.

² IA Vol. XVI p. 205 lines 1-3; *ibid* Vol. XVIII p. 233 lines 2-3; EI Vol. I pp. 106 and 200 Vs. 6 and 26; J. I. S. B. Vol. 1818 XVII p. 317 V. 7

See EI Vol. I, p. 200 V. 26

See DHNI Vol. II p. 685 No. (3)

and then traces the genealogy of the donor as follows: *Pb.-M -P Vidyādhara-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb - M.P.-Vijaya-pāla-deva-pād-ānu-dhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālamjarādhipati Deva-varma-deva*. This prince in (V.)S 1107 (A D 1051), from his residence at Suhavāsa, on the occasion of the anniversary (*Sāmvat-sarīke*) of his mother the *rājñī* Bhuvanadevī, granted the village of Kathahau (?) situated in Raṇamaṇa in the Rājapura-avasthā, to the Brāhman Abhimanyu, an emigrant from the *Bhatta-grāma* named Dhakārī. The grant ends with the name of the donor 'Śrīmad-Devavarma-devah.'¹ The Candella records refer to no political incidents of his reign. In some of these he is altogether omitted. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, for instance, mentions Kīrtivarman after Vijayapāla² The same thing is done in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kīrtivarman and a fragmentary Candella stone inscription from Mahoba.³ All these inscriptions however describe Kīrtivarman as son of Vijayapāla. It is therefore likely that Devavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Kīrtivarman. Though it is not unusual for the compilers of royal genealogies to omit a brother from the family tree, there are reasons to suspect that this omission may have been more than casual. The *Prabodha-candōdaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, which allegorically represents in the form of a drama the eternal struggle between *Viveka* and *Mahā-mōha*, supplies the following interesting information on the point.⁴ We are told in the introductory portion of the play that the 'glorious Gopāla has ordered it to be produced before king Kīrtivarman'. This Gopāla is called *Sakala sāmanta-cakṛa-cūdāmanī*, who like Paraśurāma extirpated the race of tyrannical kings. "His merciless battle axe spared neither

¹ The grant was first published by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol XLVII Part I, p 81. It was then properly edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol XVI, pp 201-02 and 204-07. The plate is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.

² *EI*, Vol I, p 198, V 7.

³ *IA*, Vol XVIII, p 238, line 23, *EI*, Vol I, pp 219 and 222, Vs 23-26.

⁴ The text has been printed at *The Nīrṇaya-Sāgara Press*, Bombay. There is an imperfect translation by J. Taylor. London. 1812.

women, child, nor old age, it cleft the broad shoulders of the enemy, and its stroke was followed by a dreadful sound¹ In other passages Gopāla is compared with the Man lion incarnation (*Nṛsiṃha-rūpa*) and with the primeval boar (*Mahā varāha*) who 'raised up the earth when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns' These passages indicate that Gopāla acted as the saviour in a time of great crisis Several passages tell us that his services were undertaken in the interest of Kīrtivarman One passage runs as follows "Gopāla whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend conquered the lords of men and has invested with the sovereignty of the earth (*Sāmrājya*) Kīrtivarman the chief of princes (*narapati tīlaka*)² Elsewhere we are told that Gopāla when engaged in the *digvijaya vyāpāra* of Kīrtivarmadeva became *viśaya rasāsvāda dūṣita* Thus it is clear that Gopāla must have acted as a saviour to the fortune of the Candellas when she was overwhelmed by the attack of enemies The name of these enemies is contained in the following statement of the *Sūtradhara* "His anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon who had been dethroned by the lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all royal families of the earth (*sakala bhūpāla kula pralaya khalagni rudra*)³ The Naṣṭi also refers to the victory of Gopāla over the armies of the confederacy of kings (*sakala rāja maṇḍala*) and of Karna, and compares him with the Madhumathana who obtained Lakṣmī by churning the ocean In another place Gopāla having overcome the strong Karna is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious king Kīrtivarman just as discrimination having overcome strong delusion gave rise to knowledge⁴ The statements referred

¹ I 3 I, 87

² I 4.

³ I 6.

⁴ I, 9 The importance of the passage was first noticed by Cunningham ASR Vol.

to above are also supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus verse 26 of a Candella inscription at Mahoba records that Kīrtivarman conquered Laksmī-Karna: "Just as Purusottama (*Visnu*), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain *Mandara*) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Laksmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (*viz*, Kīrtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Laksmī-Karna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants."¹ These victories are also referred to in V 3 of the stone inscription of the Candella Vīravarman. The verse runs as follows: "In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyādharias, (who was) the pitcher-born (*Agastya*) in swallowing that ocean—Karna, (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom (*Prajeśvaro nūtanarājya-srstau*),—the illustrious Kīrtivarman."²

Though there is some difference in the epigraphic and literary evidence, the former giving all the credit of the victory to Kīrtivarman and the latter to his chief *Sāmanta* Gopāla,³ yet there is fundamental agreement in the statement that the Candella power was for sometime completely eclipsed by the victories of Laksmī-Karna, the Kalacuri king of Dāhala (c 1042-70). The *Prabodha-candrodaya* distinctly says that 'the race of the moon' (the Candellas) was dethroned by the lord of Cedi, while one inscription gives to Kīrtivarman the credit of recreating

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 219-20 and 222. Hultzsch has noticed the 'curious coincidence' of this verse and the Prakrit passage in the *Prabodhacandrodaya* where Gopāla is compared with Madhumathana and the army of Karna with the milk-ocean, see *ibid*.

² *Ibid*, pp 327 and 329. Compare also lines 89 of the fragmentary Kālāñjara Candella inscription in *JASB*, Vol XVII, p 317, which appear to refer to the same incident in similar verse.

³ I am disposed to think that the victories were really gained by the *Sāmanta*, for otherwise a drama in which that claim was so forcibly expressed could not have been staged before the reigning king.

like the Creator the kingdom (of the Candellas) The destruction of the Candella kingdom is also referred to by Bilhana, who describes Karṇa, the lord of Dhāhala, as 'the death to the lord of Kālāñjara mountain' (*Kālāñ Kālāñjara giri pater yah*)¹ It is therefore certain that Karṇa, whose contact with the kings of Northern India from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal is established on authentic documents,² and who is said to have dominated India from the borders of Kashmir to the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula,³ must have held in subjection the Candella territory for some period before his defeat at the hands of Gopāla, the Brāhman general of Kīrtivarman It is not unlikely, as the statement of Bilhana seems to indicate, that one of the predecessors of Kīrtivarman may have even lost his life in the wars with the Kalacuris The curious silence of the *prastāvikāras* regarding the achievements of Vijayapāla and the omission of Devavarman from the family tree may therefore be explained to some extent by the fact that their reigns represented one of the darkest chapters in the dynastic history of the Candellas We have traced how step by step their power increased till in the reign of Vidyādharma they were regarded by the Muslim writers as the most powerful kings in India But the defeats which they inflicted on their Kalacuri neighbours since the days of Yaśovarman were at last reversed with disastrous results In spite of Kīrtivarman's claims to have regained his dominions, the Candella power never really recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by Lakṣmī Karṇa Though it lingered long before it fell a prey to the Muslims, it could never again gain a predominant position in the chequered history of Northern India

It is difficult to fix the time of these alleged victories of Kīrtivarman His only date so far known is V Ś 1154 (A D 1098) The approximate dates of the other princes of

1 *Vikramāśka-deva-canta*. Ed. by Bühler XVIII 93.

2 See *infra*, DHNI Vol. II, my chapter on the Harhayas (Kalacuris)

3 *RI* Vol. II p 802.

India who also claim to have defeated Laksmī-Karṇa (c 1042-1070 A D.), are as follow : ¹

- (a) Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyānī—c. 1040-69 A D
- (b) Caulukya Bhīma of Anahilapattana,—c 1021-64 A.D.
- (c) Viṅrahapāla of Bengal and Bīhar—c. 1055-81 A.D
- (d) Udayāditya of Mālava—c. 1059 A.D.

These however do not help us to arrive at any definite conclusions. But if the Basahī plate of the Gāhadavāla Govindaçandra can be trusted, Laksmī-Karṇa must have sustained his defeat sometime before c 1090-1104 A.D. For it tells us that 'when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa, the world became troubled, Candradeva (c. 1090-1104) came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja.' ² An earlier date than 1090 A D. is supplied by the Kahirha grant of Yaśahkarṇa, dated in (K.) *Samvat* 823, which indicates that Karṇa abdicated his throne in favour of his son some time before 1073 A D.

An interesting piece of evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella territories is probably supplied by the series of Candella coins which start from the reign of Kīrtivarman. The coins of Kīrtivarman so far discovered are of gold only, and, with the exception of the legend, are almost exact copies of the coins of the Kalacuri Gāngeyadeva, the father of Laksmī-Karṇa ³ It is therefore likely that the Candellas retained the Kalacuri type of coinage, which probably became extensively current in Jejā-bhukti during the period of occupation by Karṇa. ⁴

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 235-36, Vs 19-22, Vol II, pp 185-86, Vs 32-34, *ibid*, p 303, *Vikramāṅka-deva-carita*, I, 102-03. *Rāmācarita*, *MASB*, Vol III, p 22

² *IA*, Vol XIV, pp 102-03, lines 3 5 For the earliest date of Candradeva, see his Candravatī grant dated in 1090 A D, *EI*, Vol IX, p 302

³ See *CMI*, pp 77-79, and No 12 on plate XIII, *ASR*, Vol II, pp 458 59, Vol X, pp 25-26, plate X, No 5 *CCIM*, pp 251 and 253, No 1 According to Cunningham the seated nimbate four-armed goddess on the obverse side is *Pārvatī*, but according to others it is *Lakṣmī*, see *IA*, 1908, p 147 The coins are of two denominations, *drammas* (approximately 63 grains), and $\frac{1}{2}$ *drammas* (approximately 31 grains)

⁴ It is however curious that we have not so far discovered any coins of so powerful a king as Laksmī-Karṇa

Besides these gold coins the only other important record of Kīrtivarman¹ is his *Deogarh Rock Inscription*.

This inscription is on a rock near the river gate of the fort of the town of Deogarh, situated at the western end of the tableland of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Betwa. It contains 8 lines opening with *Oṃ oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*, it traces the genealogy of the illustrious prince Kīrtivarman, son of king Vijayapāla and grandson of the renowned prince Vidyādhara of the *Candella varṇa*. V 5 introduces us to this king's 'chief counsellor among his ministers (*Amātya mantrīndra*), Vatsarāja, who had gone forth (*viragata*) from Ramanipura. This officer, we are told, 'quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*) by his counsel and valour, and made 'this fort Kirtigiri'. The immediate object of this inscription was to record the building of a flight of steps named after him *Vatsarāja ghaṭṭa*. The date, (V) *Saka*vat 1154 (A D 1098), comes at the end².

The *Prabodha candrodaya* gives us the name of Gopāla, who was one of the prominent *Sāmantas* in the court of Kīrtivarman. The record mentioned above supplies us with the name of another official, *viz*, Vatsa who appears to have conquered the Betwa valley for his master. Besides these two, the Candella records mention the names of two more officers of this king. One of these was Ananta, son of Mahipāla, who served as a minister of Vijayapāla. The Mau inscription of the time of Madanavarman tells us that Ananta combined in himself 'spotless sacred knowledge, bravery and efficiency in 'the very high office of counselling,' and was the approved minister of the

¹ Cunningham suggested that a temple of Śiva, the remains of which he discovered at Mahoba, was probably built in the time of Kīrtivarman see *ASR* Vol. II p. 441. V A Smith suggested that the lakes named *Kirt Sagar* at Mahoba and *Okanderi* (in Lalitpur) were also the work of this king. Kīrtivarman's name is also connected with buildings at Kālaṅjar and Ajaigarh. See *IA* 1908 p. 131.

² A transcript of the inscription accompanied by a photoscincograph was first published by Cunningham; see his *ASR* Vol. X p. 103 and plate XXXIII. It was then edited by Hultzsch in the *IA* Vol. XI pp. 311-12; finally edited by Kielhorn in *ibid* Vol. XVIII pp.

king Kīrtivarman.¹ The Ajaigarh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarma mentions the name of another officer, the *Vāstavya-Kāyastha* Maheśvara. We are told that he received the title of *Viśiṣa* of Kālāñjana, accompanied by the grant of Pīpalāhikā, from Kīrtivarman, 'the crest-jewel of the princes of the yellow-mountain districts (*pītaśaila-viśayesu*)'.²

Kīrtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallaksanavarman or Hallaksanavarman. The latter name is found on his coins.³ His gold *drammas* and *quarter-drammas* belong to the same type as those of his father; but his copper *drammas* on the obverse substitute the figure of the 'Hanumān under a canopy' in the place of the four-handed seated goddess. Unfortunately no inscription of this king has so far been discovered.⁴ But the records of his successors contain some information about his reign. Thus the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, after praising him in vague terms for his prowess, victory and liberality, seems to hint at his success against some unknown enemies in the *Doab* between the Ganges and the Jumna (*Antarvedī-viśaya*).⁵ One of his officers is said to have utterly defeated his foes 'by excess of his heroism,' and 'dissipated the fears of the subjects by clearing the country of thorns.'

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 200 and 205 Vs 29-31 Ananta claims to have served at different times as *mantri mantrādhikāre*, *hasty-aśva netā*, *pura balādhyaṣa* and *abhimata-saciva* of the king

² *Ibid*, pp 333 and 336, V 9 The name *pīta śaila-viśaya* has not yet been met with elsewhere and has not been identified The word *Viśiṣa* of this record needs explanation It was certainly an administrative post

³ *CMI*, p 79, Nos 14-16, plate VIII *ASR*, Vol II, pp 458-59 Vol X, p 26, plate X, No 6-g, 7-g, and 8-g The change of *s* sound into *h* is quite common in some N Indian vernaculars, e.g., *hālā* for *sālā*, *he* for *se* in some forms of spoken Bengali

⁴ A fragmentary stone inscription, written in Nāgarī characters of about the 11th or the 12th century was discovered on the walls of the ruined fort of Jhansi Line 2 of this inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting-place of Kānyakubja It also appears to mention the (Candella?) Kīrtivarman and (the Malwa ruler) Udayāditya The record belongs to the illustrious Sallaksana-simha Kielhorn did not see 'any cogent reason' for identifying him 'with the Candella Sallakṣanavarman or for assigning this inscription to the Candella ruler See *EI*, Vol I, pp 214-17 The inscription is now in the Lucknow Museum

⁵ *EI*, Vol I, pp 198 and 201, Vs 9-10 and 38-39

The Ajaigarh rock inscription of Bhojavarman tells us that Sallakṣaṇa's 'sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Cedis'.¹ We have seen that in the previous reign the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa. It is not unlikely therefore that Sallakṣaṇa may have carried out successful raids in the Paramāra territory in Malwa from the *Kirtigiridurga*. The contemporary Malwa king was most probably Naravarman (c 1104 A D), the grandson of Udayāditya. The Cedi contemporary of Sallakṣaṇa was most probably Yaśah Karṇa (c 1078-1125 A D), the son of Lakṣmī Karṇa. It is difficult to decide who may have been the enemies of the Candella king in the *Antarvedi*. But if Sallakṣaṇa's objective in invading the Ganges-Jumna Doāb was to capture Kanauj, he may have come into conflict with the Bāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about this period.² As the Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj between c 1091-1104, it seems probable that the attempt of the Candellas to control the Doāb proved abortive.

As to the names of the officers who served under this king, the Mau stone-inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the Brāhman Ananta who held various responsible posts under Kirtavarman, continued to serve under his son.³ The same inscription tells us that Vatsa Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna, the four sons of the abovementioned officer after 'being properly tried, were all appointed to suitable posts by

¹ Ibid p 397 V 4.

² *JA* Vol. XVII pp. 61-64. Kielhorn read the date as V S. 1270. It was corrected by W Hoey in *JASB* 1892, Vol. LXI Extra No. pp. 57-64 and the correction V S 1174, was accepted by Kielhorn in *JA* Vol XXIV p 178; *BI* Vol. I pp 61-66; see also *JASB* 1928, pp. 108-00. It is possible that the lunar line of Kānyakubja who appear to trace their descent to one Jayanta and who are referred to in the *Jhansi fragmentary stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasāhā* may have been the predecessors of the Bāṣṭrakūṭas in Kanauj. It is interesting to notice that the line of Jayant seems to have been connected with the Caulukyās, the traditional enemies of the Bāṣṭrakūṭas; see *BI* Vol. I pp 214-17.

³ *BI* Vol. I, pp 300-01 Vs. 33-37

is known about the political incidents of this king's reign. His copper *drammas* (grains 60) are close imitations of those of his father.¹ Cunningham noticed a solitary silver coin in the collection of the British Museum, but it cannot be traced now.²

According to the Ajaigarh rock inscription of Vīravarma, Jayavarman was succeeded by Prthīvarman. The Angam plate of Madanavarman tells us that the Pb M-P Prthivirmadeva meditated on the feet of (Pādānudhyāta) Pb M-P Kīrtivarmadeva. The suspicion that the former was therefore a son of the latter is confirmed by verse 12 of the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, which describes Prthīvarman as 'the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakṣana varman'. It is therefore clear that the uncle succeeded his nephew. The suggestion that 'Jayavarman left no capable issue' though unsupported by any evidence, is not impossible. Lines 10 and 11 of an imperfectly edited Kalinjar inscription however seem to indicate that Jayavarman 'being wearied of government, abdicated his throne in favour of his successor'. Prthīvarman's copper coins of the usual type with the figure of the 'monkey god' on the obverse were known to Cunningham.³ The Mau inscription referred to above supplies us with the name of an officer of this reign. It tells us that Gadādhara, who had served the last king in the office of *Pratihāra*, and who was well versed in science, military exercises, and secret counsel, was subsequently appointed chief of the ministers (*Mantri mukhya*) by Prthīvarman.⁴

¹ OMI pp 77-79 No. 17 plate VIII; ASR Vol. II, pp 459-60 Vol. X p 26 plate X No. 9/O and 10/O

² IA 1908, p. 147

³ EI Vol. I pp 198 and 203, V 12.

⁴ IA 1908 p 129

⁵ JASB 1848, Part I pp. 318-19

⁶ OMI p 79 plate VIII, No. 18; ASR Vol. II pp 459-60 Vol. X p 26 plate X No. 11/O

⁷ EI Vol. I, p. 201 V 41.

If from the silence of the official *prasaṣṭikāras* we conclude that the last two reigns were not a particularly brilliant period of the Candellas' history, there is evidence to show that the reign of the next king, Madanavarman, the son of Pithvīvarman, marks a successful epoch in their annals. This is evident from the following list of the number and distribution of his inscriptions (c. 1129-63 A. D.) and coins.

(1) *Kalinjar pillar-inscription* —It is incised on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakanṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar. The record opens with 'adoration to Śrī-Nīlakanṭha,' and then gives the date, (V.) *Sam* 1186 (A. D. 1129), with the name of *Mahārāja-Śrī-Madanavarmadeva*. Next come the names of *Mahāpratihāra Saṃgrāmasiṃha* and *Mahānācani Padmāvatī*. The inscription ends with *lāmsuh* Auji (which according to Cunningham means written by Auji). The inscription is fragmentary, but it evidently recorded some benefactions by the two persons mentioned above. Cunningham took them to be 'two of the permanent attendants attached to the Nīlakanṭha shrine, one being the chief doorkeeper and the other the chief of the dancing girls.' But it is probable that Saṃgrāmasiṃha was an official of the state, while Padmāvatī may have occupied the post of the chief court *danseuse*.¹

— (2) *Kalinjar broken pillar-inscription*.—It is said to have been found originally in the temple of Nīlakanṭha within the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Om*, and then gives the date (V) *Samvat* 1187 (A. D. 1130) with the name *Śrīmad-Madanavarmadeva*. Next occur the words *Kālāñjarādri Śrī-Trisalka* The inscription is incomplete; but it evidently described some benefaction by the person mentioned last.²

(3) *Kalinjar rock-inscription* —It contains nine lines, and is incised 'on the rock to the left, or north, side of the temple of Nīlakanṭha in the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with *Om*

¹ *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 34, plate X, A

² *Ibid*, p. 34, plate X, B. In 1884-85 the piece of broken pillar which contained the inscription was lying at the police-station at Kalinjar.

svasti, and then gives the name, *Pb M P Paramamāheśvara Śrī Kālāñjarādhipati-Śrī Madanavarmadeva*. During his reign the following worshippers of his lotus feet, viz., '*Mahārājaputra Śrī Solhana suta maha(ā?) Sahankika maha(ā?) Selaita Kuma (ā?)ra Kulakumalenu Mahārājaputra Śrī Vacha (Vatsa?) rāja deva Śrī Kavidyamha Achoda Rāuta Śrī-Udanah*, set up an image (*mūrti*) of *Nilakanṭha*. The image was the work of the *Rupakāra Lahada*, son of the *Sātradhāra Rāma* and the *Rūpakāra Lakṣmīdhara*. The inscription ends with the date (*V*) *Saṃvat 1188 (A D 1131)*¹

(4) *Augasi grant*—The plate was found in the Augasi Pargana in the Baberu Tahsil of the Banda district, U P. The inscription contains 19 lines and is incised on one side of a single copper plate. There is a ring hole at the lower part of the plate but 'the ring with the seal attached to it is lost. In the upper middle part of the plate however there is engraved the figure of the goddess *Lakṣmī* sitting in the *Padmāsana* with an elephant at each side 'standing on what looks like an expanded water lily,'² pouring water over her head. The inscription opens with *Om svasti* and a verse praising the princes of the *Candrātreyā-varṇa*. In that family lustrous because of the appearance of *Jayaśakti* and *Vijayaśakti* arose *Pb M P Kirtavarmadeva pādānudhyāta-Pb -M P Prthivīvarma deva pādānudhyāta Pb M P Paramamāheśvara Kālāñjarādhipati Madanavarmadeva*. Then follows some vague praise of the last ruler, after which we are told that this king, from his residence near *Bhailasvāmin* (mod *Bhilsa*) granted a piece of land measuring 10 ploughs (*hala*) of the village

¹ The inscription was first edited in *JASB* 1818 Vol XVII Part I pp 321 22, No. 4 as an appendix to Malacoy's account of the antiquities of Kāljar. Cunningham re-edited it in his *ASB* Vol XXI pp 34 35 plate X C. *Rāuta* is an abbreviation of *Rājaputra*; see *EI* Vol. IV p. 154.

² This is the view of Kielhorn. To me a comparison with the *Lakṣmī* on Ram's plates, *EI* Vol. IV plate facing p 106 seems to indicate that what has hitherto been regarded as water lilies is really an imperfect representation of the two other arms of the *Gaṇa-Lakṣmī*.

Vamharadā in the Sudali-*visaya* to a Brāhman who was an emigrant from the village of Dhakārī, in the (V) *Samvat* 1190 (A D. 1134). The inscription was written by the *Dharmalekhi* (law-writer?) Thāsīsudha, and engraved by the *Vijñānika* Jalhana ¹

(5) *Khajraho Jaina image-inscription*—This inscription consists of a single line. It does not contain the name of the reigning king, but it refers to the sons of the *Śresthin* Pānidhara of the *Grahapati* family (*anvaya* which is well-known from the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala of the (V) S. 1058. The inscription is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1205 (1147-48) ²

(6) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription*.—This epigraph consists of 18 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate in the fort of Ajaigarh (which is situated about 20 miles by road to the S. W. of Kalinjar). The inscription opens with *Om*, and then gives the date (V.) *Samvat* 1208 (A D. 1151). It next records that during the reign of Madanavarman a certain *Rāuta* Veda of the village of Kortia, who was a Ksatriya by caste (*jāti*), built something (a *Sirotha*?) in the Jayapura-durga for the use of all people. The record ends with the name of the *Sūtradhāra* Thā-Śrī-Supriata ³

(7) *Mahoba Jaina image-inscription*.—This consists of two

¹ This plate is now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was first edited by Dr R. L. Mitra in *JASB* Vol XLVII, Part I, p 73. Re edited by Kielhorn in 1887 in the *IA*, Vol XVI, pp 202 and 207-10. The village Dhakārī is also mentioned in the plate of Devavarman, see *DHNI*, Vol II, p 695.

² *EI*, Vol I, pp 152-53. For other inscriptions which do not mention the king's name but whose dates fall within the reign of Madanavarman, see (1) *ASR*, Vol XXI, p 35, plate X, E Kalinjar rock inscription, dedication of an image of *Nṛsimha* in (V) *Samvat* 1192 by *Thakkura* Nṛsimha, (2) *ibid.* p 36, plate X, E Kalinjar cell (*Kotri*) Śaiva inscription, containing a record of 2 Brāhmanas, dated in (V) S 1194, (3) *ibid.* Vol X, p 7, Chandpur (half way between Dudahi and Deogarh) pillar inscription, dated in V S 1207. This record is of an unknown person who belonged to Vaccha-gotra and *Mahā-pratihārānvaya*, (4) *JRAS*, 1898, pp 101-02, Horniman Jain image inscription, dedication of the image by the *Śresthin* Maula of the *Grahapati* family of Maṇḍilapura, in V S 1208. (5) and (6) *ASR*, Vol II, p 448, Nos 22 and 23, Khajraho (V S 1212) and Mahoba (V S 1293) inscriptions.

³ *ASR*, Vol XXI, p 49, plate XII, A

lines, incised on the pedestal of an image of Neminātha. The second line contains the date (V) *Saka* 1211 (A D 1155) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva. The inscription records the dedication of the image which was made by the *rūpakāra* Lakhana.¹

✓ (8) *Khajraho Jaina image inscription*—This consists of a single line 'divided into two parts by a boss'. It opens with *Om*, and then gives the date (V) *Saka* 1215 (A D 1157-58) in the *pravardhamāna vijaya rājya* of Madanavarma deva. On this date the image bearing the inscription was caused to be set up by the *Sādhu* Sālhe, the son of Pāhilla, who was the son of the *Śreṣṭhin* Dedū, of the *Grahapati* family. This inscription adds that the sons of Sālhe Mahāgana and others, 'always bow down to *Sambhavanātha*'. It ends with the name of the *rūpakāra* Rāmadeva.²

(9) *Vāridurga grant*—The Semra plates of Paramardi refer to a grant of his grandfather (*pitāmaha*) which was issued when the latter was resident at Vāridurga (mod. Bangar, N 25°14', E 80°6'), in the year (V) *S* 1219 (A D 1162). Among the villages granted is Madanapura, which has been identified with the modern village of the same name in the Jhansi district. Another village, Vadavārī, is probably Berwara (N 24°30', E 78°41') while Dudhai may be the place of the same name (N 24°26', E 78°27') in the South of Lalitpur.³

✓ (10) *Mahoba Jaina image inscription*—This records the dedication of the image in the (V) *S* 1220 (A D 1163) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.⁴

(11) *Mau stone-inscription*—This was discovered 'at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, in the Jhansi district in the U P'. It consists of 29 lines, but a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. There is no date

¹ *Ibid* p. 73 plate XXII D

² First edited by Cunningham *ASB* XXI p. 61 D. It was re-edited by Kielhorn from an impression taken by Burgess in the *EI* Vol. I p. 181.

³ *EI* Vol. IV p. 158. For other place names which have been generally identified with places between 78° 19' E. and 24° 35' N., see *ibid* p. 159.

⁴ *ASB* Vol. II p. 448 No. 25.

in the preserved portion. The inscription is throughout in verse. Its proper object is 'to record the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu, the building of a tank near the village of Deddu and the execution of some other work of piety, by one of the king's ministers whose name appears to have been Gadādhara (verses 46-48) ; by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-16) gives a list of the Candella kings from Dhanga to Madanavarman and (in verses 17-45) an account of the family of the ministers of these kings to which Gadhādhara belonged.' ¹

(12) *Coins*.—Cunningham in 1862-65 noticed 4 gold (one large and 3 small) and two copper coins of this king.² In his report on his tours in 1874-77 he noticed again one gold *dramma* (61 grains), three gold quarter-*drammas* (15 grains), and a copper quarter-*dramma* (15 grains).³ In 1894 the same scholar described and illustrated these three types of coins of Madanavarman in his *Coins of Mediaeval India*.⁴ In 1906 V A Smith in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, described one gold *dramma* and two gold quarter-*drammas* of the same king.⁵ So far no silver coins had been noticed. In 1910 however 'a find consisting of 48 silver coins was found in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State.' It consisted of 8 large (about 60 to 62·75 grains) and 40 small (about 14·17 to 16·07 grains) silver coins of Madanavarman. They are 'exact copies' of the larger and smaller gold coins with the seated goddess on the reverse (or obverse, according to Cunningham).⁶

¹ Lieut Price first published a transcript and translation of the inscription in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XII, pp 357-74. Kielhorn properly edited it in the *EI*, Vol I, pp 195-207. Did Kielhorn mean by the 'town of Mau,' Mau-Ranipur, the only town in the Mau Tahsil of Jhansi? See *IGI*, 1908, Vol XVII, p 222.

² *ASR*, Vol II, p 458.

³ *ASR*, Vol X, p 26, plate X, Nos 12/G, 13/G and 14/C.

⁴ *CMI*, p 79, plate VIII, Nos 19-21.

⁵ *CCIM*, p 253.

⁶ Noticed by R D Banerji in *JASB*, 1914, Vol X (N S), pp. 199-200.

The above list certainly indicates a revival of the Candella power. Inscriptions 1-3 and 5-7 show that he was the master of the four famous places, Kalinjar, Khajuraho, Ajagarh and Mahoba, which are traditionally connected with the history of the Candellas. The Augasi and Mau inscriptions show his possession of the Banda and Jhansi districts and the neighbouring regions. As the former inscription was issued from Bhilsa and the Vāridurga grant records gifts of places within 50 miles of that place, it may be gathered that the Candella power had crossed the Betwa in the S.W. and advanced into the Paramāra territory in Malwa. This inference is confirmed by Verse 15 of the inscription No. 11, which tells us that 'the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated by Madanavarman'.¹ It is difficult to identify the *Mālaveśa* referred to in the verse. But he must have been one of the three Paramāra kings, Yaśovarman (A.D. 1134), Jayavarman, and Lakṣmīvarman (A.D. 1143),² who seem to have ruled during the reign of Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.). The success of the Candellas in this direction seems to have brought them into contact of the Caulukyās of Anahilapātaka. The Gujarat chronicles refer to wars between Madanavarman and Siddharāja Jayasīma. We know from the *Dvayātraya kāvyā* that Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) conquered Ujjain. According to the *Kirtikaumudī*, Siddharāja went from Dhārā to Kālāñjara. 'The account in the *Kumārapālacarita* suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace'.³ This agrees with the statement of a Kālāñjara stone inscription that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa'.⁴ The identification of the *Gurjareśa* of this passage with the Gurjar king Siddharāja is

¹ EI Vol. I p. 198.

² EI Vol. III, Appendix I B, p. 15. Nos. 14-16; also DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Paramāras.

³ BG Vol. I, Part I pp. 178-79.

⁴ JASB 1848 Vol. XVII Part I p. 318 line 14. The tradition that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gurjara is also recorded by the Hindu poet Chand see JA 1906, p. 114.

generally accepted ¹ In the west the discovery of the Panwar hoard of his coins may indicate the possession of that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. Expansion on this side again brought him into conflict with the Kalacuris This is proved by the claim made by the Mau stone-inscription that before his very name 'ever quickly flees the Cedi king, vanquished in fierce fight.' ² The defeated Cedi king may possibly be identified with Gayā-Karna (c 1151 A D), the son of Yaśaḥkarna (c 1073-1125 A D) In the north his relationship with the Gāhadavālas is indicated by the statement of the Mau inscription that through dread of him 'the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour' ³ The *Kāśināja* referred to in this passage is certainly the powerful king Govindacandra (c 1114-68 A D). In the south, though there is no reliable evidence to indicate the extent of Candella power, tradition seems to connect their power with territory as far south as the Bhanrer Range ⁴ It would therefore appear that the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand. Madanavarman had a long reign. The dates on his records show that he ruled at least for 34 years.

A Kalinjar inscription mentions the name of Pratāpavarman as that of his younger brother ⁵ According to the Bagharī stone-inscription of Paramardī, one Lāhada, born in the *gotra* of Vasiṣṭhi, was placed at the head of all his *Mantris* by Madanavarman ⁶ The Brāhman Gadādhara, who claims to have

¹ BG Vol I, Part I, p 178

² EI, Vol I, p 198, V 15

³ *Ibid*

⁴ JA 1908, p 144

⁵ JAS ', 1848, Vol XVII, Part I, p 318 line 15 Though the inscription distinctly refers to Pratāpavarman as *bhrātā kaniyān*, Vaidya wrongly represents him as 'his elder son,' see his *Downfall of Hindu India* 1923, p 183

EI, Vol I, p. 210, V 20.

served as the *Mantrimukhya* of Pṛthivīvarman, appears to have continued in office under his son. The Mau inscription of the latter tells us that, 'having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependence by applying the six expedients and so forth, each in due season, he made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella'.¹

In the Candella grants the name of Paramardī is usually placed after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet *tatpādānudhyāta*. In some of the stone inscriptions the names are so placed with the remark *athābhavat* (then came). From this it has been generally supposed that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramardī. But the introductory portion of the Bagharī stone inscription of the latter's reign mentions the name of Yaśovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardī. It is clear from this record that Yaśovarman was the son of the former and the father of the latter. It has been assumed that Yaśovarman predeceased his father.² But this inscription seems to describe him as having reigned. We are told

"As the moon, the crest jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers (*Maheśvara śiromani*), causing joy to the people

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas! turned grey".³

It is however significant that in the account of the ministers in the same inscription, the name of Yaśovarman is omitted. It would therefore seem that Yaśovarman may have had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardī. A hint of his untimely end is possibly contained in the second of the two verses quoted above. The absence

¹ *Ibid* p. 206 V 42.

² *IA* 1896 p 205 fn. 4; *Ibid* 1908 p 120

³ *HI* Vol. I, p. 212 Va. 8-9.

of Yaśovarman's name from his son's grants may probably indicate that the son's accession to the throne was not entirely peaceful. Instances in history are not rare where a grandson has tried to supersede his father. If Khusrau failed in the 17th century,¹ Paramardī may have succeeded in the 12th

Yaśovarman, if he reigned at all, must have been succeeded by his son Paramardī some time before V S 1223, the earliest recorded date of the latter. The following dates and records are known for the reign of Paramardī

(1) *Semra grant*—This was discovered 'at Semra, a village in the Bijawar state, Bundelkhand Agency, C I, and 9 miles west of Shahgarh, a police station in the Sagar district of the C P.' It consists of 124 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The middle plate alone is written on both sides. The plates are joined by a 'plain ring,' but at the top of the first plate there is a representation of Laksmī with four arms, seated on a lotus; above her shoulders stand two elephants with raised trunks. The language is mainly Sanskrit prose; but there are 'a good many Prākṛt or hybrid forms' in the names of the donees and the villages. The inscription begins with *Om svasti*, and then traces the genealogy of the donor from the family of the *Candrātreyā* princes, radiant through the appearance of such heroes as Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. In that family was *Pb -M -P -Prthvīvarmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M -P -Madanavarmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb -M -P -Paramamāheśvara-Kālañjarādhipati-Paramardideva*. Then follows a verse vaguely praising the donor's various good qualities. Next comes the main portion of the grant. We are told that the king when in the camp of Sonasara in (V.) *Samvat* 1223 (A.D. 1165) confirmed a grant made by his grandfather (*pitāmaha*) in (V) *Samvat* 1219 (A.D. 1162) to 309 Brāhmins who had 'emigrated from various *bhattāgrahāras* and belonged to various *gotras* and *pravaras* and were students of various

¹ *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1917, pp. 321 ff.

Vedic Śākhas The following villages were granted to the donees

(I) In the *Viśaya* of Vikaura (mod Beekore, 4-5 miles S W of Madanapura) (a) Khaṭauḍā dvādaśaka (mod Khutourea, S E of Beekore), (b) Tāṇṭa (?) dvādaśaka (c) Hāṭaṣṭadaśaka, (d) Sesayī grāma (mod Sajee?, S E of Khutourea)

(II) In the *Viśaya* of Dudhai (mod place of the same name, N Lat 24°26' and E Long 78°27') (a) Pihkhinī pañcela (b) Itāva pañcela (mod Etawa, N Lat 24°12' and E Long 78°16')

(III) In the *Viśaya* of Vaḍavāri (mod Berwara, N Lat 24°30 and E Long 78°41) (a) Isarahara pañcela (b) Uladana (mod Ooldana 7 miles N E of Madanpur) (c) Kakaradaha

Line 123 contains the king's signature. Then come the names of the writer, *Dharmalekhī* Pṛthivīdhara of the *Vāstavya* *varṇa*, and of the *pīṭalahāra* (brass worker) Pālhaṇa, who incised it.¹

✓ (2) *Mahoba image inscription*—This is incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue at Mahoba. The epigraph consists of 'one long line, and is incomplete. It records the dedications of the image in (V) *Samvat* 1224 (A D 1168), in the *pravardhamāna kalyāṇa vijayarājya* of Paramardī-deva.

(3) *Ichhawar grant*—This was found near the village of Ichhawar, in the Pailani Tahsil of Banda district, U P. It consists of 35 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. It opens with the same genealogical details as in the Semra grant (No 1), and records a gift by the king, from his residence

Edited by Cartellieri in *RI* Vol IV pp 153-70. The editor in two appendices has given a list of the names of the donees and their *gotras*; see *Ibid* pp. 170-74. The names are preceded by abbreviations of titles such as *Dvi*-*dvivedin*, *Tri* or *Ti*-*Trivedin*. Some of the titles such as *Ṭaṣṭakura* are still found amongst Brāhmanas; but *Rā* or *Rāṇa*—*Hājopatra* as a title of the Brāhmanas appears to be rare. The identifications of the places given above have been proposed by the editor. The grant is now in the Lucknow Museum.

¹ *ASR* Vol. XXI p. 71 plate XXIII B

at Vilāsapura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) *Samvat* 1228 (1171 A.D.). The village granted was named Nandinī (mod Nandandeo or Nundodeo, some 10 miles S.W. of Ichhawar?), and was situated in the Nandāvana-*viṣaya*. The donee was the Brāhman *Senāpati* Madanapāla Śarman, son of the *Thakkura* Maheśvara and grandson of the *Thakkura* Bhonapāla, an immigrant from the *bhattāgrahāra* Naugāva. The writer of the *Śāsana* was the *Kāyastha* Prthvīdhara, probably the same person who wrote the Semia grant. The engraver was also the same as in No (1) but in this plate he calls himself a *Śilpi* ¹

(4) *Mahoba grant* — This was discovered in the town of Mahoba (Hamirpur district, U P), in a stone chest about 30' below the surface. It contains 33 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. The plates were strung together by a ring having a seal, which is now broken. On the top of the first plate there is the usual figure of *Gaṇa-Lakṣmī*. The introductory portion of the grant is exactly the same as in Nos (1) and (3). It records the grant of some 'land measuring 60 square *vādhas* cultivable by five ploughs' in the village of Dhanaura (mod Dhanaura, 11 miles from Etich on the Betwa) in the *Viṣaya* of Eracha (mod Etich on the Betwa, 60 miles from Mahoba) to the Brāhman Ratna Śarman, an immigrant from Phaudva(?) *bhattāgrahāra*, by the *Candrātreya* king Paramardi, when he was resident at the village of Gahilū (mod. Gahuli, about 10 miles north of Dhanaura). The writer and engraver of the plate were the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). Pālhana describes himself here as a *Viṇṇānin* (skilful artist). The date of the grant is (V) *Samvat* 1230 (A. D. 1173) ²

(5) *Pachar grant* — This is said to have been dug up in the village of Pachar, 12 miles N E of the city of Jhansi. The

¹ V. A. Smith and Hoey first gave an account of the contents of the grant with a photolithograph in the *JASB*, 1895, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 155-58, properly edited by Kielborn from the photolithograph in *IA*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205-08. The plates were the property of Dr. Hoey in 1896.

² Edited by Hiralal in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 9-15.

inscription consists of 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a ring hole at the bottom of the plate, and at the top a 4 handed squatting figure of *Gaja Lakṣmī*. The introductory portion of the grant is nearly the same as in Nos (1), (3) and (4). It records a gift of some land in the village of Lauvā (mod Lewa, 3 miles west of Pachar) in the Viśaya of Karigavā (perhaps mod Kargawan, 9 miles N E of Pachar) to the *paṇḍita* Keśava Śarmaṇ, an immigrant from Mutāuṣa *bhaṭṭāgrahāra*. The grant was made by the king when he was resident in Vilāsapura¹ (probably mod village of Pachar) in (V) *Samvat* 1233 (A D 1176). The writer of the inscription was Subhānanda of the *Vāstavya varṇa*. It was engraved by the same as in (3). He describes himself as *Vaidagdhī Viśvakarmanā* (a master of art and craft), as in No (3).²

(6) *Madanpur stone inscriptions of Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja* — These were discovered by Cunningham on the pillars of a *mandapa* of an old temple in the village of Madanpur, 'situated at the mouth of the best and easiest pass leading from Sāgar to the north. The village is 24 miles to the S E of Dudahī, 35 miles to the S S E of Lahitpur and 30 miles to the north of Sāgar (Saugor). The inscription informs us that *Jeḍka-bhukti*, the country belonging to Paramardī, was devastated and plundered by Pṛthvirāja in (V) *Samvat* 1239 (A D 1182-83).³

(7) *Kalinjar rock inscription* — From rubbings of the inscription Kielhorn gives us only one line, containing the date, in his 'List of Northern Inscriptions, *Śrīmat-Paramarddī* [deva] vijayarājye (V) *Samvat* 1240 (A D 1184).⁴

(8) *Mahoba stone inscription* — This was found in 1843 'in the fort wall placed upside down as a common building

¹ See above, inscription No. 3 p. 715.

² Edited by A. Varia, *ibid* 1902-10, Vol. V pp 44-49. The plate is now in the Lucknow Museum.

³ *ASR* Vol. X, pp 98-99 Vol XXI pp 173-74; *ASI* WO 1904 p. 55.

⁴ *BI* Vol. V Appendix p 26, No. 178. To my knowledge it has not yet been edited.

stone It is broken at top and at both ends.' The original inscription consisted of 16 lines ; but it is so much damaged that it is not till we reach the 11th that the first complete verse is found The record refers to Suhila, born in the *Vāstavya* family, and probably mentions the building of a temple (*prāsāda*) The sculptor was Devalāja, son of Somarāja. The inscription is dated in (V) S 1240 (A D. 1184), but in the preserved portion there is no mention of the king's name. It is reported that the epigraph contains the name 'of Nānika the founder of the Candel dynasty' ¹

(9) *Ajgarh stone-inscription*.—This contains 8 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate of the fort It records that in (V) *Samvat* 1243 (A D 1187) *Raut Śrī-Sihada*, son of *Raut Sāntana* of the *Ksatriya* caste (*jāti*) belonging to the village of Kotia, established a *Cautra* in the *Jayapura-durga* for all people There is no king's name in the inscription ²

(10) *Baghari stone-inscription* —This was originally found in Singhanpur-Baghari, near Mahoba. The stone on which it is incised 'is broken right through from top to bottom.' It consists of 24 lines, and is in Sanskrit verse throughout The inscription begins with *Om om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya* Then follow two verses invoking Śauri (*Viṣṇu*). Next comes the usual genealogy of the *Candrātreyā* kings beginning from Atri and the Moon down to Paramardi. The only interesting point is that this portion of the inscription alone mentioned Paramardi's father Jayavarman, and describes him as an 'ornament of great rulers' Then we are given the genealogy of a

¹ *ASR*, Vol XXI, p 72, V A Smith, *PASB*, 1879, pp 143-44 The inscription has not yet been edited

² *ASR*, Vol XXI, p 50, plate XII, C There is another inscription in the same place dated in (V) *Samvat* 1227 (A D 1171), which records the building of a *bauli* (well) on the road during a famine for (the use of) all people in the *Jayapura durga* by *Rauta Vera*, a *Kṣatriya* (by caste) This inscription also does not mention the name of any king Cunningham read the date of this epigraph as 1237, see his *ASR*, Vol XXI, pp 49-50, Kielhorn corrected it to 1227 in *EI*, Vol V, *Appendix*, p 23, No 157 and fn 1 The letter ३ on the plate XII, A, however seems to support Cunningham's reading

family of Brāhmanas of the Vasiṣṭha *gotra* who served as officers of the Candella kings. The real founder of the line was Lakṣmīdhara, 'a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences'. His son was 'the chief of the twice-born *dhyaendra* Vatsa rūja'. His son Lāhada served as a *mantri* of king Madana. By his wife Prabhā he had a son named Sallakṣana 'through whom Paramardī deva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes'. His son was Puruṣottama, who when still a youth was appointed by the same king to be chief of his ministers (*saciveṣu mukhyabhāvaṃ*). The object of the inscription is to record that Sallakṣana built a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva. The second was left unfinished by him and was completed by his son Puruṣottama. The inscription was composed by the *Kavīndra* Devadhara, son of *Kavīcakravartī* Gadādhara, the *Saṃdhāna vīgraha mahā saciva* of Paramardī, and grandson of *Gauḍanvayaskatīlaka* Lakṣmīdhara. It is not impossible that this Lakṣmīdhara is identical with Lakṣmīdhara of the ministerial family. It was written by the *Bāla kavī* Dhar madhara, younger brother of Devadhara, and engraved by Mahārāja (?) 'who rouses the admiration of all *Śilpis* (artisans?)'. The inscription is dated in the last verse in the year of Vikrama counted by the wings (2) the faces of the three eyed (*Pañcānana*), (5) and the Ādityas (12), i.e. 1252 (A.D. 1195).¹

(11) *Kalinjar stone inscription*—This is incised on a large black stone, inside the temple of Nīlakanṭha at Kalinjar. It consists of 32 lines and opens with *Namah Śivāya*. The first 24 lines 'contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvatī'. The remaining portions are devoted to the

¹ First noticed by Cunningham *ASB* Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 52. It was then published by Hultzsch in *ZDMG* Vol. XL, pp. 51-53. Next Kielhorn edited it in *BI* Vol. I pp. 207-14 under the name *Balaṣṭar stone inscription*. But in fn. 2, p. 207 he expressed the opinion that this inscription was possibly the same as the one noticed above by Cunningham as found on the bank of a lake at Baghari. In a note (fn. 1 p. 168 *JASB* 1895 Vol. XLIV Part I) V. A. Smith and Hoey confirmed this suspicion that the label attributing the stone to B. Jēvar in the Agra district is wrong and that there can be no doubt that it was really found at Baghari.

vague praise of Paramardī. In line 27 this prince is described as *Daśārnādhnātha*. In line 28 he is called 'a guide in the mysteries of amorous and heroic sentiments' (*Śingāra-vīra-vratācārya*). Next we are told that king Paramardī 'himself composed with his innate faith this eulogy of Puṣān (*Śiva*)'. It was written and inscribed by Padma, a favourite of king Paramardī, and his younger brother Deoka. The date of the inscription is Monday, the 10th Kārtika Sudi of (V) *Samvat* 1258 (i.e., Monday, 8th October, A.D. 1201).¹

(12) *Coins*.—Only one *dramma* (61.4 grains) of base gold has so far been discovered for his reign. It is of the usual Candella type, and is reported to have been discovered in Khajuraho.²

The distribution of these records shows that Paramardī's dominions extended over nearly the whole of the triangle which roughly indicated the territories of his father. The Candella inscriptions mention no political incidents in his reign. Tradition recorded in the *Prthvīnāj-Rāso* of Cand Baidāi³ however informs us that he was on hostile terms with the famous Cāhamāna ruler Prthvīnāja. *The Mahobā-Khanda*⁴ gives a detailed account of these struggles between the Cāhamānas and the Candellas. Though ably assisted by two famous heroes of the Banāphai clan, the brothers Alha and Udal, and by Jayaccandīa (Jalcand), the Gāhadavāla ruler, Paramardī (Pararmāl, Parimā-ladeva), we are told, was severely defeated in a series of engagements by the Cāhamāna prince. The first battle was fought near

1 The record was first published in *JASB*, 1848, Vol. XVII, pp. 313-17, as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. In 1894-85, Cunningham noticed it in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38. He corrected the reading of the date which was given in the above account as *Samvat* 1293. Kielhorn gave the accurate date in the *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 152. I think *Daśārṇa* of this inscription should be taken as Western *Daśārṇa*, which is identified with Eastern Malwa (capital Bhilsa), *GDI*, p. 54. It was from this city that the Agasī grant of his father was issued. His Semra grant shows that he held territory close to Eastern Malwa.

2 *JASB*, 1889, Part I, p. 30. *CCIM*, Vol. I, p. 253.

3 Edited by Mohanlal Vishnupal Pandia and Syam Sunder Das, Benares, 1913.

4 Pp. 2507-2615.

Siṣargaḍh on the banks of the Pahuḥ, a tributary of the Sind¹ According to Cand, Pṛthvirāja (Prithirāj) then captured Mahoba, plundered Kālañjara, and left for Delhi, after placing the former place in charge of Pajjunrāj

In its present state, the work of Cand certainly contains much unhistorical matter. But the authenticity of his account of the hostility between Pṛthvirāja and Paramardī is borne out by the two Madanpur inscriptions referred to above (No. 6), which distinctly refer to the devastation of the territories of the latter by the former in about 1182-83 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Jayccandra may have really assisted the Candellas in their struggles, for the Mau inscription indicates friendly relations between Paramardī's grandfather and the Gahaḍavālas. There is at present no definite means to find out how long the Cāhamānas retained their hold on the western portion of the Candella territory, but if the title *Daśārnādhīpati* given to Paramardī in one of his Kālinjar inscriptions is not a mere boast, he may have recovered a substantial portion of his territories some time before A.D. 1201. But before he could consolidate his position, his territories were again invaded by a more formidable foe. The *Tāj ul Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Nizāmī (1205-17 A.D.) gives the following account of the conflict of Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak with 'the accursed Parmār the Rāi of Kālinjar

"In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutub ud Dīn proceeded to the investment of Kālinjar on which expedition he was accompanied by Sahib Kirān, Shamsu d dīn Altamash. 'The accursed Parmār the Rāi of Kālinjar fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection, round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestors had experienced from Mahmūd Subuktigīn, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements

ments. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. 'On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction came out of the fort and by compulsion left their native place empty,' 'and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being so strong as the wall of Alexander,' was taken 'The temples were converted into mosques, and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculation of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated' 'Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became as pitch with Hindus.' Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors 'The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kālinjar was conferred on Hazabbayū-d-dīn Hasan Ainal' ¹

The account of Firishta² agrees in essentials with that of Hasan Nizāmī, and only differs in the manner of the Hindu prince's death. According to Firishta, when the Raja, being hard pressed, offered to submit to the Delhi Sultan, his minister 'who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing' But as the contemporary *Tāj ul-Ma'āthi* distinctly says that Parmār (Paramardi) died a natural death, we are perhaps justified in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication³ According to both Hasan Nizāmī and Firishta, after the

¹ Elliot, Vol II, pp 281-32 In the MS of the work in the London School of Oriental Studies (W 18967) the name of the king is not mentioned It says "but during the negotiations by the heavenly decrees and the conjunction of the stars, the soul bud of that accursed fell into the snare of death" The Dīwān's office is spelt as مهی (in Elliot) and his name as اخدير (in Elliot اجدیر)

² Briggs' Trans, Vol I, p 197

³ According to the *Prthvirāj-Rāso* 'Parmar after his defeat by Rājā Prthirāj, retired to Gaya, and died there,' see *JASB*, 1881, Part I, p 29

fall of Kalinjar Qutb ud-Din marched to Mahoba and 'subdued it'. From the fact that the latter authority describes Mahoba as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpi (کالپی)', it may probably be concluded that that city and the surrounding regions were no longer a part of the Candella dominions.

According to the *Prthvirāj Rāso*, Samarjit, a son of Parmāl, with the help of Narsimha, an officer of Rājā Jaicand of Kanauj captured Mahoba from Pajjun Rāy, the *Thānāpati* of Prthvirāja, and ruled over the whole territory between Kalinjar and Gaya. He was ultimately killed by Binae ud Din, a Musalman.¹ It has been suggested that the name Binae ud Din may be a mistake for Bahā-ud Din (Tughril) who was placed in charge of Rājyana in 1196 A.D. by Muhammad Ghūrī.² According to Rājyana, this officer became for some time the head of an independent state in Central India after the death of Qutb ud Din in 1220 A.D.³ It is very doubtful whether there is any basis of fact in

the exploits of Samarjit. The genealogical lists in the Candella inscriptions do not contain the name of this son of Paramardī. On the contrary, they seem to mention Trailokyavarman as his immediate successor. The recently discovered Garra grant describes Trailokyavarman as meditating on the feet of Paramardī and as its date (V S 1261 = A.D. 1205) is only removed from the death of Paramardī (599 A.H. = A.D. 1202) by a short period of 3 years, it is likely that he directly succeeded his father. The distribution of the find spots of his inscriptions also appears to support this conclusion. The following dates and records are referred to his reign.

(1) *Garra grant* (a) — This was 'found in a tank near the village of Garra, to the south east of Chattarpur, capital of the Indian state of the same name in Bundelkhand'.⁴ It consists of 16 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a small

¹ JASB 1881 Part I pp. 20-31. Binae ud Din is probably بنو الدین (Bina ud Din).

² TP Briggs Trans. Vol. I p. 198; IA 1909 p. 148 fn. 50.

³ NA p. 57.

ring-hole at the top of the plate and below this is engraved 'a seated figure of the goddess *Laksmī* with four arms, the upper two holding lotuses' The inscription begins with *Om svasti*, and then follows the genealogy of the donor from the lineage of the *Candrātreya* sovereigns, 'resplendent with the birth of *Jayaśakti* and *Vijayaśakti*.' In that family was *Pb.-M.-P.-Madanavarmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramardideva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara Kālāñjarādhīpati-Trailokyavarmadeva* In lines 7-11 the grant records the gift by way of maintenance for death (*mṛtyukavṛttau.*) of *Kādohā-grāma* (mod. Kadoa in N. Lat. 24°48' and E. Long. 79°52' just south of Garra, in Chhatarpur State), in the *Visaya* of *Paniuli* (possibly mod. Panna, in N. Lat. 24°43' and E. Long. 80°16', capital of the Indian State of the same name) in (*V*) *Samvat* 1261 (A. D. 1205) to *Rāuta Sāmanta* (or *Sāvanta*) of the *Bhāradvāja gotra*, son of *Rāuta Pāpe*, who was killed at *Kakadādaha*,¹ in a battle with the *Turuskas* (Turks). The grant was made by the king when he was encamped at the village of *Vadavāda* (mod. Bedwara in N. Lat. 24°30' and E. Long. 78°41' in Lalitpur subdivision of Jhansi district).²

(2) *Garra grant (b)*.—This inscription was found with (1) It contains 17 lines and is 'almost identical' with the above. It grants to the same donee the village of *Lohasihāni* (may be mod. *Lohāni* in the Bijawar State, in N. Lat. 24°23' and E. Long. 79°12'), in the *Visaya* of *Vikrauni*(?). The donor, year of the grant and the object of the gift are the same.³

¹ Mod. *Kakadwa* in N. Lat. 24°28' and E. Long. 78°42', a little to the S. E. of *Bedwara*

² Edited by K. N. Dikshit in *EI*, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-77. The grant is now in Lucknow Museum. Is the donee of the grant the same *Sāvanta* who acquired the *Rewah grant (a)*? See *infra*, p. 725, inscription No. (4) *Kakadādaha* of our plate again seems to be the same as *Kakaradaha* of the *Semra grant* of *Paramardi*. Dr. Barnett suggests that *Mṛtyuka vṛtti* is a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kanarese is styled *nettar-goḍage*, 'blood-gift'.

³ *Ibid*, now in the Lucknow Museum

(3) *Ajaigarh stone inscription* — This was found near the tank of Patal sar at Ajaigarh. It consists of 6 lines and gives the date (V) *Samvat* 1269 (A D 1212), in the reign of *Rāja Śrī Trailokyavarman deva* ¹

(4) *Rewa grant (a)* — This was found in 1884-85 in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. It contains 55 lines, 'on two plates of which the first is inscribed on one side only. There is no ring hole or emblem engraved on the plates. The inscription begins with *Oṃ siddhiḥ*, followed by 3 verses in honour of Brahman, Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) and Tryambaka (Śiva) of which the last is taken from the introduction to *Bāṇa's Kādambarī*. In lines 4-7 we have *Pb M P Paramamāheśvara Vāmadeva pādānudhyāta Pb M P Paramamāheśvara Tṛkalīṅgādhipati-nija bhūjo pārjita Aśvapati gajapati narapati rājatrāyādhipati*-Trailokyavarmanadeva *kalyāṇa vijaya-rājya*. In lines 7-28 we are given the following genealogy of the *Mahārānaka* Kumārapāla of the town of Kakareḍikā ² of the Kaurava *vaṇśa*.

In the abovementioned town and family

- | | |
|--------|--|
| (i) | <i>Paramamāheśvara-Mahārānaka Dāhilla</i> |
| (ii) | <i>Rājyapāla Durjaya</i> |
| (iii) | <i>Mahārānaka Shojavarman</i> ³ |
| (iv) | <i>Sivapadānurakta</i> Jayavarman |
| (v) | Vatsarāja |
| (vi) | Balasapavarman (i.e. Sallakṣapa) |
| (vii) | Harirāja |
| (viii) | Kumārapāla. |

In lines 28-36 Kumārapāla who 'it may be assumed, owed allegiance to Trailokyavarman, grants the village of Rehi in the

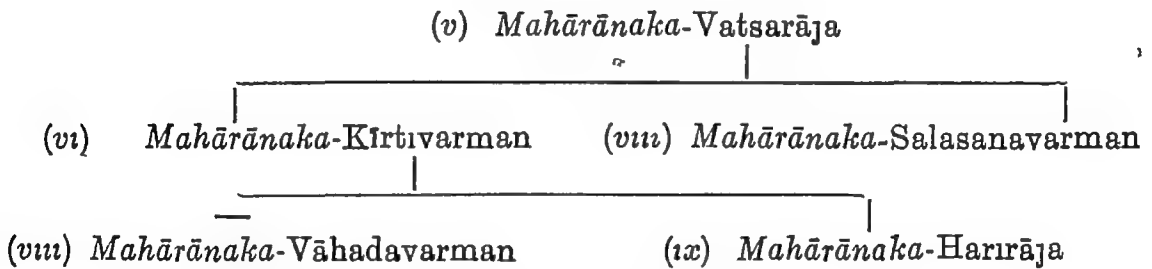
¹ Noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR* Vol. XXI p 50 and plate XII D. It has not yet been edited.

² Mod. Kakrerī in N. Lat. 21°50' and E. Long 81°17' at the head of the Mamani Ghat leading westwards towards Banda, Kalinjar and Mahoba.

³ Dr. Barnett suggests Bhojavarman.

Vadharā-Pattalā to Rāuta Sānge and 5 other Rāutas (names given). The date of the grant is (V) *Samvat* 1237 (A D 1240). The *tāmra* was drawn up by the Kāyastha Muktasimha, 'by whom the reign of the child-prince was made a prosperous one and his fame spotless.' It was written by Mālādhara, engraved by the Śilpis Jayasimha and Pratāpasimha, and acquired (*upārjṇām*) by Rāuta Sāvanta¹

(5) *Rewa grant (b)* — This was found with the inscription No. (4) in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. The number and arrangement of the plates are the same. It contains 48 lines, and begins with the same verses in honour of the same gods. In lines 4-5 it refers itself to the victorious reign of *Paramabhattaraketyādī-ājāvalī-tray-opeta-mahārāja Śrī-Trailokyamalla* (Trailokyamalla). In lines 5-18 the inscription gives the same genealogical list of the *Mahārājakas* of Kakaredikā from Dhāhilla to Vatsarāja. Lines 18-29 furnish the following additional details.



In lines 29-36 No (ix) records the grant of the village of Agaseyi, in the Vadharā-pattalā to the Rāuta Sānge and four other Rāutas (names given) in (V) *Samvat* 1298 (A D. 1241). In lines 45-48 we are told that the *tāmra* was written by the

¹ This grant, together with 3 other Rewah copperplates were noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol XXI, pp 142-48. They are denoted by him by the letters A, B, C and D. This grant is marked by the letter C. Kielhorn next edited it in the *IA*, Vol XVII, pp 224 and 230-34. Following Cunningham, Kielhorn rightly identified the Trailokyavarman of this grant with the Candella prince of that name. As the name Vāmadeva first occurs in the two Kalacuri grants (A and B) dated in A D 1175 and 1195, and has been simply transferred to the Candella plate, together with the titles of the Cedi princes, we shall discuss the question of its appearance in our chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuris), see *infra*.

Karanika Thakkura Udayasimha, born in the family of *Mahā thakkura Dhāreśvara* and engraved by the son of *Kūkeri* and the grandson of *Dānge* the worker in iron (*ayashāra*)¹

These inscriptions show that 'the history of the Candel dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India' did not end with the death of *Paramardi*.² The Garra grants show that his son *Trailokyavarman* was in possession of villages and townships which were scattered all over the region now occupied by the States of Chhatarpur, Bijawar, and Panna in O I, and the Lalitpur sub-division of Jhansi district, U P. It is not unlikely that in the battle with the *Turuṣkas* at *Kakadāda*, in which the father of the donee of the Garra grants lost his life, *Trailokyavarman* proved victorious and recovered his 'ancestral stronghold of *Kālāñjara*. That his assumption of the title of *Kālāñjarādhipati* was not an idle boast like that of the *Kalacuris* of *Kalyani*³ is perhaps indicated by the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. We are told by this authority that *Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn Tāi shī* was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhīṣṇah and *Sulṭān Koṭ* together with the superintendency (شعبي) of *Gwāhyūr* by 'Sulṭān I yal tīmish'. 'In the year 631 H (A D 1233) he accordingly led an army from *Gwāhyūr* towards the *Kālñjar* country, and the *Rāe* of *Kālñjar* fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down

¹ This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his *ASB* Vol. XXI p. 148, C. Kiel born next edited II in the *IA* Vol. XVII pp. 224 and 234-36. As the date of this grant is only one year later than inscription No. (4) he following Cunningham rightly identified *Trailokyamalla* of these plates with the *Trailokyavarman* of No. (4). The names of the donees with one exception are the same in both the grants. The name of the *pattalā* in which the villages granted in the two grants were situated is also the same.

² *IA* 1908 p. 148. In the *OHI* Vol. III p. 514 Sir W. Hail following V. A. Smith says: 'After the death of *Paramardi* the Candels, as an important dynasty disappeared and the tribes dispersed etc.'

³ *BG* Vol. I Part II, p. 469

at twenty-five *lakhs*.'¹ There is possibly some exaggeration in this account of Tāi-shī's success against the 'Rāe of Kālīnjar,' but the fact remains that that fort and the surrounding country had again passed under the control of the Hindu chiefs. As the dates on the inscriptions of Trailokyavarman range from 1205 to 1241 A D, it is almost certain that the 'Rāe of Kālīnjar' defeated by Tāi-shī was this Candella prince. At present there is no means of knowing the exact date when the fort was lost by the Sultans of Delhi. It must have passed into Hindu possession some time between 1203 and 1233. It is possible that Trailokyavarman may have recovered Kālāñjara soon after the battle of Kakadādaha, which was fought some time before 1205 A D.

In connection with his success in stemming the tide of Musalman invasions in Jejāka-bhukti, it is interesting to notice that the Ajaigarh stone-inscription of Vīravarman (V. S. 1317-A D 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Viṣṇu, 'in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of the Turuskas.'² Both the Musalman and Hindu records are silent about the details of this struggle. But the fact that the above-mentioned inscription calls Trailokyavarman 'a very creator in providing strong places' (*durggapiavidhāna-vedhāh*) may possibly contain a hint of the system of warfare followed by the Candella prince.³

The Rewa grants (Nos. 4 and 5) show that the Candella power in the west not only held its own in Baghelkhand, but had extended itself at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have already suggested that the discovery of the Panwai hoard of coins of Madanavarman probably indicates an extension of Candella power

¹ Trans by Raverty, Vol I, pp 732-33. The facts contained in this passage were known to Cunningham (*ASR*, Vol XXI, p 87), but he did not indicate his source of information. On the Turkish title *Tāi-shī*, which is sometimes written *Tā-Yasa'i*, see *ibid*, Raverty's note in his 'Additional Notes and Emendations,' P LIV, on p 633.

² *EI*, Vol I, p 329, V 7.

³ *Ibid*.

into that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. But the two Rewa grants of the time of Kalacuri Jayasimha and Vijayadeva dated in (Cedi) *Satvat* 926 (A D 1175) and (V) *Satvat* 1258 (A D 1195)¹ show that some portion of this region had again passed under the control of the Kalacuris. The *Mahārānakas* Kirtivarman and his brother Salaṣaṇavarman of Kakkareḍikā appear in the two above grants as feudatories of the Kalacuri princes Jayasimha (c 1175-77 A D) and his son Vijayasimha (c 1180-95 A D). It is not unlikely therefore that during the disastrous reign of Paramardī (c 1167-1202 A D) the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans Kaimur region from the Candellas. If this was so the Rewa grants of the time of Trailokyavarman show that he succeeded in regaining this region some time before 1239². There is therefore ample evidence to indicate that Trailokyavarman was not a mere petty local chieftain of Ajagarh. His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east. It is difficult to know how far his authority extended in the north. But the discovery of his copper *dramma* in the Banda district may possibly supply some indication on the point. Gold *drammas* of Trailokya varman are also known, but their find spots are unfortunately not recorded³. In the south his territory may have extended up to 24° Latitude. The Garra plates record grants of land some of which are situated not very far from that region.

¹ IA Vol. XVII pp 224-30

² A puzzling fact about the two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumārapāla is dated in 1210 that of his father Harirāja is dated in 1211 A. D. The grant of the son however shows that his father was already a *Mahārājaka* before 1210. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumārapāla when still a child was made king through the machinations of the *Kāyastika* Muktasimha who poses as a king maker in the grant of Kumārapāla. Harirāja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child-son. The abdication of the Kashmirian king Ananta in 1083 A. D. through the influence of his wife Sūryamati, in favour of her son Kalāśa and the resumption of the regal functions by Ananta shortly after Kalāśa's coronation may serve as a parallel incident in the history of this period. See *DUNI* Vol. I. *Dynastic History of Kashmir* pp. 142 ff.

³ IA 1903, p. 148; *OGIM* p. 253.

Trailokyavarman ruled for at least 36 years (c. 1205-41 A. D.). But as his earliest date is separated only by 3 years from the death of his father, and as the distribution of his records shows that he ruled practically over the whole of the Candella territories, it is very likely that his reign began from the death of his father in 1202 A. D. In that case Cand's Samajit must be regarded as a figment of imagination.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mentions the names of some of the officers of Trailokyavarman.¹ One of these was Vāse or Vāseka, of the *Vāstavya* Kāyastha family, who was appointed *Viśisa*² of Jayadurga, and endowed with the village of Vaibhara by Trailokyavarman. In V 19 of this record we are told that 'the wise Vāseka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.' V 22 of the same record tells us that Ānanda, Vāseka's younger brother, was appointed governor of the fort (of Jayadurga) and 'reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhallas, Śabarās and Pulindas.' Probably Trailokyavarman owed to these two officers much of his success against internal and external foes.

Trailokyavarman was succeeded by his son Vīravarman³ some time after V. S. 1298 (A. D. 1241), and before V. S. 1317 (A. D. 1261), the first recorded date of his son. There is some evidence to show that he may have continued to rule even up to 1247 A. D. The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* refers to a Rāna (رانا برد) who was called *Dalakī wa Malakī* (دلکی و ملکی), who ruled in the mountainous tract not far from Kara (Allahabad district, U. P.) 'He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. We are told that in 645 A. H. (1247 A. D.),

¹ EI, Vol. I, p. 337

² *Viśisa* = to distinguish

³ *Ibid.*, p. 327, V. 8

in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn, Ulugh Khān ravaged all these territories and obtained great booty¹. According to Firishta, this prince resided at Kalinjar. He had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kara². It was observed by Briggs that there must be some mistake in the name *Dalakī wa Malakī*. Cunningham suggested that this name has 'been made out of the one long name, *Tilakī Wama Deo* (تکي و مديد) which in Persian characters might easily be misread as *Tilakī Wa Milakī* (تکي و ملي), and which may be further corrupted into *Dalakī Wa Malakī*³. The strangeness of the name *Dalakī wa Malakī* and the fact that he lived in Kālāñjara seem to indicate that Cunningham may be right in identifying him with the Candella Trailokyavarman. If his guess is accepted, the reign of Vīravarma could not have begun before 1247 A.D. The following dates and records are so far known for the reign of Vīravarma.

(1) *Ajaigarh rock inscription*—In 1883-85, Cunningham found this inscription 'engraved on a rock, with a crack dividing it into two portions at Ajaigarh. It contains 15 lines, and opens with *Om om siddhi*. Next follows a verse invoking *Gaṅgā*. Then comes a list of the later Candellas from Kīrtivarman down to Vīra(varman). Next follows the genealogy of Kalyāṇadevī, who became the chief queen of King Vīra

In the *Dadhici vamsā*

	Cādala	an object of reverence for
		the Kāntriyas
Kṣitipāla Govindarāja	Sripāla	who was brave as it were
		incarnate.
Vesaladevī (?) = Mahasvara		revered even by the crowned
		heads valiant like a bull
Kalyāṇadevī = King Vīra		

¹ Trans. by Raverty Vol. I pp. 680-83 and fn. 9 on p. 680 and no. 5 on p. 682. Elliot, Vol. II p. 348.

² Trans. by Briggs Vol. I p. 37. Raverty has pointed out that Briggs' translation is defective here. Firishta does not mention anything whatever of two rājās, as rendered by Briggs, 'the Rājās Dulky and Mulky'; but on the other hand a rājā; see also Elliot Vol. II p. 348 fn. 1.

³ ASR Vol. I p. 457

The object of the inscription is to record (Vs. 18-20) that this Kalyānadevī built a well with perennial water (*nirjara-kūpa*) at 'this spot' which is 'guarded by the arms of strong men (?)', a hall for the supply of its water (?) and a tank at Nāndīpura. The *praśasti* was composed by Ratnapāla, son of Kavi Haripāla, and engraved by Rāma in the *Vikrama vatsara* 'measured by the seas (7), the moon (1), the fires (3) and the moon (1), i.e. V.S. 1317. In the last line we are told that the inscription was made in (V.) S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), during the office of (*vyāpāre*) Jetana in the reign of Vīravaiṃan¹

(3) *Jhansi stone-inscription*.—Kielhorn noticed this inscription from a rubbing supplied by Burgess. It is dated, in line 19, (V) *Samvat* 1318 (A.D. 1262), and belongs to the reign of Candella Vīravarman (?)²

(3) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription*.—This consists of only 3 lines, incised on the wall of a temple at Ajaigarh. It records the 'adoration to Iśvara of one Abhayadeva, the son of Aśvavardya Thah Bhojūka in the reign of Vīravarman, in (V.) *Samvat* 1325 (A.D. 1268).³

(4) *Ajaigarh rock-inscription*.—This consists of 21 lines incised on a 'rock near the figure of a Ganes'. According to Cunningham 'this inscription gives the genealogy of the Candella Rajas from Kirtti Vaimma down to Vira Varmma'. It is dated both in words [sea (7), fire (3), Veda (3) and moon (1)] and in figures in 1337 (V.) *Samvat* (A.D. 1281). 'The

¹ The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIII. The 'substance of the inscription as read by a Simla Pandit' gives the date wrongly as S. 1312. The record was properly edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 325-30. This scholar took Nāndīpura of this inscription to be another name of Jayadurga or Ajaigarh. Cunningham suggested that the *Kṣitipāla* Govindarāja, the maternal grandfather of Kalyānadevī 'may perhaps have been the Raja of Nalapura, or Narwar, the predecessor of the famous Chāhaḍadeva, the gallant opponent of the Mahomedans'.

² *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 227. It has not yet been edited. It is now in the Lucknow Museum.

³ *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 51, plate XIV, F. Kielhorn has suggested the identification of this Bhojūka with the Bhojūka who was killed by Vāśeka in the reign of Trailokyavarman, see *EI*, Vol. I, p. 333, also *DHNI*, *supra*, p. 729.

inscription as explained by a Simla Pandit, records the setting up of a statue of Vināyaka (Ganesa) by Ganapati, the minister of Virā Varmma.¹

(5) *Dahi grant*.—This copper-plate was discovered in Dahi '4½ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand. The grant in its formal portion opens with the usual praise of the family of 'the Candrātreyā princes rendered illustrious by Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti and others. Then it traces the genealogy of the donor from Madanavarman downwards. It next records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallāya, 'an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery in (V) Śamvat 1237 (A.D. 1281). The donee is said to have conquered the lord of Narwar (*Nalapura pati*), Gopāla the ruler of Mathurā (*Madhuvanakādhipa* ?) and Harirāja of Gwahor (Gopagiri).'²

(6) *Gurha Sati stone inscription*.—This is dated in line 1 in (V) Śamvat 1342 (A.D. 1286) in the reign of Viravarman deva.³

(7) *Kalinjar stone inscription*.—This fragmentary epigraph seems to give the Candella genealogy from Vijayapāla to Viravarman. In V 25 it seems to record the construction of various temples, gardens, and ponds by the latter.⁴

¹ *Ibid* p. 52 plate XIV G. The inscription has not yet been edited properly. In including this record in the list of northern inscriptions Kielhorn has placed a ? after the name of Viravarman: see *BI* Vol. V Appendix p. 34 No. 230.

² *ASB* Vol. XXI pp. 74-76. It has never been properly edited. It was obtained by Col. Ellis in 1848 from Dahi but now its whereabouts are unknown.

³ Noticed by Kielhorn *ibid* p. 35 No. 212. Gurha is probably the capital of the petty State of that name in the C. I. Agency under the Resident at Gwalior.

⁴ This inscription was first published in 1848 in *JASB* Vol. XVII, Part I pp. 317-20 as an appendix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASB* Vol. XXI p. 39. It has not yet been properly edited. Kielhorn noticed another Kalinjar inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess in *BI* Vol. V Appendix p. 35 No. 241. In line 3 it gives the date (V) Śam. 1340 (A.D. 1283); but unfortunately it does not mention the name of the king. Cunningham noticed another stone inscription at Ajaigarh which is dated in 1379 *V S* (1315 A.D.) in the reign of Viravarman. As the earliest inscription of the successor of Viravarman is dated in *V S* 1345 he assumed the existence of a second king of that name. But it is more likely that there is some mistake in the reading of the date or the name of the king; see *ASB* Vol. XXI p. 51.

The distribution of these records show that Vīravaiṃan was still the ruler of a considerable portion of his ancestral territories. The known dates of his records extend over a period of at least 25 years (A D 1261-1286), and as the Muhammadan chronicles at this time claim no decisive victories over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, it is likely that he was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories. The Gurha inscription shows his hold over the land between the Sindh and the Betwa, and it is not impossible that he may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior, and Muttra (?). A gold dharma of this king, which is unique, was discovered in Khajraho.¹

Vīravaiṃan was probably succeeded by Bhojavaiṃan some time before V S. 1365 (A.D. 1288). The following records and coins are referred to his reign.

(1) *Ajaigarh rock inscription*.—This consists of 16 lines, incised on a rock near the 'Tarhaonī' or 'Tirhawan' gate of the fort of Ajaigarh. The record opens with *Om namah Kedārāya*; then follows a verse in adoration of Śiva. It then praised the *Vāstavya* Kāyasthas of the town of Takkārīkā. Various persons of this family served under the Candella kings. One of these, Vāśe, was appointed *Viśiṣa* of Jayapura by king Trailokya-vaiṃan.² His younger brother Ānanda had a son named Rucna. Rucna had 3 sons, viz., Gopatī, Mahīpāla, and Subhata of whom the last was a *Saciva* and the Superintendent of treasury (*Kośādhikārādhipatī*) of king Bhojavaiṃan. The immediate object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (*devālaya*) by Subhata. 'The inscription closes rather abruptly and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated.'³

(2) *Ajaigarh stone-inscription* —This opens with verses

¹ Described by Hoernle in *J ISB*, 1889, Vol LVIII, Part I, p 34. See also *CCIM*, Vol I, p 254.

² See *DHNI*, *supra*, p 729.

³ Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol I, pp 330-38.

invoking Viṣṇu under various names, such as Murāri, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma, etc. In V 24 one Nāna is said to have served as *Saciva* of the *Candrātreyā* kings. In V 25 he is mentioned as serving king Bhojavarman. The inscription was composed by Amara, and appears to record that this Nāna, 'caused an image of Hari to be placed at the celebrated fort of Jayadurga (Ajaigarh)' The date (V) S 1345 (A D 1288) is given in V 37¹

It seems reasonable to conclude from these two inscriptions that Bhojavarman succeeded Viravarman at least in the territory around the fort of Ajaigarh. There is however some reason to believe that the Candellas continued in possession of Kalinjar till the 16th century. Recently Rai Bahadur Hirālāl drew attention to a *Satī* record in the village of Bamhni of the Damoh district, C P. It runs as follows: *Paramabhe-ṭārakenādhirājavalītrayopeta Kālīñjarādhipati Śrīmad Ham mīravarma-devah vijayarājye Samvat 1365 samaye Mahārāja putra Śrī Vāghadeva bhujyamāne* ² This record shows that about A D 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a *Mahārājaputra*, Vāghadeva, under the sovereignty of Hammīradeva. Two other *Satī* records of the time of Vāghadeva are known, dated in (V) S 1361 and 1362³. In the former, which was discovered in Patan, in Jubbulpore district, he is described as a Pratihāra chief. It is quite likely that this Hammīradeva was a Candella and a successor of Bhojavarman. If this is accepted the Candellas in the beginning of the 14th century were still the rulers of a considerable portion of their former dominions. But the discovery of a *Satī* record at Salaiya, 3 miles from Bamhni, dated in (V) *Samvat* 1366 (A D 1309) in the reign of

¹ Edited by Prinsep in *JASB* 1837 Vol. VI Part I pp 881-87 plate XLVIII. The record is now in the Indian Museum Calcutta and ought to be properly edited.

² *BI* Vol. XVI p. 10 fn. 4. The writer of the inscription *Pam[ṭita]* Jaipāla apparently was no great Sanskrit scholar.

³ *Ibid* p. 11 and fns. 1 and 2.

Alayadīna Sutānā (Sultan 'Alā ud-Dīn)¹ shows that Vāghadeva's reign probably terminated between 1308 and 1309 A.D. The armies of 'Alā ud-Dīn were at this time marching to the Deccan, and he may have established a base in Bundelkhand, reducing the power of the Candellas to some of their inaccessible forts. Though the Muslims attacked the fort of Kalinjar several times during the period c 1240-1540 A.D.,² there is no decisive evidence to show that the Candellas were permanently driven out of Kalinjar; and there may be some truth in the suggestion that Kīrat Singh, the Raja of Kalinjar who opposed Sher Shah in 1544 in A.D., was a Candella.³ The Candella princess Durgāvatī, who married Rājā Dalpat Sā of Garha-Mandla about the year 1545 A.D. and was killed in 1564 gallantly fighting against Akbar, may have been a daughter of this Kīrat Rāi of Kalinjar.⁴

¹ *EI*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2

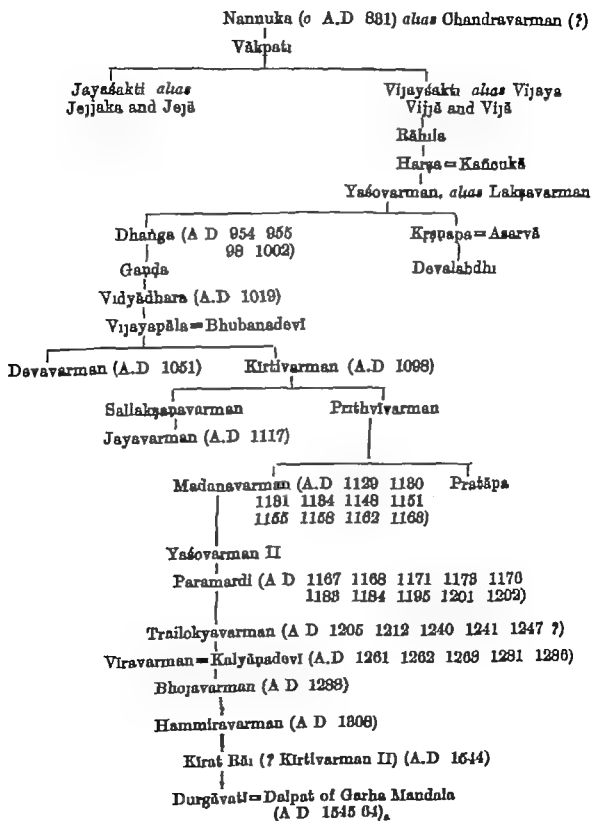
² *IGI*, Vol. XIV, 1908, p. 312, *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 247.

³ *IA*, 1908, p. 146

⁴ According to tradition she was the daughter of the Candella ruler of Mahoba, but see *JASB*, 1881, Vol. L, p. 42. Was the full name of Kīrat Rāi, Kīrti[varman] ?

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates Approximate)



BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, by Cunningham, Vols. II, X and XXI
2. *Contributions to the History of Bundelkhand*, by V. A. Smith, *JASB*, 1881, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 1-53
3. *The History and Coinage of the Chandel (Chandella) Dynasty of Bundelkhand (Jejakabhukti)*, by the same, *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 114-48.
4. *Al-Ta'rīkh ul-Kāmil* of Ibn ul-Athn̄, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX. Also edited by Toimberg
5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām ud-Dīn, Translated by B. Dey (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 1913.
6. *Ta'rīkh-i-Fuṣṣṭa*, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, London, 1827
7. *Kitāb-i-Yamīnī*, Trans. from the Persian version by J. Reynolds, London
8. *Tāj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Nizāmī. Extracts Translated in *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 204-43
9. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Translated by Raverty, Vol. I, 1881.
10. *Kitāb Zainul Akhbār* of Abū Sa'id 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy b. ad-Dahhak b. Mahmūd Gardīzi (c. 440 A. H.). Ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Berlin, 1928.
11. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vols. I and II
12. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, by Edward Thomas, 1871.
13. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, by Cunningham.
14. *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kīṣṇa Miśra. Text Edited in the Nirnayāsāgar Press, Bombay. Translation into English by J. Taylor, London, 1862.
15. *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, by Muḥammad Nāzīm, Cambridge, 1931.

CHAPTER XII

HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Haihayas¹ according to Epic and Purāṇic tradition, were descendants of Sahaasrajit, a son of Yadu and grandson of Yayāti. The name of the family is derived from Haihaya, the grandson of Sahaasrajit. Their capital was situated in Māhiṣmatī (mod Mandhata on the Narbada, Nīmar District, C P), named after Mahiṣmant, a descendant of Haihaya. The greatest king of this line was Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is called both a *Samrāj* and a *Cakravartin*. The next important king of this race was Tālajaṅgha, who had many sons, called the Tālajaṅghas. The *Purāṇas* mention five different groups of Haihayas, viz, the Vīṇhotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tundikeras, who were all Tālajaṅghas.² The Indian inscriptions reveal the existence of some other branches of this line. Thus the Ārunāyanas, who did homage to the Gupta king Samudra gupta, may have claimed descent from the Haihaya Arjuna.³ But the most important line that claimed such descent was certainly the Kalacuris,⁴ whose name appear in records from at least the 6th century A D down to the 15th century. We have seen that Epic and Purāṇic tradition connects the Haihayas

¹ The inscriptions supply a variant of this name *Ahihaya*; see *RI* Vol. XII pp. 268 ff. *Ibid* Vol. II pp. 229 ff.

² Fargiter *IHT* pp. 41 102 143 153 265 etc.

³ Fleet, *GI* Introduction p. 10 *BG* Vol. I Part II p. 203. Some connect them with the Pāṇḍava Arjuna. Raychaudhury *Political History* (3rd Ed.) p. 371.

⁴ There are several variants of this name viz *Kaṣaccūri* (*RI* Vol. IX p. 296) *Kaṣaccūri* (*ibid* Vol. VI pp. 5 and 297) *Kaṣaccūri* (*IA* Vol. XIX p. 18) *Kaṣaccūri* (*ibid* Vol. XVI p. 22) *Kaṣaccūri* (*RI* Vol. II pp. 228 ff.) and *Kalacuri* (*JASB* Vol. VIII Part I pp. 481 ff.; *IA* Vol. XVII p. 140). The origin of the name is at present doubtful. In the Jubbulpur grant of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa Kārtavīrya is said to have begat the *Kalacuri* *vaśa* (*RI* Vol. II pp. 1 ff.) I reserve the discussion of the origin of the tribe for my third volume.





with the middle Narbada valley Their capital was at Mandhata while one of their subdivisions is actually named Avanti. This tradition about Mandhata was recently confirmed by the discovery of an inscription at Yewur which introduces us to the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Revaiasa of the Ahihaya race with the title *Māhismatī-puravareśvara*.¹ It is again interesting to note that the earliest inscriptions of the Kalacuris so far discovered reveal the Avanti-Mandhata region as the stronghold of the tribe. Thus the Abhona plates of the Kalacuri Sankaragana, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja, dated in (K.) S. 347 (A. D. 595), were issued from Ujjayinī.² As the power of the Kalacuris extended as far south as Nasik district, they soon came into conflict with the rising Calukya power. The Calukya king Mangaleśa claims to have defeated in the course of an expedition to the north the Kalacuri king Buddha This Buddha has been rightly identified as the son of Sankaragana, and it has been calculated that these conflicts took place some time between 597-93 and 602 A. D.³ In their records the Kalacuris use an era which was founded in 248-49 A. D.,⁴ probably by the Ābhīras⁵ and first used in the grants of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasena. But this does not prove that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Kalacuris As the Abhona and the Sarsavni grants⁶ show that the Kalacuris' territory was contiguous to the area where this era had its origin, it is not unlikely that they may have adopted it to date their official records. An interesting point in the Kalacuri history is raised by their title *Kālāñjara-puravarādhīśvara*.⁷ As the title occurs

¹ *EI*, Vol XII, pp. 268 ff Yewur is a village in the Shorapur taluq of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam's Dominions

² *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp 296 ff The inscription grants lands in the Nasik district.

³ *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p 295

⁴ *IA*, Vol XVII, p 215

⁵ *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras, W Kṣatrapas, etc)*, by E J Rapson, 1908, p clxii

⁶ *EI*, Vol VI, pp 294 ff, Vol IX, pp 296 ff The Sarsavni grant was issued from Anandapura, identified with Anand in the Kaira district

⁷ *BG*, Vol I, Part II, pp 469 ff In some inscriptions from Huli occurs the form *Kālāñjana-puravarādhīśvara*, see *EI*, Vol XVIII, p 209

in the inscription of the Kalacuris of Kalyani (c 1145-1183 A D) it is possible that the Kalacuris assumed this title after the victories of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmi-Karṇa (c 1041-1098) over the Candellas. But the Kalha grant of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in (V) *Saṁ* 1134 (A D 1077),¹ seems to suggest that the Kalacuris were in possession of the hill fort some time before the rise of the Candellas. In this grant Soḍhadeva traces his descent to one Rājaputra, who has been placed by Kielhorn in the beginning of the 9th century. Rājaputra, we are told, was born in the family of Lakṣmanarāja whose elder brother is said to have possessed himself of Kālāñjara by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the Krathas.² I have already shown that Kālāñjara was in the possession of the Gurjara Pratihāras, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and Candellas from c 836 A D down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India.³ Therefore the brother of Lakṣmanarāja must have conquered Kālāñjara some time before 836 A D.⁴ In this connection it is interesting to notice the Karitalai and Khoh grants of the feudatory *Mahārājas* of Uccakalpa dated in the same era that was used by the Kalacuri kings of Malwa.⁵ Their dates range from the (K) year 174 to 214, i.e., A D 428 to 462. Some of these plates were found in the Nagod state, which is not very far from Kalinjar while one grant was found in the Jubbulpore district. We have already seen that the Kalacuris' dominions extended in the south at least as far as Nasik. On the west they reached at least up to Anand in the Kaira district of Gujrat and on the east they may have extended along the whole upper course of the Narbada including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

¹ *SI* Vol. VII pp 83 ff

² *IBid* p. 80 V 5

³ See *DHNI* Vol. I p 589; Vol. II p 674.

⁴ Cunningham also held that the Kalacuris "obtained possession of Kālāñjara..... long before Maṅgaleśa Chālukya in the 6th century. See his *ISR* Vol XVII pp 83-84.

⁵ *GI* pp. 117-35; *BO* Vol. I Part II p 293. Fleet suggested that these princes were possibly the feudatories of early Kalacuri kings.

In the present state of our knowledge no connected history of the Kalacuris of this early period is possible ;¹ but it seems probable that they were deprived of most of their southern provinces by the steady pressure of the Calukyas of Badami, while the invasion of the Gujara-Pratihāras from their bases in the Punjab and Rajputana probably drove them out from Malwa sometime in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D.² (Possibly also their power after this was confined to the provinces around the upper waters of the Nerbada and Bundelkhand. But the rapid rise of the Gujara-Pratihāra empire probably drove them across the Bhaner and the Kaimur hills into the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The Barah grant of Bhojadeva shows that the Pratihāras were already in possession of the Kālāñjara-viṣaya in 836 A.D.³ These repeated misfortunes seem to have caused a dispersal of the tribe. While one section of the line remained in the C.P., other sections appear to have dispersed to various parts of India. Some of them accepted service as *condottieri* under the Deccani and the Northern Indian kings. It was no doubt from one of these families, settled in the south, that the Kalacuris of Kalyani⁴ were descended. In the north also at least one branch appears to have accepted service under the Gujara-Pratihāras.⁵ It is difficult to define the exact relationship of the Kalacuris of C.P. with the great Pratihāra emperors; but it is certain that some of the earlier members at least maintained amicable relations with them. It was only after the gradual decline and downfall of the Gujara-Pratihāras that the Kalacuris once again succeeded in making their power felt in North Indian history.

The account of the various branches of the Kalacuris that ruled in Northern India during this period can be conveniently

¹ Fleet found a possible reference to the Kalacuris in the *Ārjunāyanas* of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-75 A.D.), *GI*, Introduction, pp. 9-10

² *JL*, Vol. X, pp. 29 ff

³ *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 15-19

⁴ For their history see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 468-89

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. VII, p. 85, V. 9, see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 744, 745-46

grouped under three heads, viz, (1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur*, (2) *Kalacuris of Dāhala*¹ and (3) *Kalacuris of Tuthmana*². We shall take them one by one

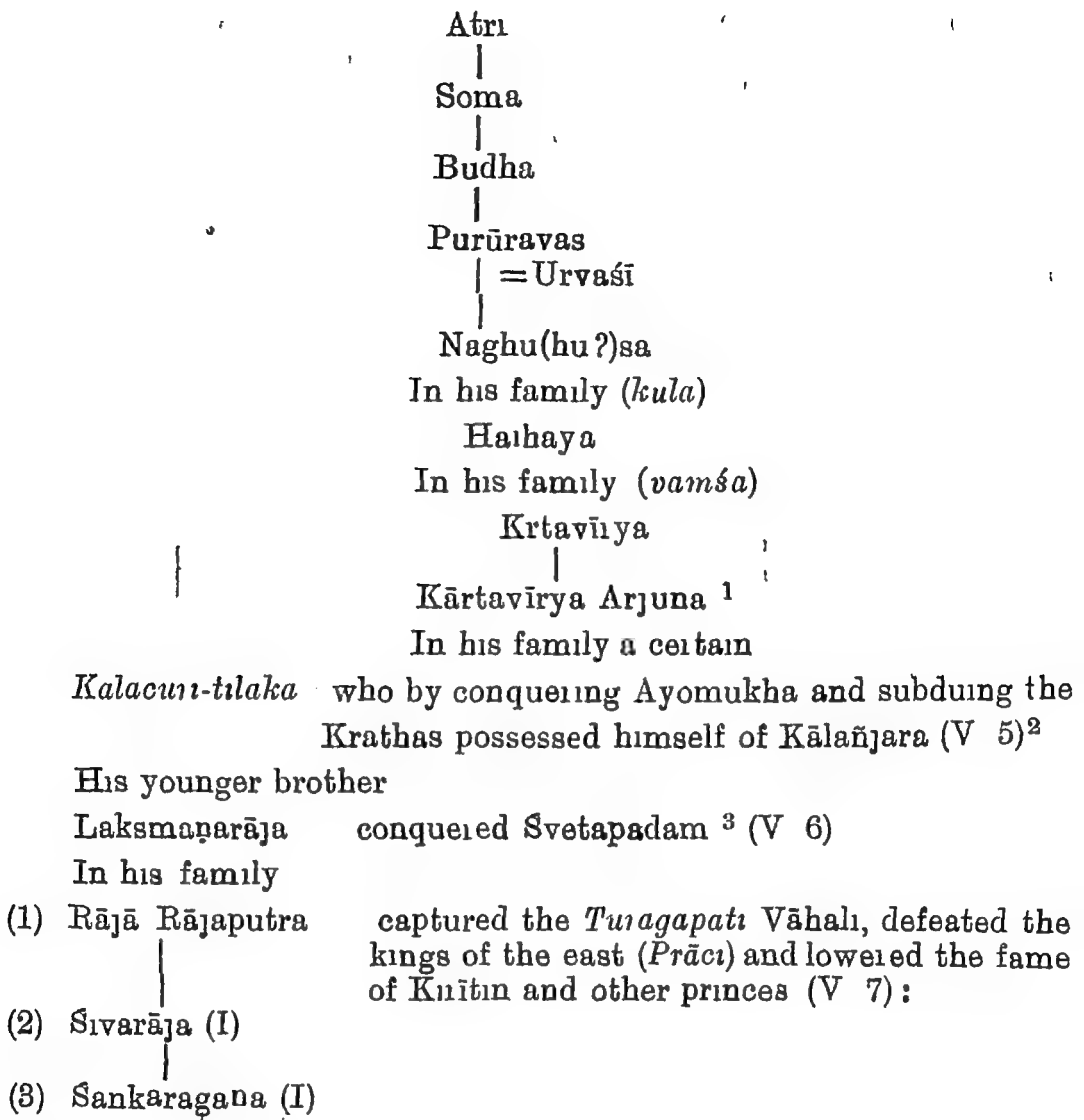
(1) *Kalacuris of Gorakhpur* (U P)

The existence of the *Kalacuris* of Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the Kahla plate of Sodha deva and a stone inscription from Kasia. The second inscription is unfortunately much damaged, and some writing at the end of it is lost, with the name and possibly the date of the reigning king. But from the preserved portion it is clear that the two records represent two distinct families of the *Kalacuris* which for convenience again we shall designate as the (a) *Kahla* and the (b) *Kasia Kalacuris*. The Kahla grant was discovered by a cultivator in his field at the village of Kahla, in tappa Athaisi, pargana Dhuriapar, Gorakhpur District, U P. The inscription contains 59 lines, and is written on both sides of a single copper plate. In the middle of the lower part of the plate there is a ring hole. The seal (which was probably attached to the ring) is circular, and "contains in high relief the figure of a bull, lying down and facing to the proper right." Below it is the legend *Śrīmat Sōdhadēvasya*. The characters resemble those on the copper plates of the Gāhādavāla-Govindacandra (c 1114-55 A D) and Jayaccandra (c 1170-93 A D) of Benares and Kanauj. The language is Sanskrit, but certain proper names are given in their vernacular forms or in forms based on them. The inscription opens with *Om Svasti*; then begins the genealogy of the donor, which may be tabulated as follows

¹ Usually known as *Kalacuris of Tripuri*. On *Dāhala* see *infra*, p. 772 fn. 1

Popularly known as *Kalacuris of Rainspura*. But the dynasty even after the foundation of Rainspura claims to be rulers of Tuthmana (*Tuthmāpādhīpat*); see *supra* DHNI Vol. I pp. 305, 170 and 478; *ibid infra* Vol. II pp. 812, 815.

² The Abbona and Sarasvati grants of the *halacuris* of Malwa appear to have no seals attached to their rings or plates. But the seal on the grants of the *Kalacuris* of Kalyani contain the figure of the bull. see *DO* Vol. I Part II ¶ 16J



¹ This mythical portion of the genealogy does not agree with the Epic and Purāṇic tradition. The composer of the inscription has omitted many kings. Thus between Haihaya and Krtavīrya he has omitted 7 kings, viz., (1) Dharmanetra, (2) Kuntī, (3) Sāhañja, (4) Mahīsmant, (5) Bhadrāsrenya, (6) Durdama, and (7) Kanaka. Between Nahusa and Haihaya he has omitted (1) Yayāti, (2) Yadu, (3) Sahasrajit, and (4) Śatajit. See Pargiter, *IHT*, p. 144.

² *Ayomukha* is the name of a mountain, and also a demon. The location of the mountain or the legend here referred to is unknown. See *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 86, fn. 2. *Kratha* is the name of a people probably inhabiting the region of Berar. In Purāṇic tradition *Kratha* is the son of a king of Vīdarbha, see Pargiter, *op cit*, p. 168. In the *Mahābhārata* the *Kratha-Kausikas* and the *Pāṇḍyas* are said to have been conquered by Bhīṣmaka the mighty king of the Bhojas (*Sabhā*, Chap. XIV). Some identify *Kratha-Kausika* with Payasni (mod. Purna in Berar), see *GDI*, p. 104.

³ Identified with the northern part of the modern Nasik District in the Bombay Presidency. This shows that this branch of the Kalacuris must have come from beyond the Narbada. The identification of the conqueror of this place with the Tripurī Kalacuri Lakṣmaṇarāja (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 70, *MASI*, No. 23, p. 13) has nothing to support it except the similarity of names. See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 745.

- (4) Gupāmbhodhi
 Kāñicanadevi = (First wife) | alias Gupasagara (I) = Madanadevi (2nd wife) | obtained some territories from Bhojadeva and by a warlike expedition took away the fortune of the Gauda (V 9)
- (5) Ullabha
 abdicated in favour of (6) |
- (6) Bhamāna. | distinguished himself in war with the king of Dhārā' (Dhāravanīśa) (V 18)
 = Dehaññadevi
- (7) Sañkaragapa (II) Mugdhatuṅga
 = Vidyā
- (8) Guṇasāgara (II)
 Rajavā = | = Lāvanyavati
- (9) Sivarāja (II) Bhāmāna
 = Sugalladevi
- (10) Sañkaragapa (III)
 = Yaśolekhyadevi
- (11) Bhīma | by the decree of fate lost his kingdom (or was dethroned)
- (12) Vyāsa raised to the throne when the royal camp was at Gokula ghaṭṭa in (V) S 1067 (A.D. 1081)
- (13) Soḍhadeva the life of Sarayūpāra (the bank of the Sarayū V 80)

Then in the prose portion of the grant we are informed that from his residence at Dhuliaghaṭṭa, after bathing, the Pb M P Maryāddāsāgaradeva pādānudhyāta Pb -M P Parama-māheśvara, Soḍhadeva, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana sañkṛānti in (V) Sañvat 1134 (A. D. 1077), granted to 14 Brāhmanas (nāmes, gotras, Vedic śākhās and places of residence or origin given) various pieces of land situated in a group of 6 villages (pāṭaḥas) included in the Gupakala viṣaya of (the district of) Tīkarikū. Towards the end, in line 57, we are told that the tāmrapaṭṭa was written by the Ādeśa naibandhika (recorder of orders) Janaka

in the (V) *Samvat* 1135 (A. D. 1079), i.e., about 14 months after the donation. In line 59 the grant ends with the sign-manual of *Mahārājādhnūja*-Sodhadeva.¹

The real founder of this line of the Kalacuris was king Rājaputia. Commenting on the date of the inscription (A. D. 1031), Kielhorn remarked that "it shows that the founder of this new branch of the Kalacuri family...cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century." As Sodhadeva is the 10th in lineal descent from Rājaputia, they cannot be separated by a period of more than 250 years ($1031 - 250 = 781$ A.D.). This prince is said to have captured the 'lord of horses' Vāhali, defeated the kings of the East, and lowered the fame of Kūṭin and other princes. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot with certainty identify any of these. But if he was already ruling in the Gorakhpur region in the last quarter of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th, some of the early Pāla kings may be included amongst the *prācī-ksitīndras* defeated by him. Nothing is recorded of the next two princes, Śivarāja and Śankaragaṇa I. But it is possible that the last of these two is to be identified with the *vājā* of the same name who was 'granted freedom from fear' by Kokkalla (c. 860-900 A. D.), the founder of the Tūpūī branch of the Kalacuris.² Gunāmbhodhi who succeeded Śankaragaṇa I, is said to have received some land (*bhūmi*) from Bhojadeva, and taken away the fortune of the Gauda by a warlike expedition. As he is 4th in lineal descent from Rājaputra (c. 780-800 A. D.), he is probably to be referred to the

¹ The plate was discovered in 1889. Kielhorn edited it from impressions in *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 85-93. It is now in the Lucknow Museum. The find-spot of the inscription is about 28 miles from the town of Gorakhpur.

² But see *infra*, p. 754, fn. 5, also *EI*, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7. Kielhorn identified the Śankaragaṇa of the Benares grant of Karna, with Kokkalla's own son (also called Rana-vigraha), whose daughter Laksmī was married by the Rāstrakūṭa king Jagattunga II, the father of Indra III (A. D. c. 915-17), see *ibid.*, p. 301, also *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 414. But as this Śankaragaṇa is called *rājā*, and grouped together with Bhoja and Vallabha-rāja, the Gurjara-Pratihāra and Rāstrakūṭa kings, it is more probable that the third prince was also a separate ruler and 'not' a mere crown prince like Raṇavigraha.

last quarter of the 9th century A D This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I (c 836-882 A D), and it seems likely that he took part in the great offensive of Bhoja against his eastern neighbours, the Pāla rulers of Gauḍa¹ It is not improbable that Guṇāmbhodhi received a gift of land after the successful termination of this expedition It is certain that this Kalacuri prince and his immediate feudatories were subordinate to the Gurjara Pratihāras for as I have shown elsewhere² the Pratihāra empire some time after 836 A D gradually spread eastwards till in the reign of Mahendrapāla I it included large portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal We may therefore venture the conclusion that the Pratihāra hold on the Gorakhpur region remained unshaken till their serious reverses at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the first quarter of the 10th century A D Nothing definite is known about the next king Ullabha except that he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Bhāmāna This last prince is credited with having distinguished himself in a war against a king of Dhārā who the latter was is unknown There is nothing to indicate that the authority of Bhāmāna extended from U P to Malwa But it may be that this king of Dhārā was one of the earlier Paramāras, possibly (Harṣa) Siyaka II, whose Ahmedabad grants are dated in 949 and 970 A D³ The Parṣabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II shows that the Gurjaras in 946 A D still held portions of Malwa It is not unlikely that the struggle which made the Paramāras the masters of Dhārū was already raging We have shown elsewhere that this was only a side issue of the continuous struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁴ The Paramāras fought as feudatories of the latter and Bhāmānadeva, though holding a fief in U P, may perhaps have fought on this frontier on behalf of his masters It was probably in this war that he

¹ *JL* Vol X p 52

² *DHNI* Vol. I pp. xxxvii 302 ff. 509 ff

³ *PTOC* Madras 1924 Madras, 1925, pp. 303-08. *HI* Vol XIX pp. 177-79; 236 ff.

⁴ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol I pp. 568 ff see also Vol. II pp 761 and 69-70,

found an opportunity to distinguish himself against the *Dhāiāvanīśa*. Nothing is recorded of the next 5 rulers (7-10), viz., Śankaragaṇa II,¹ Gunasāgara II, Śivaiāja II, Śankaragaṇa III, and Bhīma. The last was probably dethroned in favour of Vyāsa, a son of Gunasāgara II, the 8th prince. The grant records that this happened in (V.) S. 1087 (A.D. 1031) when the royal camp (*kataka*) was at Gokulaghatta. Vyāsa's son was Sodhadeva, the donor of the grant. It is difficult to determine the exact limits of Sodhadeva's dominions, as the numerous localities mentioned in his inscription have not yet been identified. But since he is called 'the life of the bank of Sarayū'² (*Sarayūpāra-jīvitam*) and he bathed in the Gaṇḍakī before making the grant, we may infer that his dominions probably included at least the Gorakhpur division of the U P, and the Saran district of Bihar. His royal titles indicate that he was no longer a feudatory. Possibly the destruction of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley by the Yamīnīs and Candellas may have helped Vyāsa Māryādāsāgara, the father of Sodhadeva, to carve out an independent principality on the banks of the Gogra and the Gandak. From the figure of the bull on his seal as well as his title *Parama-māheśvara*, we may infer that Sodhadeva was a worshipper of Śiva. Nothing else is known about his reign or the reign of any of his possible successors. It is however not unlikely that Sodhadeva was the last prince of this Kalacuri line. The rise of the Gāhadavāla power in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century appears to have destroyed the power of the Kalacuris on the Gogra. The Candravati grant of Candradeva, dated in (V.) S. 1150 (A.D. 1093), shows the extension of the Gāhadavāla dominions from Benares and Kanauj to the Svarga-dvāra *tīrtha* at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ghaighaiā in Ayodhyā (Fyzabad district).³ As the earliest date (A.D. 1090)

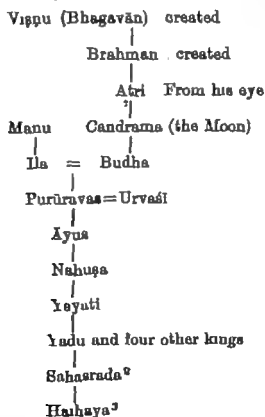
¹ But see *infra*, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 754, fn. 5, and *supra*, 745, fn. 2

² Most probably the river Gogra which in Oudh is known 'by the names of Dehoa, Surjoo or Sarayu as well as Ghogra'. See IGI, Vol. XII, 1908, pp. 302-03

³ EI, Vol. XIV, p. 193, see also *supra* DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 509 ff

of Candradeva¹ is separated only by a period of 11 years from the latest recorded date (A.D. 1079) of the Kahla plate, the founder of the Gāhādavalas may well have been the destroyer of Sodhadeva.

The existence of another family of the Kalacuris in Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the *Kasia stone inscription*. The blue stone slab on which this is engraved was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia, 'in all probability the ancient site of Kusānagara, in the district of Gorakhpur (U. P.)'. The inscription is much damaged, and 'evidently some writing is lost at the end of it'. The existing portion contains 24 lines, and is written in *Nāgarī* characters of about the 12th century A.D. It is throughout in verse, excepting the opening invocation to Buddha. The first four verses are devoted to the praise of Śaṅkara, Parvatī, Tāra and Buddha. Then follows the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy which may be presented in tabular form as follows:



¹ *Ibid.* Vol. IX, p. 303. See also *DIHI* Vol. I pp. 808-09.

² In Iurāpa tradition the name is spelt *Sahasrjit*, see *IHT* p. 144. The inscription omits *Satajit* between *Sahasrjit* and *Haihaya*.

³ The inscription omits 8 kings between *Haihaya* and *Kārtavīrya* (Arjuna). See *IHT*, op. cit. p. 144.

In his family

Kārtavīrya

In his family

- (1) Śankaragana
- |
- (2) Nannarāja
- |
- (3) Lakṣmaṇa (I)
- |
- (4) Śivarāja (I)
- |
- (5) Bhīmata (I)
- |
- ?
- (6) Rājaputīa Lakṣmaṇa (I)
- |
- (7) Śivarāja (II)
- |
- (8) Name lost = Bhūdā
- |
- (9) Lakṣmaṇarāja (III)
- |
- ?
- |
- (10) Bhīmata (II)

? = Kāñcanā

The inscription abruptly comes to an end after this. The name of the king in whose reign this record was engraved, as well as the object of it has been lost. It is likely however that the epigraph 'recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha' was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered. The preserved portion contains no date.¹

The founder of this branch was Śankaragana, about whom we are told that Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted him an emblem of his own. His son and successor, Nannarāja, is vaguely praised as one 'whose fame spread up to the ocean'

¹ The stone inscription was discovered in 1875-76. Kielhorn published a *resumé* of the contents of the inscription in *NKGWG*, 1903, pp 300-03. It was fully edited by D. R. Sahni in 1925. *EI*, Vol XVIII, pp 121-37. It is not impossible that Kāñcanā was the wife of another king whose name has disappeared, see *ibid*, p 129.

His son Lakṣmaṇa is credited with having entered a fort and 'resorted to a mountainous district named *Saivaya*,¹ which was the sum total of the universe and the residence of Śibi Auśīnara. Kielhorn identified *Saivaya* with Seweya situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasiā. But as Seweya 'is situated on perfectly level ground and not on a mountainous region, objection has been taken to Kielhorn's suggestion. It appears however probable that *Saivaya* (or *Saivya*) 'must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā. The next person and the first to be called a king (*narapati*) was his son Śivarāja I whose prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aurva and 'who was more successful even than Kīrti. This Kīrti was no doubt the name of a person but his identity has not yet been ascertained. Can he be the same as the Candella Kīrtivarman (A D 1098), who by defeating the mighty Karpā and recovering his dominions appears to have performed one of the most sensational military achievements of the period? Nothing is known about his son and successor the *Kṣitīśa* Bhīmaṭa (I). The next in the genealogical list is the *Rājaputra*, Lakṣmaṇa II, who was probably the son of Bhīmaṭa. It is said of him that the title son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted him more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes. Next is mentioned Śivarāja (II), who is said to have produced 'confusion in the circle of his enemies. The son of Śivarāja is called 'the crest-jewel of kings' (*Narendra cuṣāmāṇi*) but unfortunately his name is lost. His wife (*dharma patnī*) Bhūdhī bore to him the *narapati* Lakṣmaṇarāja III.² The latter is vaguely praised for his victories against his enemies. His wife Kāñcanā bore to him the last prince on the list, Bhīmaṭa II, who 'earned fame by his fierce prowess.

1 Sahni suggests that this is a mistake for *Saivya* (= *Sivi* + the suffix *nya*) i.e. the country or city of the Śibis. Vogel identified Shorkot in the Punjab as the ancient Śibapura; see *BI* Vol XVI p 15.

2 *Rājaputra* Lakṣmaṇa probably did not reign. In that case Lakṣmaṇarāja III should be Lakṣmaṇarāja II. It is not absolutely certain that Kāñcanā was his wife; see *supra*, p 749 fn 1.

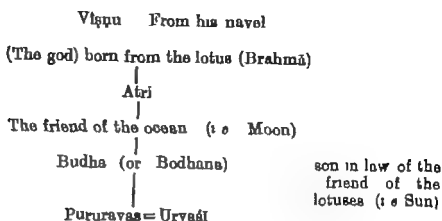
From the account given above, it does not seem that this branch of the Kalacuris ever became very powerful. I have already shown that the Gāhadavālas from c. 1093 gradually extended their territories from Kanauj and Benares to the banks of the Gogriā. That the Gāhadavālas retained their power on the banks of the Gogriā till the reign of their last ruler, is shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Jayaccandra, dated in (V) S. 1234 (A D. 1177), which grants land on the banks of the Daivabā (mod. Deoha, another name of the Gogriā).¹ It is therefore likely that this branch of the Kalacuris was suffered to remain as a feudatory line after the main dynasty of Kalha was destroyed by Candradeva. Though there is no apparent connection between the Kalha and the Kasiā branches, the occurrence of many common names at least tends to indicate close connection between the families. If my guess about the identification of Kīrti with the Candella Kīrtivarman (A D. 1098) be accepted, some of the last princes, at least Bhīmata II, may have to be placed in the first half of the 13th century.

(2) *Kalacuris of Dāhala* ² (C.P.).

We have already suggested the probability that one of the branches of the Kalacuris was driven into the C. P. by the pressure of Gurjara-Pratībāia power in Bundelkhand. The Kalacuri dynasty of Dāhala may have been descended from this Kalacuri stock. We have epigraphic evidence to show that these Kalacuris ruled in the C. P. for at least 300 years. Like the inscriptions of the Kasiā branch their records also trace their descent to the god Visnu. The mythical portion of their pedigree may be summarised in tabular form as follows.

¹ *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 and *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 88, and fn 2 on p. 88; see also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 539.

² Usually called *Kalacuris of Tripurī*.



In his family

Bharata whose pure fame is proclaimed
by the Yamunā hemmed in
by more than a hundred posts
of horse sacrifices (offered
by him)

In his family (anvaya)

The *Haihaya Cakravartī* Kārtavīrya Arjuna who imprisoned Ravana
He begat the

Kalacuri vamsa

It will be observed from this table that the list leaves out some mythical kings who figure in the genealogy of the Gorakhpur branches. With one exception,¹ most of the inscriptions omit to mention Haihaya or the Haihayas before Arjuna, while the Khairha plates of Yaśahkarna, make Kārtavīrya 'the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes'.² But the most serious difference seems to be the inclusion of Bharata in the genealogy of the Haihayas. This Bharata cannot be the Paurava Bharata Daśyanti, because he flourished after Arjuna. It is likely that the *prastāhāras* meant the 'mythical king of that name after whom (it is said) India was called Bhāratavarṣa'.³ In the Epic and Purāṇic lists of the Yādava Haihayas also, the name of Bharata does not occur.⁴

¹ The Bīhārī stone inscription mentions the Haihayas before Arjuna; see *SI* Vol. I p. 263.

Ibid Vol. XII p. 215.

² Pargiter *IHT* pp. 131 and 146.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 144.

The first historical name in the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Dāhala¹ is that of Kokkalla.² No record of his reign has so far been discovered; but the documents of his successors refer to a number of political incidents of his time. Thus the Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja informs us that Kokkalladeva, 'having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, i.e. the south) that well-known Kṛṣṇarāja, and in the quarter of Kuvera (i.e. in the north) Bhojadeva, a store of fortune.'³ The Benares grant of Karna informs us that the hand of Kokkalla 'granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the *Citrakutabhūpāla* Harsa, and *vājā* Śaṅkara-gana.'⁴ The same inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady named Nattā or Nattādevī (*Nattākhyadevī*), who was born in the Candella family⁵ Kielhorn rightly identified Kṛṣṇarāja and Vallabharāja of these two records with the Rāstrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa-Vallabha of Malkhed (c. 878-912 A.D.), and Harsa with the Candella Harsa of Khajuraho (c. 900 A.D.).⁶ Kṛṣṇa II married a daughter of Kokkalla,⁷ who is described in the Karda plates as the younger sister of Śaṅkuka.⁸ This Haihaya princess, we are told, 'attained the rank of chief queen' (*mahādevī*) and became the mother of Jagattunga, the father

¹ Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the *Ātreya-gotra* (*IA*, 1889, XVIII, p. 210) At other times the family is called *Haihaya-kula* (*IA*, Vol. XII, p. 265, line 16), *Cedi-kula* (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 40), and *Sahasrārjuna vamśa* (*ibid*, p. 42, *IA*, Vol. XII, p. 250, line 16)

² Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokalla (*EI*, Vol. I, pp. 34) and Kokkala (*EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 78) Kekkalla in the Ghotia plates of Prthvideva is probably a mistake of the scribe (*IA*, 1925, p. 44)

³ *EI*, Vol. I, p. 264, V. 17 In early Sanskrit Kuvera is spelt *Kubera*

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 306, V. 7

⁵ *Ibid*, V. 8.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 301 and 304 The identification of Kṛṣṇarāja with Kṛṣṇa II, was first suggested by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. IX, p. 80 Kṛṣṇa II was known as Vallabharāja, see *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 410 See also *DHNI*, Vol. I, chap. on the *Candrātreyas* (Candellas), p. 673

⁷ *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 265

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 265, line 17 Śaṅkuka is probably an abbreviation of Śaṅkaragana

of the famous Indra III (c 15-17 A D), who raided Ujjayinī and Kanauj in the reign of the Gurjara Pratihāra Mahīpāla I (c 914-48 A D). Possibly Kokkalla may have assisted his son in law when the latter suffered disaster at the hands of the Eastern Calukya Vijayāditya III (c 844-88 A D).¹ Naṭṭa or Naṭṭadevī probably belonged to the family of the Candella king Harṣa.² In view of the fact that Indra III, the great-grandson of Kokkalla was contemporary with Mahīpāla, the grandson of the Gurjara Pratihāra Bhoja I (c 836-882 A D), Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying the Bhojadeva of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions with Bhoja I.³ But as one of the contemporaries of Kokkalla the Candella Harṣadeva, was possibly a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, the younger brother of Bhoja II (c 908-14 A D), it is just possible that the Gurjara contemporary of Kokkalla may have been Bhoja II, and not Bhoja I.⁴ Another identification of Kielhorn is also open to doubt as I have already pointed out viz., that the *rājā* Saṅkaragana to whom Kokkalla granted freedom from fear was probably one of the Kalacuri kings of that name who ruled in Gorakhpur, and not the prince of that name who was a son of Kokkalla.⁵ Cunningham assigned the reign of Kokkalla 'with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A D'.⁶ In view of the above discussion however it will probably be safer to allot to him the period 875-925 A D. During these years he firmly laid the foundation of his family's sovereignty. He formed matrimonial alliances with the Raṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas,

¹ BG Vol. I Part II, pp. 411-12.

² See DHNI Vol. I chapter on the Candellas p. 673.

³ ASR Vol. IX, pp. 84 and 103. EI Vol. II pp. 301 and 304.

⁴ See on this point MASB Vol. V p. 63; also JL Vol. X p. 52 fn. 1. M 191 No. 33 p. 4.

⁵ See JL p. 53 fn. 1; also p. 8 and fn. 2 on p. 8. If Bhojadeva is identified with Bhoja II, Saṅkaragana of the Benares plate is probably to be identified with the Kalia Kalacuri Saṅkaragana II. See *supra* DHNI Vol. II, p. 745 fn. 2, and p. 717 fn. 1.

⁶ ASR Vol. IX p. 103. Rai Bahadur Hiralal places his reign in the last quarter of the 9th century A D: see ABOI 1937-23, p. 292.

and kept up friendly relations with the Gujara-Piatihāyas of Kanauj. After consolidating his position at home he seems to have raided a large area of northern and southern India. In the Amoda plates of the Hahaya Pithvīdeva of Tummāna (K. S. 831=1079 A.D.) Kokkalla is said to have plundered 'the treasures of the Kaināta, Vanga, Gujara, Konkana, and Śākambharī kings and also of those born of the Turuska and Raghu families'.¹ Much of this is no doubt mere *prasasti*. As the word *Turuṣka* in the records of this period generally means the Turks represented by the ruling families of Ghazni and Ghūr, and as the earliest recorded date for a Turkish invasion of India cannot be placed before the middle of the 10th century, when Alp-tigīn established himself at Ghazni,² the chances of Kokkalla meeting a Turuska opponent were extremely remote. Without, therefore, accepting literally all that the poet claims for him, we can believe that he really raided a wide area around his dominions. There is, however, no means to determine the exact limits of his kingdom. In some records of the Tummāna Hahayas his dominions seem to be designated as *Tritasaurya*.³ This place has not yet been identified. But as one of his sons is said to have ascended the ancestral throne at Tripurī (6 miles from Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces), and another appears to have fixed his residence at Tummāna (mod. Tumāna, 45 miles north of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces), we may infer that Kokkalla's power extended from the Bhaner to the Maikal range, or roughly over the region now known as the Jubbulpore Division.

According to the inscriptions of the Hahaya kings of Ratnapura, Kokkalla had 18 sons, of whom the eldest became king of Tripurī, while the others became *mandalapatis* or feudatory chiefs in the kingdom. They mention Kalingarāja as

¹ *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 and 78, Vs. 4-5

² *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 11. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 79 and 80

³ *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 33, 34, see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 802

one of these younger sons, from whom the Kalacuris of Turhmāṇa traced their descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants reveal the names of some other sons of Kokkalla. Thus the Karda grant of Kakka II (A D 972) gives us the name of Saṅkuka, whose younger sister became the queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The Saṅghī grant of Govinda IV (A D 933) tells us that Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, a daughter of Raṇavīgraha, the son of Kokkalla, the ornament of the *Sahasrārjuna varṇa*.¹ The Karda grant mentioned above also informs us that this Jagattuṅga married Lakṣmī, the daughter of the *Odiśvara* Saṅkaragaṇa.² As in both the grants the issue of Jagattuṅga by Lakṣmī is stated to be Indra III, it is clear that Raṇavīgraha and Saṅkaragaṇa are one and the same person, the latter appellation being his real name, and the former a *biruda*.³ The Karda grant reveals the interesting fact that Jagattuṅga in the course of an expedition during the reign of his father came to the Cedi country and married Govindāmbā, another daughter of his maternal uncle (*mātula*) Saṅkaragaṇa.⁴ This princess became in course of time the mother of Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c 933-40 A D) and the grandmother of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III (c 940-56 A D). The Saṅghī grant of Govinda IV gives us the name of yet another son of Kokkalla named Arjuna. This Arjuna, we are told, had a son named Ammanadeva of exceedingly great might whose daughter Vijāmbā became the wife of Indra III and mother of Amoghavarṣa II and Govinda IV (c 918-38 A D).⁵ The records of the Haihayas of Tripurā however do not mention any of these names of the sons of Kokkalla. The Bilhari stone inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II tells us that Kokkalla was

¹ IA Vol XII pp 230 and 233 line 10.

² Ibid pp 235 and 238, line 18.

³ BG Vol. I Part II p 411

⁴ The Calukya king Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi (783-16 A D) also married Loka mahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī who were uterine sisters and came from the same Haihaya stock see ibid p. 34

⁵ IA Vol XII pp. 50 and 53 lines 20-22. Fleet first read the name as Dvijāmbā but see BG Vol I Part II p 415

succeeded by his son Mugdhatunga, while the Benaies grant of Karna relates that he was succeeded by Prasiddhadvahala, his son by Nattādevī. As both these names are given as that of the father of Yuvarāja I, it is clear that these two names belong to one and the same person. Hitherto it has been believed that one of these names is a titular name¹. But possibly both are *birudas* of the *Cedīśvara* Śankaragana, whose daughters Lakṣmī and Govindāmbā were married to Jagattunga, the son of the Rāṣtrakūta Kīrti II. In view of his epithet 'lord of Cedi,' it is difficult to identify Śankaragana with one of the younger sons of Kokkalla who became mere lords of *mandalas*.² As the genealogical lists of the Haihayas of Tripurī does not mention this 'lord of Cedi' amongst the immediate successors of Kokkalla, and as both the names Mugdhatunga and Prasiddhadvahala look more like *birudas* than personal names it is likely that the personal name of the eldest son who succeeded him at Tripurī was Śankaragana. If this is accepted, Ranavighraha must be another *biruda* of this king. We have not yet discovered any records of this prince, but the Bilhari stone-inscription of Yuvarāja II contains the following description of his victories

“ On his expeditions the forests by the sea, near which his army encamped, had the number of their coral-sprouts doubled by the tips of the hands of women, stretched forth to gather them.

To Malaya his thoughts wandered, because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing, because there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport, because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the trees.

Having conquered the lines of the country by the shore of the eastern sea, and having taken Pālī from the lord of Kosala,

¹ ABOI, 1927-28, p. 285. See also *supra*, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 441. Mugdhatunga is a *biruda* of the Kalha Kalacuri Śankaragana II.

² EI, Vol. II, p. 301.

having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword ¹

The references to Malaya and Kerala are so vague that they seem to have no historical basis. Excepting the Bilhari inscription, most of the Kalacuri records are silent about the achievements of Prasiddhadhavalā. He does not appear to have been powerful enough to pierce through the heart of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory and reach the Malabar coast. It is however not impossible that he may have been associated with some of the southern campaigns of his Rāṣṭrakūṭa relatives. The conquest of Pālī from 'the lord of Kosala' looks like a statement of fact. Some scholars show a tendency to identify this Pālī with the village of Pālā in the Balasore district, six miles from the sea shore ² but it seems more likely that it is to be identified with the village of Pālī situated 12 miles to the north-east of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur district. Cunningham visited this place in 1873-74 and found here 'a fine large tank and the remains of several temples on its banks in the style of the Khajuraho temples'. There can be no doubt therefore that the village marks the site of an important city. It is however difficult to identify the *Kosalendra* from whom this place was taken by Mugdhataṅga. It is possible that this prince was a member of the dynasty conveniently designated as 'Sarabhapura kings'. Land grants of two kings of this line named Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudevarāja, have been discovered in Raipur, Arang Khariar and Sarangarh, all situated in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces ³. The grants contain circular seals with the standing figure of *Gaṇa-Lakṣmī*. They are written in the 'boxheaded

¹ *Ibid* Vol. I pp. 256 and 266 Vs. 22-24

² *ABOI* 1927 28 p. 287. But see *DHNI* Vol. I pp. 396 and 401.

³ *ASR* Vol. VII pp. 217-19

⁴ For these grants see Fleet, *GI* pp. 191-200; *EI* Vol. IX pp. 170-71 and 231-63; Hirai, *DLI* pp. 96-97. The characters of the grants belong to the southern class of alphabets. For the Raipur stone inscription of Śivagupta Balarjuna see *EI* Vol. XI pp. 164-97.

variety of the Central Indian alphabet,' and are all issued from Śarabhapura.¹ It has been suggested that these Śarabhapura princes drove away the line of rulers known as 'Śrīpura kings' from the Raipur region into the middle Mahanadī valley, but were themselves gradually supplanted by the Kalacuris.² The records of these 'Śrīpura kings' were issued from Śrīpura (mod. Sirpur) and were all found near about the Raipur district.³ Their seals bear the figure of Garuda, and they claim to belong to the *Pāṇdu-vamśa* and assume the title 'lord of Kosala' (*Kosalādhīpati*). The characters in their inscriptions belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D. 'In spite of overwhelming paleographic evidence,' some scholars have tried to link together these 'Śrīpura kings' with the so-called 'Somavamśī kings of Katak,' who also called themselves 'lords of Kosala,' and had similar names and titles.⁴ If this be accepted then the *Kośalendra* defeated by Prasiddhadhavalā may possibly have been some prince of this dynasty,⁵ and not of the Śarabhapura line, for the latter, though it ruled in Kosala, never seem to have assumed the title of *Kośalendra*. After the conquest of Pālī from the king of Kosala, Prasiddhadhavalā may have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal by following the lower courses of the river Mahanadī.

Prasiddhadhavalā was succeeded by his son Bālahansa. The Bilhārī inscription omits him, but the Benares grant of Karna distinctly calls him a *nīpati*.⁶ So it is certain that he ruled for some time. As that record only praises him in general terms, and most other inscriptions do not mention him at all, he must have had a very short and inglorious reign, and he may have

¹ This place has not yet been identified, but Rai Bahadur Hiralal thinks that this may be another name of Sirpur, in the district of Raipur, see *DLI*, p. 90.

² *DLI*, p. 90.

³ *GI*, pp. 291-99, *EI*, Vol. VII, pp. 103-07, Vol. XI, pp. 184-201, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81. *DLI*, p. 101 *JRAS*, 1907, p. 621.

⁴ *DLI*, p. 90. See for further details *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 393 ff.

⁵ Probably Śivagupta, the first prince of the Orissa line, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 396 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 306-07, V. 13.

been the king of Cedi who was impetuously defeated by the Candella Yaśovarman¹. His younger brother Yuvarāja² who succeeded him, is given in the Bilhari inscription the *biruda* Keyūnarāja³. The same record gives the following account of his victories: "Who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauḍa, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure-hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karpāṭa, (and) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa, who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kaśmīra, (and) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kalīṅga. Up to the Kailāsa and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters, and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his armies brought endless anguish on hostile people⁴. In spite of obvious exaggerations, it is possible that the Kalacuris recovered from the effects of their defeat at the hands of the Candellas under Yuvarāja I, who, following the usual practice of successful kings, raided the countries all round his dominions. The conflict with the Karpāṭa sovereigns who must be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan throws interesting light on the relations of these two dynasties. We have seen how intimate was the bond of union between these two royal families. Since the time of Kōkkalla, the Kalacuris of Tripuri had formed frequent matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ. Even Yuvarāja himself gave his daughter Kundakadevi as a bride to Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40 A.D.)⁵. The Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.), seems to indicate that he also, like his father married a Sahasrārjuna princess⁶. These

¹ *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 132. Kielhorn suggested that the defeated Cedi king was Yuvarāja I see *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 301. But chronology and facts seem to point out that the defeat should be referred to the weak reign of his elder brother. See *supra* *DHVI* Vol. II p. 675.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 307 V. 18

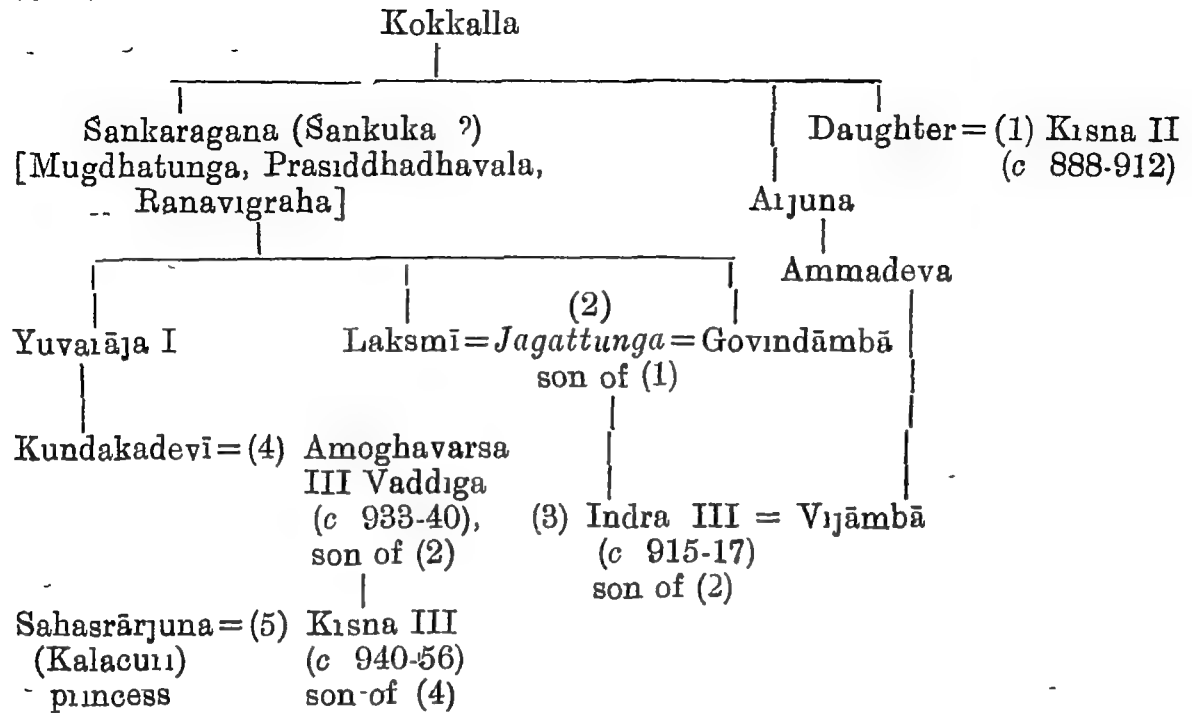
³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 226 V. 21

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 265 Vs. 24 and 28. The Gauḍa king was possibly Gopāla II see *DHVI* Vol. I pp. 350 ff. *seq.*

⁵ *IA* Vol. XII p. 268 line 23; *ISR* Vol. IX p. 101; *BG* Vol. I Part II p. 118.

⁶ *BI* Vol. IV p. 236 V. 25

matrimonial alliances may be represented by the following table



The above table shows that in three generations, within a period of less than three-quarters of a century (c. 888-956 A.D.), there were no less than six marriages between the two families. The recent discovery of the Jura inscription of Krsna III in the State of Maihar in Baghelkhand and the references to the possible Rāstrakūta occupation of Kalnjar contained in the Deoli and Karhad plates of the same king show that the Rāstrakūtas' dominions during this period probably encircled the Kalacuri kingdom in the north, west, and south.¹ It is not impossible that the Kalacuris may have even assisted the Rāstrakūtas in their northern campaigns against the Gurjara-Pratihāras and their Candella feudatories. But the references to the conflict of the Kalacuris and the Kainātas show that this period of close alliance and co-operation had come to an end. This conclusion is also supported by the Karhad plates of Krsna III, which tell us that during his father's reign (c. 933-40 A.D.) he conquered a Sahasrārjuna

¹ See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 588 ff., *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 10 ff.

prince¹ From the fact that this prince is described as an elderly relative of his mother and his wife it seems very likely that the defeated Kalacuri prince was no other than Yuvarāja I, the father of his mother This conflict must have happened some time before 940 A D, when Yuvarāja was already well advanced in years

The limits of the kingdom of Yuvarāja I cannot be definitely fixed But the Chandrehe stone inscription,² seems to indicate that in the north it included a portion of Baghelkhand This document is written on two slabs of stone 'built into the walls of the front verandah of a Saiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Śiva at Chandrehe, on the Son river in Rewa It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Saiva ascetics One of these, Prabhāvaśiva, we are told, was greatly honoured by Yuvarāja The identity of this prince is established by another stone inscription,³ said to have been discovered in the ruins of Gurgi some 12 miles to the east of the town of Rewa The 6th verse of this record tells us that the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhāvaśiva was brought to this part of the country by Yuvarājadeva, son of Mgudhatunga, and made to accept a monastery or a temple As this last inscription also refers to the building of a high temple at the place by the same king, it is likely that Yuvarāja's power extended across the Son to the north of the Kaimur Range

The association of Yuvarāja with Saiva ascetics is also revealed by a number of other records An unpublished inscription, found at Malakāpuram in the Madras Presidency, tells us that Yuvarāja gave 3 lakhs of villages as a *bhikṣā* to the Saiva

¹ EI Vol. IV p 268 V 23

² The inscription is dated in (K) 8 791 (A D 973) and records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a wall by Prabodhaśiva which was formerly excavated by his guru Prāntadīva The latter was the disciple of Prabhāvaśiva The inscription was composed by the kṛt Drāṣṭasaja See IA Vol XX p. 85; ASI IVO 1921 pp. 52-51; M.I.S.I. No. 23, pp. 117-22.

³ ASI IVO 1921 pp. 51-5... M.I.S.I. No. 23 pp. 122-23 This is another record of the Saiva ascetic Prabodhaśiva.

teacher Sadbhāvaśambhu of the *Dāhala-mandala* situated between the Bhāgīrathī and the Naimadā.¹ The Bilhari stone-inscription tells us that Yuvarāja had as his wife Nohalā, who traced her origin to the Caulukya lineage. She was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman.² Nohalā is said to have erected near the modern Bilhari a large temple of Śiva, which she endowed with the villages Dhangata-pātaka, Pondī, Nāgabala, Khaila-pātaka, Vīdā, Sajjāhalī, and Gosthapālī. She is also reported to have given the villages of Nīpānīya, and Ambī-pātaka to the sage Īśvaraśiva, a disciple of Śabdaśiva, who again was a disciple of Pavanaśiva, 'as a reward for his learning.'³

The Kāritalai stone-inscription of the time of Lakṣmanarāja supplies us with the name of one of the officers of the administration of this king. We are told that the Brāhman Bhāka Mīśra, who flourished in the family of the sage Bhāradvāja, served Yuvarāja as his chief minister (*mantri-pradhāna*).⁴ No records of this king have so far been discovered.

Yuvarāja I was succeeded by Lakṣmanarāja, his son by Nohalā. There appears to have been no weakening of the Kalācuri power under his administration, and if the records can be believed, he considerably increased the prestige of his house by invading the territories of his neighbours. Thus the Bilhari inscription tells us that 'the powerful Cedi lord (*Cedi-nātha*)

¹ Mentioned by Hiralal in *ABOI*, 1927-28, pp 288-90. Hiralal also suggests that the *Golakī Maṭha* of this inscription should be identified with the Caunsath Jogini temple at Bheraghat. If this is accepted, that temple, which was founded by Sadbhāvasambhu, must be referred to the time of Yuvarāja I, see *ibid*. For his temples, see *MAI*, No 23, pp 31 ff.

² An interesting fact about the origin of this Caulukya family is that they trace their descent from the *Culuka* of Droṇa Bhāradvāja, while the *Caḷukyas* of Bādāmi traced their descent from that of Brahmā, see *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p 180. For the story of origin of the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka (Gujarat), see *infra*, chapter on the *Caulukyas*.

³ *EI*, Vol I, pp 266-67 Vs 30-45. Cunningham identified Pondī with the village of Pondi situated 4 miles to the N.W. of Bilhari. He also suggested that Khaila-pātaka was probably represented by Khailwara, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari, see *ibid*, p 251, also *ASR*, Vol IX, p 104.

⁴ *EI*, Vol II, pp 174-76, Vs 2-6.

marched with all his elephants and horses, (and) accompanied by strong foot soldiers of tributary chiefs (*Sāmanta patti*), to the very pleasant western region, inspiring his adversaries with fear. Having valorously struck down (adversaries) who were humbled in battle, having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who bowed down (before him) he made the host of his army sport in the water of the ocean. Having bathed in the sea, the illustrious (prince) then worshipped *Someśvara* with golden lotuses, but he also presented something else. After defeating the lord of Kosala (*Kosala nātha*), he made (the effigy of the serpent) *Kāhya* wrought of jewels and gold, which was obtained from the prince of Odra (*Odra nṛpati*) a reverential offering to *Someśvara*. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life, humbly praised (the god), full of joy.¹ The Goharwa grant of *Lakṣmī Karna* gives him credit for conquering the kings of *Vaṅgāla*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Lāṭa*, *Gurjara* and *Kāśmīra*.²

These descriptions of *Lakṣmanaparāja*'s victories are of course not free from the usual suspicion attaching to all royal *prasasti*s but certain statements in them seem to contain some truth. His claim to have advanced as far as *Somnath* (*Patan*), in the *Kathiawar* peninsula, seems to be based on an historical fact. During the second half of the 10th century A.D., which probably saw the reigns of both *Lakṣmanaparāja* and his father *Yuvaraja I*, great confusion prevailed in the *Gurjara* and *Lāṭa* countries. During the first half of the 10th century Southern Gujarat (*Lāṭa*) was held by the *Silāhāra* feudatories of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* of *Mānyakheta*, while Northern Gujarat was possessed by the *Gurjara Pratihāras* of *Kanauj*. With the decline of the *Pratihāra* and *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* powers in

¹ EI Vol. I p. 268 Va. 50-53.

² *Ṛāṣṭrakūṭa-bhāṇḍa nṛpaṇḍya-paribhāṣita-Pāṇḍya-Lāṭa-luṇḥana-patāṅgila-Gurjarendra-śaśana-mukhaśruti-jāḍapīṭha* : see *ibid* Vol. XI p. 142, V 8

the 2nd half of the 10th century, then hold on those distant provinces also grew weak, and during the last quarter of this century we find the Caulukya Mūlaraja (c. 974-95 A.D.) fighting with Bāṛappa, the general of the Cālukya Taila II (c. 973-97 A.D.), for the possession of Gujarat¹ In this period of uncertainty, therefore, it was not very difficult for a daring king to penetrate into Gujarat and Kathiawar with a mobile force. It is interesting to remember in this connection the claim of Yuvarāja I to have 'spoiled with Lāṭa women.' By penetrating to Somnath (Patan), therefore, Laksmanarāja merely carried forward a step further the policy initiated by his illustrious predecessor. The references to the ornamented effigy of the serpent *Kāliya* seem to indicate that his claim to victory over the lord of Kosala was also genuine. It is however difficult to identify this *Kosala-nātha* or the *Odra-nṛpati* from whom Yuvarāja obtained the bejewelled *Kāliya*. The former may have been one of the earlier members of the Somavamśī rulers of Orissa who regularly assumed the title of *Kosalendra*² There is again no inherent impossibility in the claim that Laksmanarāja defeated the king of the Vangālas. For the second half of the 10th century marked a dark patch in the history of the Pālas, which appears to have culminated in the Kamboja rebellion. The references in the records of the Pālas and the Varmans, as well as the Paikor (Birbhum dist., Bengal) pillar inscription of Laksmī-Karna, conclusively prove that the Kalacuris in the first half of the 11th century were in intimate contact with the Bengal rulers³

¹ BG, Vol I, Part II, pp. 23, 213 and 430, also *infra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Caulukyas

² See EI, Vol III, pp. 330-33. Also DHNI, Vol I, pp. 394 ff. The association of Kosala with Odra shows that MASI, No. 23, p. 12, is wrong in taking it to mean N. Kosala. The Pratihāras were never known as lords of Kosala. Their capital Kanauj lay in Pañcāla. Tripurī Lakṣmanarāja also cannot be identified with the founder of the *Kahla Kalacuris*. See *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, p. 743, fn. 3. Odra king = a Kara prince? See *ibid*, pp. 413 ff.

³ DHNI, Vol I, pp. 326 ff. King of the Vangālas was probably the Varman prince of E. Bengal. See *ibid*, pp. 318, 324, 331 ff.

It may well be that Yuvarāja I,¹ and his son Lakṣmanarāja laid the foundation of that eastern policy, which at last culminated in the reign of Lakṣmī Karna (c 1042-90 A D). There is however some difficulty in accepting the claim to victory over Kashmir which is made on behalf of both Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmanarāja. It must be admitted that the 2nd half of the 10th century was also one of the most inglorious epochs in the history of Kashmir. From Kṣemagupta (950-58 A D) to the end of the reign of Didda (980-1003 A D), she was a constant prey to anarchy and civil war.² But the valley of Kashmir is so distant from the borders of the Kalacuri dominions, that we are loth to accept this claim without some confirmatory evidence from an independent source. The same argument applies to Lakṣmanarāja's claim to victory over the Pāṇḍya king. Though the decay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power and the uncertain position of the newly re-established Cālukya dynasty made it comparatively easy for a king of the O P to invade the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, yet in view of the great distance separating the two countries it would perhaps be better to reserve our judgment till we discover some evidence stronger than the eulogy of a court poet. The only piece of indirect evidence which may possibly be quoted in favour of this southern campaign of Lakṣmanarāja is his matrimonial alliance with the rising power of the Cālukyas of the Kanarese districts. We know from the records of the latter, that he married his daughter Bonthūdevī to Vikramāditya IV, the father of Ahavamalla Nūrmadi Taila II (c 973-997 A D), who destroyed the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkheḍ about A D 973.³ It is not impossible that Lakṣmanarāja may have invaded

¹ Ibid Vol. II, p 760 and fn. 1

² Ibid Vol. I pp 130 ff

³ BG Vol. I Part II p 427. Hiralal mentions Tailapa II as the daughter's son of Yuvarāja II. This must be a mistake see his article in the ABOI 1927-28 p 201

peninsular India to assist his new allies against the Rāstrakūṭas.

The Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II shows that Lakṣmanarāja continued his father's patronage of the Śaiva ascetics. We are told that this line of ascetics emigrated from Kadambaguhā. An object of veneration of these sages was Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha, who, 'became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince of Avanti.' His disciple's disciple was Mādhumāteya. His disciple's disciple was Hridayaśiva, who 'still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumāteya lineage (*vamśa*).' We are then informed that the *Cedi-candra*, Lakṣmanarāja showed his devotion to this sage, 'by presents sent by well-conducted messengers.' He also 'made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.'

The only record so far known of this prince is the *Karitalai stone-inscription* of his minister (*mantri-tilaka*) Someśvara, the son of Bhāka Miśra, who served as the chief minister of his father. This record, which was found at Karitalai, a village in the Mudwara subdivision of the Jubbulpore District of the C P. (Lat 24°3'N, Long 80°46'E), is much damaged, and the preserved portion, which contains 34 lines, appears to be 'only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription, the upper part of which is missing.' The missing portion probably contained an eulogy of the 'earlier Cedi rulers of Tripurī, especially Yuvarājadeva I and Lakṣmanarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel.' Verses 2-17 of the preserved portion give an account of the family of the Brāhman minister of the king, who belonged to the *vamśa* of Bharadvāja. He is described in verse 9 as *bhatta-Someśvara-dīkṣita*. The proper object of

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 267-68, Vs 48-57 For another inscription of about the end of the 10th century A D, discovered at Ranod, which mentions Kadambaguhā, a prince of Avanti and the town of Mattamayūra, see *JASB*, Vol XVI, p 1080, Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol II, p 305, *EI*, Vol. I, pp 351 ff

the inscription is to record that this Someśvara built a temple of Viṣṇu named after the founder *Somasvāmīdeva*, in which this inscription was apparently set up. The latter part of the inscription records certain donations, mainly by the royal family. For the maintenance of a *Pura* for eight Brāhmins, near the temple, the king granted the village of Dīrghaśākṣika (which may be the modern Dighee of the maps, about 6 miles S E of Karitalai). His queen *Mahadevi Rāhādā* gave to the temple the village of Cakrabradī, while the king's son, the *Parama-vaiṣṇava* Saṅkaragaṇa, made a donation on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. There is no date in the preserved portion of the inscription.¹

Lakṣmanarāja was succeeded by Saṅkaragaṇa, his son by Rāhādā. This prince is omitted by the Goharwa grant of Lakṣmī Karṇa² but he is mentioned as king in the Benares³ and the Bilhari⁴ inscriptions. Both these records praise him only in vague terms, without any remark of the slightest value. He probably had a rather brief and inglorious reign. The only interesting fact known about him is his devotion to the god Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇava parama*)⁵.

After Lakṣmanarāja came his younger brother Yuvārāja II⁶. The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī-Karṇa call him a 'moon among the kings of Oedi' (*Cedīndra candra*), who became a 'supreme ruler' (*Parameśvara*)⁷. The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasinha tells us that he dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (i.e., Somanātha

¹ An account of the contents of the inscription was first given by Cunningham *ASR* Vol. IX p. 81. It was then edited from a rubbing by Kielhorn *RI* Vol. II pp. 174-79.

² *RI* Vol. XL p. 143; Vol. II p. 3.

³ *Ibid* Vol. II, p. 307 V 19.

⁴ *Ibid* Vol. I p. 280 Vs. 61-63.

⁵ *Ibid* Vol. II p. 179 V 33.

⁶ *Ibid* Vol. II p. 307 V 21; Vol. I p. 280 V 67.

⁷ *Ibid* Vol. VI pp. 142-43 Vs. 10-12. Some identify *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped the Candella Vidyādharma with this prince' (*MASI* No. 23 p. 14). But see *supra*, *DIHI* Vol. II pp. 689-90; also *ibid* *infra*, p. 771.

in Gujarat) ¹ It was probably in the course of this western expedition, which he may have undertaken, to emulate the success of his father, that he came into violent conflict with the Paramāras. The Udaipur *prāśasti* of the kings of Malwa informs us that Vākpati II (Muñja) (c. 974 A.D.) 'conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripurī' ² This expedition by Vākpati was probably undertaken as a retaliation for the western campaigns of the Kalacuri kings. The remark in the Kanhā and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśah-Kaṇa that Yuvarāja 'purified the town of Tripurī,' ³ may have a veiled reference to the purificatory ceremonies which the Kalacuri king possibly performed after the re-occupation of his capital. In connection with these hostilities between Vākpati and Yuvarāja, it is interesting to remember the struggles between the former and the Cālukya Taila II, the nephew (sister's son) of Yuvarāja. The recent discovery of the Ahmedabad grants of the Paramāra Haṁṣa Siyaka II (c. 947-70) ⁴ has shown that the predecessors of Vākpati were feudatories of the Rāstrakūṭas of Mānyakhetaka. This explains to some extent the nature of the struggle between the Rāstrakūṭas, Cālukyas, Kalacuris, and Paramāras of this period. These conflicts, in which the Rāstrakūṭas ceased to exist as a great power in the Deccan and in which Tripurī was plundered and Vākpati Muñja met a tragic end, were possibly not detached incidents, but only episodes of the long drawn duel between the Rāstrakūṭas and Paramāras on the one hand and the Cālukyas and Kalacuris on the other. The alliance between the Cālukyas and the Kalacuris however did not long survive these events. The claim put forward in some of the

¹ *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 215-16, line 7 *MAI*, No. 23, pp 14-15, curiously enough, thinks that these 'epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I' have been 'misapplied' by the inscription 'to his grandson Yuvarāja II'

² *EI*, Vol I, pp 235-237, V. 15, see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Paramāras

³ *EI*, Vol XII, p 211, V 7

⁴ *PTOC*, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp 303 ff, *EI*, Vol XIX, pp. 236 ff, also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Paramāras

later Cālukya records that Taila, in addition to subverting the power of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, overcame the king of Cedi, indicates that Yuvarāja II must have subsequently come into conflict with his relatives¹. Thus the history of Kalacuri Cālukya relationship forms a close parallel to the earlier Kalacuri Rāṣtrakūṭa connections.

The only record which can be referred to the time of Yuvarāja II is the *Bilhari stone inscription* of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect who originally emigrated from Kadam baguhā². The stone which bears it is said to have been found at Bilhari (the Bahiri of the maps, Lat 23°48' N, Long 80°19' E), described as one of the oldest towns in the Jubbulpore district of the C P. The record consists of 93 lines, the last 8 lines of which are somewhat damaged. It opens with *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya* and then invokes Śiva under various names. Next it traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Atri down to Yuvarāja II. It also contains a list of the various Śaiva ascetics who were honoured by or received gifts from these princes. The proper object of the inscription is to record the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva raised by Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarāja I. Towards the end we are told that the inscription was set up in the monastery of Nohaleśvara by the holy preceptor Aghoraśiva, the disciple of the sage Hr̥dayaśiva, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmanarāja. Verses 83-84 mention the names of Tripuri (mod. Tewar near Jubbulpore), Saubhāgyapura (mod. Sohagpur in Rewa state), Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura (?), the inhabitants of which would seem to have had to contribute towards the support of the temple. V. 85 informs us that this composition 'would deserve praise (even from the wonder struck poet (*vismita kavi*)) Rūjasekhara. The *prastāvi* was partly composed by Śrinivāsa and partly by Sajjana. It was written by Nāli, the son of

¹ *DO Vol I Part II p 131*

² See *supra* *DHNI Vol II pp. 762-63 and 67*

Karanika Dhāna, and engraved by Nanna, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Samgama. The inscription is not dated; but Kielhorn 'felt no hesitation in assigning it to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century' ¹

Yuvarāja II was succeeded by his son Kokalla II. No record of this prince has so far been discovered and in the inscriptions of his successors he is generally praised in very vague terms. Thus the Jubbulpore and Khanna plates of Yaśah-Karna call him 'a lion-like prince, the progress of whose four-fold (*caturanga*) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.' ² The only interesting thing recorded about him in these inscriptions is that he was placed on the throne by the chief ministers (*amātyamukhyāḥ*) of Yuvarāja II. ³ This may indicate that he was not the heir-apparent of his father, or when his father died Kokalla was still a minor. The silence of the *prāśastikāras* clearly shows that his reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalacuris. It is therefore likely that the *Kalacuri-candra* who 'worshipped' the great Candella king Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil' is to be identified with this prince ⁴. Kokalladeva, like his predecessors, may have had also something to do with the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics. His name apparently occurs in the lower part (line 40) of a much damaged stone inscription of these ascetics, discovered at Gūngi (12 miles E. of Rewa) ⁵

¹ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol I, pp 251-70. Just before the last verse (86) occurs '*Kāyastha śrī Sīrukasya*'. It is difficult 'to construe the genitive with the preceding or the following verse'. Kielhorn suggested that Sīruka may have been the writer of a portion of the eulogy, see *ibid*, fn 50 on p 270. V 63 of this inscription seems to refer to a real incident in Yuvarāja II's life, viz, the slaughter of a fierce 'tiger with his hand which wielded a knife'. The record is now in the Nagpur Museum.

² *EI*, Vol II, pp 34, V 8, Vol XII, p 211, V 8. This verse also occurs in the Kumbhī grant of Vijayasīmha, see *JASB*, Vol VIII, Part I, p 489, V. 8. ³ *Ibid*

⁴ *ASR*, Vol IX, p 105, and *EI*, Vol I p 219. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol I, pp 689-90, and *ibid*, Vol II, p 768, fn 7.

⁵ *ASI*, *WC* 1921, p 51, *MA SI*, No 23, pp 122 ff, line 40. The next line (41) mentions water forts (*jala-durga*) in connection with the king of Gauda. At present it is difficult to know whether this king of Gauda had anything to do with Kokalla II. *MA SI*, No 23, p 9, seem to be wrong in reading in this a reference to incidents of the reign of Yuvarāja I.

Kohalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṅgeya. The only inscription of this prince so far known, is the *Piawan rock inscription*. Piawan is a small valley 25 miles to the N N E of Rewa. At the western end of the valley below a waterfall formed by a small stream, there is a rock formed into an *Argha* for the reception of a *linga*. The inscription is engraved on this rock. It consists of 6 lines and begins with the name of the king *Śrīmad Gāṅgeyadeva Māhārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahamandaleśvara*. The record is damaged, but it contains the date (K) *Saivat* 789 (A D 1038), and ends with *Śrī Dhāhala-m it*. It was certainly a Saiva record, for it contains the word *Maheśvara* ¹.

This inscription shows that Gāṅgeya had already succeeded his father as king of Dhāhala before 1038 A D, and that at that date his dominions had extended in the north to within 50 miles from Allahabad. An earlier date of his reign is supplied by the *Kitābul Hind* of Birūnī, composed about 1030 A D ² which mentions *Dahala* with its capital *Tiauri* as one of the countries of India. At the time of the composition of this work the ruler of that country was *Gangeya*, no doubt the Gāṅgeya deva of the Piawan rock inscription. In the records of his successors Gāṅgeya is given credit for extensive conquests. Thus the Goharwa plates of Lakṣmī Karna tell us that Gāṅgeya imprisoned the king of Kira and defeated the rulers of ~~Anga~~, Kuntala, and Utkala ³. The Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ Karna inform us that he became famous under the name *Vikramāditya* ⁴. The same two grants in a rather obscure verse

¹ Edited by Cunningham *ASR* Vol XXI pp 112-13 and plate XXVIII. In his list of northern inscriptions Kielhorn gives the date with a sign of interrogation see *EI* Vol. V Appendix p. 58, No. 406. *Dhāhala* is possibly another variation of the name spelt as *Dabhala* (*GI* II 114) *Dakhala*, *Dakhala*, *Dakhala*, *Dakhala* etc. In Kanarese sometimes *Dahala*.

² Trans. by Sachau Trübner Vol I p 203.

³ *EI* Vol XI p 143 V 17.

⁴ *Ibid* Vol. II p 9 V 11 Vol XII p. 311 V 11. In *ASI* 1918-19 Part I p. 1. In Sir John Marshall seems to take this *Vikramāditya* as *Vikramāditya* V (1009-11 A.D.) the name of the Kuntala king defeated by Gāṅgeya.

seem to refer to Gāngeya's victory over the king of Kuntala. It has been translated as follows: "The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he became famous under the name Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again."¹ According to Hualal, 'the eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāngeyadeva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair?'² A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that 'when Gāngeyadeva who had conquered the world (*jita-viśva*) perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla)... the lotus of his heart closed the knot of pride in battle.'³ It is difficult to separate *prasaṅgi* from facts in these claims. But the fact that he is given the credit of having conquered the world in an enemy's record is highly significant. I have already indicated elsewhere that the reign of Vijayapāla probably represented a rather inglorious period of Candella history.⁴ The Piawan rock-inscription, as well as the statement in the Kalacuri records that Gāngeya took up his residence at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayāga,⁵ shows the extension of his power up to the Ganges in the north. It suggests also the possibility that the whole of the Baghelkhand Agency had passed into his possession. Our inference is further supported by the statement of Baihaqi, who tells us that when Ahmad Niyāl-tigin, the general of the Yamīnī king Ma'sūd I (c. 1030-40 A.D.), invaded 'Banāras,' (c. 1034 A.D.) that city 'belonged to the territory of Gang' (الیت گنگ). It is possible that this *Gang* is to be identified with the Kalacuri king Gāngeya.⁶ At this time the

¹ *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff., V. 11, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 3-4, V. 11.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 215, fn. 2. See also *ABOI*, 1927-28, p. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 219 and 222, Vs. 22-24.

⁴ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 694 and 698.

⁵ *EI*, Vol. II, p. 4, V. 12, Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 12, *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 11.

⁶ *Ta'rikh-i Baihaqi*, Ed. by Morley, 1862 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), p. 497. Trans. of extracts in *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 123. *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 29-30.

Gurjara Pratihāras had practically disappeared as an effective power in the Ganges-Jumna valley. The death of Vidyādhara had also probably caused a decline of Candella influence in the Doab. Under the circumstances it was not impossible for a daring ruler to advance from his base at Allahabad up the Jumna valley into Kangra, and capture a petty Kīra prince ruling in that area. In the east the Aṅga king at this time was probably the Pala ruler Mahipāla I and an attempt to advance down the Ganges valley from Allahabad may have brought Gaṅgeya into conflict with him also. This would receive confirmation from the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the *Rāmāyana* if we could accept the identification of the *Gauḍadhvaṇa* Gaṅgeyadeva mentioned in it with the Tripurī ruler of that name. The colophon runs as follows: *Samvat 1076 (A D 1019) Āsāḍha vadī 4, Mahārājā dhīrāja puṇyāvaloka Somavamsodbhava Gauḍa dhvaṇa Śrīmad Gaṅgeyadeva-bhūṣyamāna-Tirabhuktau Kalyāṇa vijaya rājye*¹ Similarly it is not impossible that he may have attacked the rulers of Orissa from some base in the Bilaspur district by following the downward course of the Mahanadī.² In his hostility to the kings of the Kanarese districts (Kuntala) he was carrying on the policy laid down by his predecessor Yuvarāja II. The defeated Kuntala king was most probably Vikramāditya V Tribhuvanamalla (c. 1009-1011 A D), the grandson of Taila II. The only recorded instance of the defeat of Gaṅgeyadeva is probably found in the statement of the *Parīkṣitamahārjī* of Madana which tells us that (the Paramāra king) Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A D) "had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gaṅgeya" (*Gaṅgeya bhang otsava*)³ Hultzsch rightly identified this prince with the Tripurī Kalacurī Gaṅgeya.

The success of Gaṅgeya as a ruler is probably better

¹ JBAS Vol. LXXII 1903 Part I p. 18 see also R. I. Chanda *Gauḍa śya mād* p. 41 in R. D. Banerji *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (second Ed.) Vol. I p. 11; Sylvain Le : *Le Népal* Vol. 3 p. 202 in 1; also *supra* DHNI Vol. I p. 317

² See *supra* DHNI Vol. I p. 406

³ EI Vol. VIII pp. 98 & 101 line 2, V 3; DHNI Vol. II : *fra* chapter on the Paramāras

illustrated by the evidence of his coins. He was the first, and, so far as our present knowledge goes, also the last, in his dynasty to strike his own coins. Their design is very simple. The obverse is occupied by the legend containing the king's name, while the reverse shows the limbate figure of *Laksmī* seated cross-legged. His coins in gold, silver, and copper form, in the opinion of Cunningham, 'a perfect monetary system,' which 'must have been very useful and convenient.'¹ The only record of the building activity of Gāṅgeya is probably contained in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevī, which tells us that he 'made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods by raising (on it) a *Meru* without equal.'² According to the *Bṛhat-Samhitā* Meru denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances).'³ It is difficult to determine whether this was dedicated to a Śaiva or a Vaiṣṇava deity. It was probably a Śaiva temple, for there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya was a devotee of Śiva. His only inscription, that of Piawan which mentions the name of *Maheśvara* seems to have been a Śaiva record. But what appears to be conclusive evidence on the point is the statement of his son's Benares grant, that the latter meditated on the feet of *Parama-bhattāraka-Mahā-nāṣādhnāja-Parameśvara-Śrī-Vāmadeva*.⁴ From A D 1042, the date of this record, onwards several successors of Laksmī Kaina also refer to themselves in their records as meditating on the feet of Vāmadeva.⁵ The custom was later on adopted from the Kalacuris by some of the later Candellas of Jejāka-bhukti.⁶ As the name of Vāmadeva does not

¹ CMI, p 72, Plate VIII, Nos 1-5, CCIM, pp 251-53, Plate XXVI, No 7

² EI, Vol II, pp 11 and 15, V 9

³ Ibid, p 6 fn 42. *Bṛhat samhitā* LVI, 20. As Meru is the name of a mythical mountain of enormous height, it is likely that the temples called by that name were also very lofty and big in size.

⁴ EI, Vol II, p 309, lines 31-34

⁵ See *infra*, DHNI, Vol II, pp 789, 793-94, 797-98

⁶ I.I., Vol. XVII, p 232, lines 4-5. Here Vāmadeva is also given the additional title of *Parama-māheśvara*. See also *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, pp 724 and 725, fn 1.

occur in the genealogical lists of either the Kalacuris or the Candellas, the question of the identification of Vāmadeva appeared to present an insoluble problem¹. Vāmadeva is of course a well known name of Śiva, but as he is given the epithets *Pb M P* and in some even designated *Parama māheśvara* it is unlikely that Śiva was meant by this name. From the epithets used, there is no doubt that in every case the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva. The solution of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the suggestion of Dr. Barnett that these princes who are called Vāmadeva were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself. The only instance of such deification of kings hitherto recorded in Indian history is provided by an inscription from Kurgod, a village in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. In this record the Śinda *Mahāmandaleśvara Rācamalla I*, the grandfather of *Rācamalla II*, a feudatory of the Čālukya *Someśvara IV* of *Kalvaṇi* (c. 1183-89 A.D.) is said to have reappeared after his death in the form of a *linga*. The inscription states that

“Even after attaining a place in the world of Śiva he formed a *linga* for the earth by union therewith.

So having come and stood at the western side of (the temple of) the god *Svayambhū* of the town of *Kurugōḍu*, and arisen in the form of a *linga* so as to delight the whole world, he became very famous under the title of the god *Udbhava Rācamalleśvara*².

Some time before 1042 the earliest recorded date of his successor, *Gāṅgeya* ‘found salvation (*mukṭi*) with his 100 wives

¹ *BI* Vol. II pp. 298-99.

² *BI* Vol. XIV pp. 280 and 283 lines 10-20. The *Vijayakundins* of the Godavari, Elatna and Guntur districts (Madras) describe themselves as meditating on the feet of the holy lord of *Sri-Parvata* (*Ś : Parvata śrāmī pādānadhyaṭa*). See *BI* Vol. IV pp. 194-98; XVII pp. 334-37. *Sri-Parvata* is identified with *Srisaḥam* in the Kurnool district.

(*grhinīs*)' at Prayāga (Allahabad).¹ As his *Samvatsara-srāddha* was performed in that year, he seems to have died in 1041 A.D.² He was succeeded by his son Kaina begotten on queen Dematī,³ also called *Laksmī-Kaina*.⁴ The names of his two immediate successors, Yaśaḥ-Karna and Gayā-Karna, perhaps show that Lakṣmī-Kaina was his real name. In the records of his own family however he is always known by the shortened form Karna. Such abbreviations of names are by no means an uncommon feature of the records of this period.

According to Indian tradition and epigraphic evidence Lakṣmī-Karna was one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The *Rās Mālā* gives the following description of this prince :

“ At this time the raja, named Kuṇun, reigned in Dāhul land, the modern Tīpera, and over the sacred city of Kashee or Benares. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kuṇun.” The same tradition tells us that Kaina, in league with the Caulukya Bhīma of ‘Unhūlwāīā’ (c. 1029-64 A.D.), defeated ‘Bhoj the lord of Oojein, (c. 1019-21 A.D.), destroyed ‘Dhār,’ and ‘took possession of the royal treasury’ there. King Bhoja is said to have ‘attained paradise’ during this war.⁵ This joint attack of the Gurjara and Cedi kings on Bhoja is also supported by a verse in the

¹ *Ibid*, Vol II, p 4, V 12, Vol XII, p 211, V 12, *JASB*, Vol VIII, Part I, p 489, V 11

² Fleet calculated that he died on 22nd January, A D 1041 *Ibid*, Vol II, p 303, Vol XII, p 206, fn 3, Vol XI, p 146

³ *PC*, p 72

⁴ *EI*, Vol I, p 222, V 26 of a Candella inscription from Mahoba

⁵ *Ras*, pp 89-90 Forbes apparently took this account from Merutunga. See *PC*, p 72. This authority gives the name of Karna's mother as Dematī. See also *ibid*, pp 73-75. Merutunga tells us that there were differences about the division of the spoil between Bhīma and Karna after the capture of Dhārā and death of Bhoja. Dāmara, Bhīma's minister, we are told, for some time imprisoned Karna. See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapters on the *Paramāras* and the *Caulukyas*.

Prabandhacintāmanī.¹ In the east, according to Tibetan tradition, Karna is said to have attacked Magadha and destroyed numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries.² This traditional picture of Karna is fully sustained by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Bheraghat inscription of Alhapadevī gives the following account of his victories: 'While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Mūṛala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, Vaṅga trembled with the Kālīṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, (and) the Hūṇa left off being merry'.³ The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasīṃha tells us that Karna was waited upon by Coṣa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauda, Gurjara, and Kīra princes.⁴ These claims of the Kāla curi inscriptions are supported by the records of their contemporaries. Thus the Nagpur stone inscription of the Paramāras tells us that when Bhojadeva 'had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar'.⁵ The Candella records also admit that their kingdom was for a time completely destroyed by the invasions of Lakṣmi-

¹ PC pp. 74-75; BG Vol. I, Part I p. 163

² See DHNI Vol. I pp. 226 ff

³ BI Vol. II pp. 11 and 15 V 12. Most of these geographical names and their location are well-known. Kīra was probably located in the Kangra valley while Kuṅga is taken by some to correspond to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore. Mūṛala is sometimes located in Malabar. See DHNI Vol. I, 576 fn. 1. See also IA Vol. XVIII p. 215. ABOI 1927-28 p. 293; GDI p. 131. It is difficult to find out the location of the Hūṇas during this period. MASI No. 13 p. 20 places them in the Punjab.

⁴ IA Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 and 217 lines 11-12. MASI No. 23, p. 29 suggests that Virarājendra (c. 1032-57 A. D.) was the Coja king defeated by (Lakṣmi) Karna. See *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III No. 8 pp. 201-03 No. 83, where the Coja king claims to have 'recovered [Karna]kucci (i.e. Kanyakubja)'.
⁵ BI Vol. II pp. 185 and 192, V 32; on this point see also the Udaipur *prastāvi* *ibid.*, Vol. I pp. 236 and 239 Vs. 21-22. See also *infra* DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Paramāras

Karna¹ This fact seems to be referred to by Bilhana, the court poet of the Cālukya king, Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.) who describes Karna as the 'death to the lords of Kālāñjara mountain.' The records of the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar also refer to the intimate relationship of Karna with the princes ruling there. Two of his daughters, Yauvanaśī and Viraśī, appear to have been married to the Pāla and Varman kings Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman, respectively. The *Rāmacarita* refers to conflicts between Karna and Vigrahapāla III. The discovery of a decorative pillar-inscription of Karna at Paikore in the Birbhum district of Bengal seems to substantiate his claim to victory over the kings of Gauda.²

It is clear from the above, that for a time Karna occupied a position of marked predominance. The complete destruction of the Paramāras and the Candellas gave him effective control over the whole of the region now known as Central India. When we also take into account the findspots of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares, and Goharwa (Allahabad district), his close relationship with the Gurjara, Karnāta and Gauda kings, and the significance of his assumption of the title of *Trikalīṅgādhīpati*, we may well believe that for a time at least he dominated the whole region extending from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the east, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley³ in the north to the upper waters of the Mahanadi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. Thus the mantle of imperialism which had fallen from the shoulders of the Gurjara-Pratihāras upon the Candellas and the Paramāras was at last seized by the Kalachuris. The achievements of Karna have sometimes been compared to those of Napoleon,⁴ but the

¹ See *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Candellas, pp 695 ff. The Candella ruler defeated by Karna was Devavarman (1051 A.D.).

² See DHNI, Vol I, pp 326-27, 330, 334-35, Vol II, p 698

³ MASI, No 23, p 17, interprets lines 1-5 of the Basahi plate of Govindacandra (IA, XIV, 102-03) to mean that (Lakṣmī)-Karna 'ruled over Kanauj.'

⁴ ABOI, 1927-28, p 292

comparison, is misleading. Unlike Napoleon, Karna's achievements were not the results of a single generation, on the contrary, they were the culmination of a policy which had been systematically pursued by several predecessors, *viz*, Yuvarāja I, Lakṣmaṇa rāja, Yuvarāja II, and Gāṇḍeya. The victorious career of the last of these rulers is sufficiently illustrated by his revival of the title of *Vikramāditya* and the epithet 'world-conqueror' given to him by his own enemies. But if Karna's rise was not Napoleonic, his fall may have been to some extent meteoric, like that of the French emperor. There is evidence that he was overwhelmed by a series of defeats towards the latter part of his career. In the extreme east, the *Rāmacarita* and the Tibetan tradition tell us that Karna was defeated by Nayapāla and his son Vīgrahapāla III. Nearer home the Candella Kīrtivarman, under the able guidance of his Brāhman general Gopāla, claims to have recreated the lost kingdom by defeating Karna. In the west Udayāditya appears to have revived the Paramāra kingdom in Malwa by ousting the forces of the Kalacuri emperor. Further westward, the Caulukya king Bhīma I, of Anahilwad is praised by the Jaina monk Hemacandra for having conquered Karna in battle¹. In the South Bilhāṇa records the defeat of the Kalacuri monarch by Someśvara I, the Caḷukya king of Kalyani².

This war with the *Karṇāṭas* who had allied themselves with Karna in their attack on the Paramarās, may have been occasioned by the alliance which Someśvara I subsequently formed with the defeated Malwa rulers. Bilhāṇa refers to the assistance, which in his reign his son prince Vikramāditya rendered to the *Mālavendra* who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom³. The Sitabaldi stone inscription dated in 1108 B (A D 1087) seems to show that the hostilities between the two

¹ *BI* Vol. II p. 303; Bühler *Über das Leben des Jaina Mōchs Hemacandra* p. 69; *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 163.

² *Vikramāditya-carita* Ed. by Bühler I 102-03.

³ *Ibid* III 57

dynasties continued during the reign of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1126 A.D.).¹ As the *Mahāsāmanta* Dhādibhamdaka of the *Mahārāstrakūta* lineage, who ruled round the present Nagpur, owed allegiance to the Cālukya king, it is certain that the Kalacuri power in A.D. 1087 had been driven out from the headwaters of the Wainganga, Warda, and Tapti into the Mahadeo hills. It was probably during these northern expeditions of the Cālukyas that the Nāgavamśī rulers of Bastar were established in the C. P. These rulers claim to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kāśyapa *gotra*, to have a tiger and a calf as their crest, and to be the lords of Bhogavatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśodbhava-Bhogavatī-pura-varaśvara-sa-vatsa-vyāghra-lāñchana-Kāśyapa-gotra*). At the end of some of their inscriptions occur the figures of the sun, the moon, a cow and a calf, a dagger and shield, and a *linga* in its socket 'exactly of the shape in which *Lingāyats* wear them.' The dates on their records run from c Śaka 1033 to 1147 (c. A.D. 1111 to 1224). They are evidently connected with the Nāgavamśī Sindas of Belgutti (Belagavatti = Bhogavatī in Honnali Taluq of the Shimoga District, Mysore), who appear as feudatories of the Cālukyas of Kalyani, at the end of the 10th and the first half of the 12th century A.D.²

¹ *EI*, Vol III, p 304 ff

² For the history and inscriptions of these *Nāgavamśīs of Bastar* and the various branches of the Sindas see the following —

- (1) *EI*, Vol IX, pp 160-66, 311-16
- (2) *Ibid*, Vol III, pp 314-18.
- (3) *Ibid*, Vol X, pp 25-38, 40-43
- (4) *Ibid*, Vol VII, Appendix, Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos 144, 156, 180, 218, 224, 233, 234, 238, 243, 247 (and perhaps 253)
- (5) *IGI*, 1908, Vol VII, p 144, the article on Belagutti
- (6) Dr L. D. Barnett's note on the *Sindas* in *EI*, Vol XIV, pp 268-70. He notices the following branches of the family. Sindas of (1) Bāgaḍage (mod Bāgaḷkoṭ), (2) Erambarage (mod Yelburga), (3) Bijapur, (4) Karhāta (Satara District), (5) Bellary District, and (6) Bastar
- (7) *Prithvīrāj Rasāo*, (I 54), Chindas (= Sindas) one of the 36 *Agnikula* Rajputs
- (8) *BG*, Vol I, Part II, pp 572-78

It appears likely that these Nāgavamśī (Sinda) princes of Bastar were supplanted about

I have elsewhere¹ calculated from the data contained in the Basahi plate of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra that Karṇa must have suffered defeats sometimes before c 1090-1104. This conclusion is confirmed by the discovery of the Khairha grant of his son Yaśaḥkarṇa dated in (K) S 823 (A D 1073). It is therefore certain that Karṇa's reign came to an end about the beginning of the third decade of the second half of the 11th century A D.

Karṇa, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He is also reported to have built a temple of the *Meru* type at Kāśī, which came to be known as *Karṇameru*.² The only other recorded instance of his building activity was his foundation of the city of Karṇāvati (mod. Karanbel),³ on a site about a mile from Tripurī.

The following inscriptions have so far been discovered for his reign.

(1) *Benares grant*—This was found at the bottom of a well in the old fort of Benares. It consists of 48 lines and is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the royal seal containing the figure of the four armed *Gaja lakṣmī* sitting cross legged. Below the goddess the seal contains the legend—*Śrī-Karṇa deva* and below the legend was engraved the figure of a bull. Excepting a verse in line 13 which is in *Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit*, it is written as usual in Sanskrit verse—

the beginning of the 15th century by the Kākatiyas of Warangal when the latter were driven to the north by the Mūlīmā. The *Dantsewar stone-inscription of Dikpāladeva* (1702 A.D.) gives us the genealogy of the Kākatiyas of Bastar for 10 generations beginning from Annamarāja who is stated to have first settled in Bastar from Oradgaḷ. Annamarāja is said to have been the brother of Pratāparudra of the lunar race. Hiralal is probably right when he suggests that this Pratāparudra is not the earlier prince of that name who succeeded the Warangal throne in c 1291 A.D. but the prince of the same name who was defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī in 1422 A.D. See *RI* Vol. XII pp 242-50.

¹ See *supra* *DHNI* Vol. I p. 600.

² *RI* Vol. II p. 4 V 14 XII p. 212 V 11.

³ *Ibid* Vol. II p. 4 V 13 XII p. 212 V 13; *JASB* Vol. VIII Part I p. 469 V 13.

and prose. The inscription opens with *Om namah Śivāya* and a verse in honour of Śiva. It then traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Kāitavīrya down to Karna. In the prose part of the inscription (lines 33-41) we are told that *Pb - M. - P. - Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta - Pb. - M. - P. - Paramamāheśvara-Trikalingādhīpati-Karnadeva* from his *Vijaya-skandhāvāra*, situated at Svasāga (?), after having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilocana (Śiva), and performed the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāngeyadeva, granted *Kāsi-(bhūmy)-anta(īga)ta Susi-grāma*, to the learned Viśvarūpa, whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. The date, (K) *Samvat* 793 (A.D 1042), comes at the end of the inscription ¹

(2) *Goharwa grant*.—It was found in a field in the old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur *Tahsīl* of the Allahabad district (U.P.). The inscription consists of 49 lines written on two copper plates which were originally held together by a ring. The seal, which was found detached from the plates, bears in relief in its upper part, the seated figure of the goddess *Gaja-Laksmī*. At the bottom is a bull couchant. Across the centre is engraved—*Śrīmat Karnadevah*. The inscription opens with *Om Brahmanamamah* and a verse in praise of Śiva. Then in 30 verses the

¹ The inscription was first noticed by Captain Wilford in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XI, p 108. Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol IX, pp 82 ff, also gave an account of the grant. It was fully edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol II, pp 297-310. For the date of the grant see also *ibid*, Vol XII, p 206, fn. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Venī with Wengāṅgā of the C P. This seems to be wrong. It should be identified with the river Venī, which flowed near Allahabad. In his Kamauli grant dated in V S 1228 (A D 1172 A D) the Gāhadavāla Jayaccandra is found bathing in the Venī at Prayāga; see *EI*, Vol IV, p 122. In *EI*, Vol V, Appendix, p 58, fn 4, Kielhorn suggested the reading *Prayāga* for Svasāga. On the significance of the word *Trikalinga*, see G Ramdas in *QJAHS*, Vol I, Part I, July 1926, pp 16 ff. He tried to prove that the affix means not *three* but *high* so according to him *Trikalinga* means high or hilly Kalinga, i.e., the highland intervening between Kalinga proper and Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Chattisgarh (the tract now occupied by the Kalahandi State, Sambalpur district and Goomsur). But see the foot-note of the editor on p 19, where he points out that *Tiru* (or *Tri*) is taken to be a corruption from Sanskrit *Śrī* and cannot signify 'high'. Pliny mentions *Macco-Calingae*, *Gangarides*

genealogy of the dynasty is traced from the moon and the 'thousand armed Haihaya emperor'. The historical part of the genealogy begins with Lakṣmaṇarāja, and ends with Karṇa. In the prose part we are told that *Pb -M P Vāmadeva pādānudhyāta Pb M P Parama māheśvara-Trikalīṅgādhipati nija bhujopārjit Āśvapati Gaṇapati Narapati rāja trayādhipati* Karṇadeva, while (residing) at the *Jaya-skandhāvāra* situated in Karṇatīrtha, after having bathed in the Gaṅgā and the holy Arghatīrtha and worshipped the divine lord Śiva, granted the village of Candapahā in the Kośamba pattalā to the *pañḍita* Sānti Sarman. It is dated in the 7th year of the administration of Karṇa (*Śrīmat-Karṇa prakāśe Vyavaharane*),¹ 'on the full moon *tithi* coupled with a Thursday, of the month of Kārttika. (This date perfectly agrees with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047) It was written by the *Karṇika* Sarvānanda, and engraved by Vidyānanda. It ends with *mangalam mahāśrī*.*

(3) *Paikore decorative pillar inscription*—It was discovered at Paikore in the district of Burdhum Bengal. It is incised 'on a small decorative pillar,' and records that 'the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself'.

✓ (4) *Sarnath stone inscription*—It was found at Sarnath 'in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of the Dhamekh.'

Calingae and *Calingae*. *Mecoo* may signify the *Mekalas* who lived near the Maikal range. As the *Purāṇas* state that the Nerbada drains the western half of Kālīṅga (Amarakantak in the Maikal range) Kālīṅga may have in its wider sense extended from the estuaries of the Ganges to the hills of Amarakantak in the west and possibly to Godavari in the South. But can *Mecoo* be the Dravidian *Muk*-three? See Barnett, *JRAS* 1926 p. 157 fn. 1. See also *DHNI* Vol. I p. 303 fn. 1.

¹ Dr. Barnett suggests: Can this mean administration under the immediate eye of Karṇa?"

² Edited by Hultzsch, *RI* Vol. XI pp 132-46 on the date see the remarks of Fleet *ibid* p. 146. The Kośamba pattalā is mentioned in a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Jayasacandra dated in (V) S 1233. See *IA* Vol. XVIII p 137; also *DHNI* Vol. I p. 523. Kośambapattalā is mentioned in the Karṇa inscription of Yaśadvallā, discovered near Kosi (Allahabad Dist.): see *JRAS* 1927 pp 694 ff. See also *DHNI* Vol. I p. 600.

³ Noticed in *ASI* 1921-22 p. 115. *Paikore* is sometimes spelt *Paikor*.

It is 'broken and fragmentary' and contains 14 lines written in 'corrupt Sanskrit'. It is dated in the victorious reign of *P. M. P. - Śī - Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-P. M. Paramamāheśvara- Tr (Tri)-kalīngādhipati-nīja-bhujopānt - Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-īāja-trayādhipati-Śīmat-Karṇadeva* in the (K.) *Samvat* 810 (1058 A. D.) It records that the *Mahājān-ānujāna-Paramopāsikā Māmaka*, wife of one *Dhaneśvara* caused 'a copy of the *Asta-sāhasikā* to be written in the *Saddharmacakrapravattana Mahāvihāra*. It ends with the 'usual imprecations.'¹

(5) *Rewa stone-inscription* — This inscription is now 'in the store of the office of the Home Member of the Council of Regeney,' Rewa State. Its find-spot is at present unknown. 'The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sandstone, the left half of which is missing.' It is dated in the (K.) S 812 (A. D. 1060-61), in the 9th year of the reign of *Karna*. The inscription begins with a verse containing an invocation to *Śiva*. The record is so mutilated that it is very difficult to follow the details mentioned in it. But it seems to refer to a line of chiefs² who were servants of the *Kalacuri* kings. It mentions two battles, a battle of the horses (*ghotaka-vigraha*) and a battle in the valley of the Yellow mountain (*pīta-parvata-tala*), in which *Vapullaka* (also called *Vapula*), one of these chiefs, seem to have shown his valour. In the second conflict (*samara*) he defeated the forces of one *Trilocana* and a holy person (*muni*) named *Vijjala*. The proper object of the inscription is to record some donation of land to (*Śiva*) *Vapuleśvara*, who was named after *Vapula*, 'a devoted worshipper of the feet' of *Karṇadeva*. The *prāśasti* was composed by one *Viruka*. Line 19 contains 'a supplementary record which mentions the donation of an image of *Maheśvarī* by a lady named *Pravaiā*, alias *Nayanāvalī*, who was apparently the wife of *Vapula*.³

¹ ASI, 1906-07, pp 100-01

² One of these is called *Rānaka*, see line 7

³ Noticed in ASI, WC, 1921, pp 52-53 MASI, No. 23, pp 130-33, *Trilocana* is

The term used here in connection with the regnal year is "*Śrīmat-Karṇa prakāśa Vyavaharāṇḍya*, which probably means 'according to law or according to custom or practice regulating the public appearance of Karṇa'.¹ As we know from his Benares grant that he was ruling in 1042 A D, this record shows that either he was crowned a second time as an universal ruler (*Ākravarīm*) or that his formal coronation was deferred for about 11 years. But unfortunately the acceptance of this involves a conflict with the date of the Goharwa grant, which is dated exactly as in this inscription, in the 7th year, and which was calculated by Fleet to be in perfect agreement with 1047 A D. Unless it can be shown that the date of the Goharwa grant also agrees with 1058-59 A D, we must conclude that the reading of the date in one of the inscriptions (Nos 2 and 5) is wrong.

Lakṣmī-Karṇa was succeeded some time before 1073 A D by his son Yaśaḥ Karṇa, begotten on queen Āvalladevī of the Hūṇa stock (*Hūṇānvaya*).² The Jubbulpore and Khaira grants of Yaśaḥ Karṇa seem to indicate that he was crowned as king while his father was still living. The verse which describes his coronation runs as follows:

"Of this law abiding (son), the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed the great inauguration ceremony (*mahābhīṣekam*) in the midst of the four great oceans, made refulgent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun."³

As the verse quoted above distinctly says that Karṇa himself took part in his son's coronation we may perhaps conclude

identified with the Lāṅka Cālukya Trilocanapāla (A D 1051). See *infra* *DIHI* Vol II chapter on the Cālukyas.

¹ See above p. 784 fn. 1.

² *EI* Vol. II p. 4 V 15; XII, p. 212 V II. *JASB* Vol. XII p. 490 V 13.

³ *EI*, Vol. II pp. 4 and 6 V 15; XII p. 212 V 10.

that after his serious defeats, like the Sāhi king Jayapāla,¹ he abdicated his throne in favour of his son. This event, as we have seen, must have occurred some time before 1073 A D, the date of the Khairha grant

In the Kalacuri records, Yaśah-Karna is generally praised vaguely for his victories. In his own grants he is called the *Jambudvīpa-ratna-pradīpa* who had 'erected high pillars of victory near the ends of the earth.'² The only definite statement about his victories in his own grants is contained in the following verse

"Extirpating with ease the ruler of *Andhra*, (even though) the play of (that king's) aims disclosed no flaw, he revered the holy *Bhīmeśvara* with many ornaments The *Godāvarī*, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo."³

The *Bhīmeśvara* of the above passage has been identified with some probability with 'the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god *Bhīmeśvara-svāmin* at *Dīākshāiāma*' (Godavari District). This temple is reported to contain 'a particularly big *lingam*, some fourteen or fifteen feet high' and also inscriptions, dated from A D 1055⁴ The Andhra king is probably to be identified with the Calukya *Vijayāditya*, who ruled in Vengi from about 1064 to 1074 A D.⁵ The only other reference to his victory is contained in the Bheraghat stone-inscription of *Alhanadevī* V 14 of this record tells us that Yaśah-Karna became famous by devastating *Campāranya*.⁶ Kielhorn suggested

¹ *DHNI*, Vol I, p 87

² *Ibid*, Vol II, p 4, Vs 17 and 19, Vol XII, p 212, Vs 17 and 19

³ *EI*, Vol II, p 4, V 23, Vol XII, p 213, V 23

⁴ *EI*, Vol II, p 7, fn. 48, Vol. XII, p 208

⁵ *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p 454 *Vijayāditya* was a son of *Someśvara* I (c 1044-68) and a brother of *Vikramāditya* VI (c 1076-1126) He was probably a feudatory of these two rulers

⁶ *EI*, Vol II, p 11, V 14

that this place should denote a tract of country near the Godavari river, but it is more likely that the place is to be identified with the modern Champaran district of Bihar. We have already seen that there is some evidence to show that Gaṅgeya, one of the predecessors of Yaśaḥ Karṇa, ruled in Tira bhukti which included Champaran.¹ This area may have been lost to the Kalacuris after the defeats which overwhelmed Karṇa during the latter part of his reign. Yaśaḥ Karṇa may have therefore undertaken an expedition into that province to punish its rebellious tribes. That he succeeded in making no permanent impression in Tira-bhukti is clear from the inscription of Alhanadevi. It was only a raid. At present we do not know the last date of Yaśaḥ Karṇa, but as the first recorded date of his successor so far known, is (K) S 902 (A D 1151), it is not impossible that his reign may have extended well into the beginning of the 3rd decade of the 11th century. In that case the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas in c 1090 A D and their occupation of the whole area from Benares to Kanauj must have robbed Yaśaḥ Karṇa of some of his fairest provinces in the Ganges-Jumna valley. This conclusion is supported by a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, which in V S 1177 (A D 1122) sanctions the transfer of some land which was previously granted by the (Kalacuri) king Yaśaḥ Karṇa.² As the reign of Lakṣmī Karṇa ended before 1073 A D we can safely conclude that the Ganges Jumna Doab was conquered by Candradeva (c 1090-1104) from the Kalacuris in the reign of Yaśaḥ Karṇa.³ Another serious defeat that Yaśaḥ Karṇa appears to have suffered came from the revived Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Nagpur *prasasti* of Naravarman tells us that the illustrious Lakṣmadeva (c 1070-1100 A D) attacked Tripuri and annihilating his warlike spirited adversaries encamped on

¹ For the area indicated by Tira-bhukti consult Monier Williams *Sanskrit English Dictionary* Oxford 1872, p. 376.

² *JASB* Vol. XXXI pp. 123ff. See also *DHVI* Vol. I pp. 519 and 530 ff.

³ *IA* Vol. XIV pp. 102-03, lines 3-5. See also *DHVI* Vol. I p. 503 ff.

the banks of the Revā.¹ Yaśah-Kaina probably also suffered defeats in the hands of the Candella Sallaksanavarman² and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI.³ There are reasons to believe that the hold of Tūpurī on Tummāna also grew precarious during this period.⁴

The following records have so far been discovered for the reign of Yaśah-Kaina

(1) *Khairha grant*—This was found in a large stone chest at Khairha (N. Lat. 23°12', Long. 81°30' E), a village in the Rewah state about 14 miles S. E. of Sohagpur, the headquarters of a *tahsīl* of the same name. The inscription consists of 44 lines, and is incised on two plates. The bell-shaped seal which is attached with a heavy ring has the usual figure of *Gaja-laksmī*, and the bull, and between them, the legend *Śrīmad-Yaśah-Kainadevah*. It opens with *Om namo Brahmane*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalachuris from the mythical *Viṣṇu* down to Yaśah-Kaina. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that *Pb -M -P.-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb -M.-P -Parama-māheśvara-Trīkalīngādhipati-niṣa-bhujopāṇit - Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhīpati* Yaśah-Kainadeva granted the village of *Dēulā-pamcela* in the *Devagrāma-pattalā* to a Brāhmān named *Gangādhara Śarman*. The inscription is dated in (K) *Samvat* 823 (1073 A.D.) It was written by *Dharmalekhin Vacchūka*.⁵

(2) *The Jubbulpore grant*—This was found deposited in the Nagpur Museum. Its find-spot is unknown. It was

¹ *EI*, Vol II, p 186, V 39. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Paramāras*.

² *EI*, Vol I, pp 327, V 4, also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 702.

³ *Belgami inscription* of Vikramāditya VI, dated in A.D. 1081. See *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1929, pp 133 and 137, line 33. I am indebted to Dr. D. C. Ganguli for this reference.

⁴ See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, pp 803, 806 and 808.

⁵ Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol XII, pp 205-17. The date of the inscription appears to be irregular, see *ibid*, p 206. The editor is inclined to think that the *Devagrāma-pattalā* is to be identified with mod. Deogavān, close to Khairha.

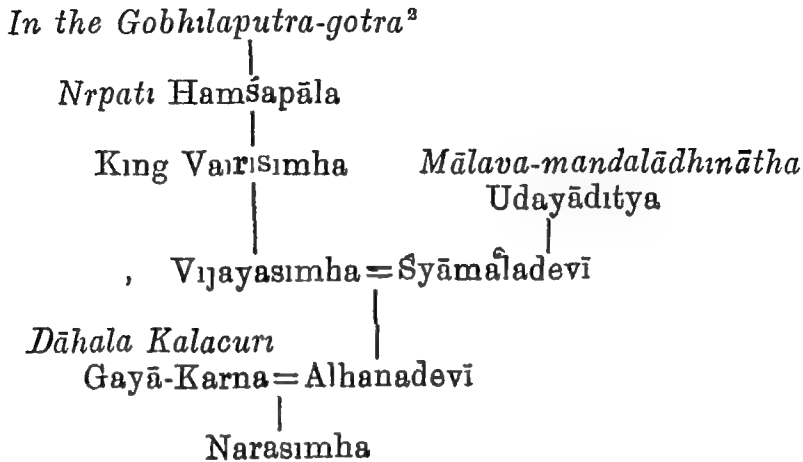
originally inscribed on two plates, but the second is now lost. The preserved plate contains the historical portion of the grant, which opens with *Oṃ namo Brahman*, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the Moon down to Yaśaḥ Karṇa. In the Nagpur Museum transcript of the inscription, which was made before the second plate was lost, the date is given as 'Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of Māgha 829, at the time of the *Uttarāyana Samkrānti*, the details work out for 'Monday the 31st December, 1078 A.D.' The preserved portion of the grant ends with *Pb M P Śrī Vāmadeva*.¹

Yaśaḥ Karṇa was succeeded by his son Gayā-Karṇa. The only record so far known of this king is the *Tewar stone-inscription*. It was found on a light green stone which appears to have been found at Tewar (Tripuri), a village about 6 miles to the west of Jubbulpore (C.P.). The inscription contains 22 lines. It opens with *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya* then follows the genealogy of the princes of the *Ātreya gotra* from (Lakṣmī) Karṇa to Gayā Karṇa. In lines 4-5 the wish is expressed that this last prince together with his son, the *Yuvarāja* Narasimha, may rule the earth for ever. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Pāśupata (or *Pāñcārthika*) ascetic named Bhāvabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatejas, of the *Ananta gotra*. It is dated in line 21 in the Cedi year 902 (*Nava Sata Yugalābdadhikya gā Cedi-diṣṭe*), corresponding to A.D. 1151.²

¹ I call this plate the Jubbulpore grant because it is so called by Cunningham and Kielhorn. It has been edited by Kielhorn in *RI* Vol. II pp. 1-7. He did not know that the Nagpur Museum transcript contains the year—*Śaṣṭi* 829. This is given by Hiralal in *RI* Vol. XII, p. 207. Kielhorn on the data available to him fixed upon A.D. 1122 as the date of the grant. The first plate of the grant is now in the Nagpur Museum.

² Edited by Kielhorn in *IA* XVIII pp. 209-11. The editor has pointed out that the word *diṣṭe* means *kāla*; *Cedi-diṣṭe* therefore means Cedi *kāla* (cf. *Mālava kāla*). The local name of Śiva appears to have been *Gāhṇṇḍa* (line 15). A naked colossal Jaina image dedicated in the reign of Gayā Karṇa was discovered at Bahuriband in the Jubbulpore District (C.P.). It mentions the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* Gohana. See *ASR* Vol. IX, p. 40.

Gayā-Karna married the Guhila princess Alhanadevī. The Bheraghat stone-inscription of this queen gives us the following genealogy of her ancestors ¹ —



Alhanadevī was therefore a relative of the Paramāra kings of Malwa. We have seen that Yaśah-Karna was severely defeated by the Paramāra Laksmadeva. But during the first half of the 12th century the Paramāras appear to have been driven westward across the Betwa by a revival of the Candella power under Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.).³ In the Mau inscription of the Candellas we are told that before Madanavarman the Cedi king always fled vanquished in fierce fight.⁴ I have pointed out elsewhere that this Cedi king was probably Gayā-Karna.⁵ The discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins⁶ of Madanavarman seems to indicate that Baghelkhand, to the North of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas. The Kalacuris had already lost some of their fairest provinces in the Ganges valley to the Gāhadavālas in the reign of Yaśah-Karna. During this reign they fully lost their

¹ *EI*, Vol. II, p. 12, Vs. 17-25

² This branch ruled in Medapāṭa (Mewar). Politically they were not an important power at this period. See *infra*, chapters on the *Guhila-putras*, *Paramāras*, and the *Caulukyas*.

³ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

⁴ *EI*, Vol. I, p. 198, V. 15.

⁵ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Candellas*, p. 711.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 199-200.

hold on South Kosala, the Tummāṇa branch of the family having become completely independent¹. The victories of the Candellas must have made their condition still worse. Common danger and the instinct of self preservation may have therefore compelled the Paramāras and Kalacuris to forget their old hatred. The marriage of Gayā-Karna with the grand daughter of Udayāditya may in that case be regarded as a tangible symbol of friendship between the Paramāras and the Kalacuris.

✓ The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga² seems to contain a story of an attack on Gujarat by Gayā-Karṇa. We are told that once when the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Anahilapāṭaka had started on a pilgrimage "he was informed by a couple of poets (*Yugalika*), who came from a foreign country that Karṇa, king of Dāhala was marching against him. His forehead was beaded with drops of perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, and blamed himself at the feet of Hemacandra. The story runs that the Jain sage assured his disciple that 'in the 12th watch from this time your mind will be relieved'. At the appointed time Kumārapāla was informed that 'Karṇa had gone to heaven. "Karṇa, we are told, 'was making a march at night seated on the forehead of an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan tree, and hanged him, and so he died. It is difficult to say whether this story has any foundation in fact. But the date of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-78 A.D.), makes it almost certain that by 'Karṇa,' king of Dāhala Merutuṅga meant Gayā Karna (c. 1151 A.D.).

Gayā Karna was succeeded by his son Narasimha, who had been already associated in government with his father for some

See *infra* DHNI Vol II section on the Tummāṇa branch ¶ 603.

¹ PC p. 146.

² See *supra* DHNI Vol II p. 777 fn. 4. Lakṣmi-harṇa was also called Karṇa.

time before 1151 A D , the date of the Tewar inscription. The following inscriptions have so far been found for his reign .

(1) *Bheraghat stone-inscription*.—The block of green stone which bears this was found at Bheraghat on the Narbada, in the Jubbulpore district of the C P. It contains 29 lines and opens with *Om namah Śivāya* and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, and Sarasvatī. Then follows a pedigree of the Kalacuris from Arjuna (Sahasīārjuna, V. 7) to Gayā-Kaiṇa, who married the Gobhila princess Alhanadevī. The latter bore him Narasimha, and Jayasimha. The former of these two princes was reigning when the inscription was set up. The proper object of the inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Śiva (*Indu-mauli*), with a *matha*, a hall of study and gardens attached to it, by the widowed queen Alhanadevī. For the maintenance of these institutions and the temple, the queen 'assigned the two villages of Nāmaundi, in the Jāulī-pattalā, and of Makarapātaka, on the right bank of the Narmadā in the land adjoining the hills. The management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pāśupata ascetic of Lāṭa lineage'. All the aforesaid buildings were planned by the *Sūtradhāra* Pīthe, who knew 'the rules of Viśvakarman'. The *praśasti* was composed by Śaśīdhara of the Mauna *gotra*, and written by his elder brother Pīthvīdhara. It was engraved on stone by the *Sūtradhāra* Bālasimha. The date (K) *Samvat* 907 (A.D. 1155) comes at the end ¹

(2) *Lal-Pahad rock-inscription*.—This is 'rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lāl-Pahād,' near Bharhut in the Nagod State, C I (Lat 24°27'N, Long 80°55'E). It contains 8 lines. It begins with *Svasti Śrī*, then follows *Pb* -

¹ First edited by Dr F E Hall in *JAOS*, Vol. VI, 1860, pp. 499-532. The text of Dr Hall was then printed with a photolithograph in *ASWI, Memoranda, No 10 (Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India)*, pp 106-09. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol II, pp 7-17.

M P Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta Pb M.-P Parama-māheśvara-Trikalingādhipati-nija bhujopārjit-Āśvapati Gajapati-Narapatirāja trayādhipati Śrīmān Narasimhadēva carandh In lines 5 6 the inscription seems to record the construction of a *vaha* or water channel by the *Rāuta* Ballāladēvaka, son of Keśavāditya, the *Mahārājaputra* of Vadyavā-grāma The date, (K.) *Samvat* 909 (A D 1158) is given in line 5¹

(3) *Alha Ghat stone inscription* —“ This inscription together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, ‘one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges (Lat 24°55'N, Long 81°27'E) It contains 7 lines and opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1216 (A D 1159), in the victorious reign of the *Ḍāhāliya mahārājādhirāja* Narasimhadēva The object is to record (lines 2-5) that the *Rāṇaka Chihula*, son Jālhaṇa, the *Mahārāṇaka* of Pipal [oau?]durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near *Śaṭaśadikā Ghāt* Line 6 seems to mention some person from *Kauśāmbī* who had something to do with the *Rāṇaka*’s orders The record was written by *Ṭhakura Kamalādhara* It ends with the name of *Sūtradhāra Kamalasūba* and 4 others, who were probably artisans engaged in the work mentioned above²

Nothing definite is recorded of this king’s reign but the find spots of the Lal Pahad and Alha Ghat inscriptions seem to indicate that in the course of it the Kalachuris may have recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.

¹ It was first noticed by Cunningham who also published a photozincograph of the record in *ASR* Vol. IX pp 1 and 94 and plate II It was next edited by Kielborn in *J.I* Vol XVIII pp. 211-13. For the words *Rājaputra* and *Mahārājaputra* as titles of officials see *ibid* *loc. cit.* p. 212.

² A transcript of the text together with a photolithograph of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his *ASR* Vol. XXI, p. 115 and plate XXVIII. It was then edited by Kielborn in *J.I* Vol XVIII pp. 213-14

Narasimha was succeeded by his younger uterine brother Jayasimha. The following records are known for his reign :

(1) *Rewah grant* — This is reported to have been discovered in Rewah. It contains 19 lines, incised on a single plate. It opens with *Om svasti* and a verse in honour of Helamba (Heramba, i.e., Ganeśa ?). It then refers itself to the victorious reign of Pb.-M -P -Vāmadeva-pā dānudhyāta-Pb -M -P -Parama-māheśvara-Trīkalīngād hīpati-niṣa-bhuj-opāṇit-Āśvapati-Gajapati Narapati-rāja-trayīdhipati Jayasimhadeva. Then in line 4 begins the genealogy of the feudatory Mahārānakas of Kakkaredikā (mod Kakri, Long 81°17'E, Lat 24°56'N). It is as follows :—

		In the Kakkaredikā-nagari
		in the Kaurava-vamśa
	(i)	Mahārānaka Jayavarman
	(ii)	, Vatsarāja
(iii)	Mahā-māheśvara	,, Kirtivarman

In line 14 we are told that this last chief in (K) Samvat 926 (A.D. 1175), on the occasion of making the funeral oblations in honour of his deceased father (No. ii), granted the village of Ahadāpāda, situated in the Khandagahā-pattalā, to two Brāhmanas, the *Thakura* Gayādhara and the *Thakura* Caturbhuja. In lines 18-19 we are told that the inscription was written, with the consent of the *Thakura* Ratnapāla, by the *Thakura* Vidyādhara, and engraved by the *Lohakāras* Kūke and Kīkaka.¹

(2) *Nagpur Museum Inscription*.—Kielhorn notices this in a footnote of his *List of Northern Inscriptions*. It is 'much effaced' and is 'apparently' dated in the (K) Sam 926 in the reign of Jayasimha. It was composed by the same Śasīdhara who composed the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhanadevī.²

¹ The grant was noticed by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 145-46. Edited by Kielhorn in the IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-27.

² EI, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 30.

(3) *Tewar stone-inscription* —The stone which bears this was procured from the village of Tewar (Tripuri), in the district of Jubbulpore (C P) The inscription consists of 9 lines and opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva Then comes the names of the king Gayā Karna and his two sons Narasimha and Jayasimha It records the erection of a temple of Śiva (*Īvara*) by the *Nāyaka* Keśava in (K) *Samvat* 928 (A D 1177) Keśava was a resident of the village of Sīkhā in Mā(la)vaka or Mālava¹

(4) *Karanbel stone inscription* —The stone which bears this inscription was found at Karanbel, now a heap of ruins, a few miles from Bheraghat near Jubbulpore in the C P Though the stone was found broken, hardly a single *akṣara* has been lost The inscription contains 25 lines but it appears to have been left incomplete For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved and we miss at the end the names of the author and the engraver which in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted In consequence the inscription is also left undated The record opens with *Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya* and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Śiva Gaṇānana, and Sarasvatī The contents of the genealogical portion are 'almost identical' with those of the introductory portion of the Bheraghat inscription of Alhapadevi Among the differences may be mentioned the following (i) the (Gobhila) Hamsāpāla is here called *Prāgvaṭe vanipāla* (ii) the (Paramūra) Udayāditya is called *Dhārādhiśa* (iii) the genealogy is here traced from Yuvarāja II The inscription 'probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Śiva'²

¹ First edited by Dr F E. Hall in *JAOS* Vol. VI pp. 512-13 His text with a photograph was then printed by Dr Burgess *Memoranda ASI* No 10 p 110 and his translation in Cunningham *ASR* Vol. IX, pp. 95-96. Kielhorn finally edited it in the *SI* Vol. II, pp. 17-19

² Edited by Kielhorn *IA* Vol. XVIII pp. 214-18. Keśava of the Bheraghat inscription is spelt here *Keśga* clearly the Keśga-dēva of Southern India.

These inscriptions of Jayasimha do not supply us with any definite information about his reign. But it is perhaps significant that he is designated a *Samvāt* in his Tewar inscription (line 4). This may indicate some measure of military success. His Rewah grant shows that the fortune which apparently attended his brother in his struggle against the Candellas was continued in his reign. He must at any rate have ruled over the whole of Baghelkhand. Our inference regarding Jayasimha's success in war seems to be confirmed by his son's Kumbhi grant, which tells us that on hearing his coronation 'the king of Gujara deserted his weak kingdom, so also the Turuska, while the chieftain of Kuntala neglected amorous dalliance, other kings too, daffing the world aside, fled beyond the ocean.'¹ The Gopalpur stone-inscription of his son Vijayasimha gives us the name of one of his queens, Gosaladevī.²

Vijayasimha succeeded his father some time before 1180 A. D. The following inscriptions are known for his reign.

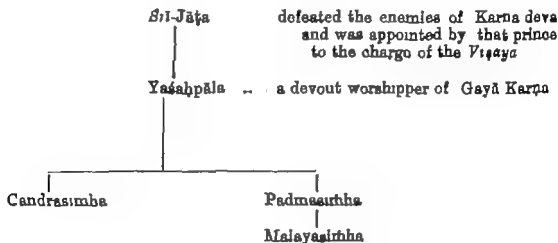
Kumbhi grant — This was dug up at Kumbhi, on the right bank of the Herun river, 35 miles N. E. of Jubbulpore. The inscription is incised on two plates of copper. The seal on the ring has the usual figures of *Gaja-Laksmī* and the bull. Between the two figures is the legend *Śrīmad-Vijayasimhadeva*. The inscription opens with *Om namo Brahmane*, and then gives the genealogy of the dynasty from *Brahmā* down to Vijayasimha. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that with the permission of *Pb - M - P - Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta - Pb - M - P - Parāma - māheśvara - Trīkalīṅgādhipati-niṣa - bhujopārjīt - Āśvapati - Gajapati - Narapati - rāja - trayādhipati* Vijayasimhadeva, his mother Gosaladevī granted in (K) *Samvat* 932 (A. D. 1180) the village of Coralaya, in the *Samvala-pattalā*, to the Brāhman Sītha

¹ *JASB*, Vol. VIII, pp. 485 and 491, V. 23.

² See also the Kumbhi plates, *JASB*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481-95, and the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Vijayasimha, *MASI*, No. 23, p. 142.

Sarman The inscription was written by Vatsarāja and engraved by *Sūtradhāra* Lema¹

(2) *Rewah stone inscription* — The thin slab of Kaimur sand stone on which this is incised was discovered in one of the small guard rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure of Rewah town. The inscription consists of 27 lines. It opens with an invocation to Mañjuśhoṣa, 'the Buddhist god of learning' and then gives the following genealogy of a line of chiefs who served under the Kalacuris of Tripurā



The inscription then gives the genealogy of an officer of Malayasīmha, whose name appears to be Harisīmha. Its proper object is to record the excavation of a tank, by Malayasīmha under the superintendence of Harisīmha, 'at a cost of 1 500 *tankakas* stamped with the figure of Buddha (*Bhagavat*)'. The inscription is dated in (K) *Sambvat* 944 (A D 1192), in the reign of Vijayasīmha²

¹ *JASB* 1839 Vol. VIII Part I pp. 481-95. Through a mistake Gosaladevi was taken by the editors as the wife of Vijayasīmha; see *ibid* p. 481 but see page 495. She is distinctly termed *maṭa* in the text of the inscription on p. 492 (*maṭa* *Śrīmad-Gosaladevi* *pradatta*). On this point see also the Gopalpur stone-inscription in the *Id* Vol. XVIII p. 219 and the Bheraghat (Valdyanāth temple) inscription in *MAI* No. 23, p. 162. In this latter inscription the name of the queen seems to be Gosāl-devī. The name of the village granted is wrongly given as Coralaga, on page 486 (*JASB* Vol VIII Part I).

² *ASI* WC. 1921 p. 53; also *MAI* No. 23 pp. 153-11.

(3) *Rewah grant*.—This is reported to have been found in Rewah. It is a single plate, containing 20 lines of writing. There is a ringhole in the upper part, but all trace of the ring and the seal which may have been attached to it has been lost. The inscription opens with *Om śaṣṭi* and two verses in honour of Brahman and of Bhāratī. In lines 2-4 it refers itself to the reign of *Pb.-M -P -Parama-māheśvara-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M -P -Parama-māheśvara-Trīkalīngādhipati-niṣa-bhuj-opārjita-Āślapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati Vījayadeva*. It then gives the following genealogy of Sallakṣanavarman, the feudatory chief of Kākareḍī.

In the capital of Kākareḍī a person named

- (i) Dābilla, after him came
- (ii) Vājūka "
- (iii) Dandūka "
- (iv) Khojūka "
- (v) Jayavarman His son was

Vatsanāja

(vi) *Sāmanta-śiromani Kīrti-varman*

(vii) *Sāmanta-śiromani-Samadhigata-pañcamahāśabda Sallakṣanavarman*

In lines 7-14 is recorded the grant of the village of Chhidaudā in the Kūyīṣavapālīsa-pattalā to certain Brāhmans, descendants of *Thakura Mādhava*. The inscription is dated in line 13 in (V.) *Samvat* 1253 (A.D.1195). It appears to have been engraved by Kūke¹

(4) *Gopalpur stone-inscription*.—This inscription was discovered at the village of Gopalpur, about two miles to the south of Bheraghat, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbel. The stone which bears it is broken, and the record has been much

¹ First noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 146. Properly edited by Kielhorn in the *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 227-30.

damaged in consequence. It contains 21 lines, and opens with *Oṃ namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. The proper object is to record (lines 16-21) the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a member of the Kāśyapa family. By way of introduction it gives the genealogy of the Kalacuri kings of Tripurī from (Lakṣmī Karna) down to Vijayasimha. The preserved portion does not contain any date.¹

(5) *Bheraghat stone inscription*—It 'was found on the lintel of a doorway of the temple of Vaidyanātha at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore district. It contains four lines and records that the *Mahārājā Śrī mad Gosalādevī*, *Mahārāja Vijayasimha deva* and *Śrīmad Ajayasimhadeva* daily saluted the feet of the god Vaidyanātha.²

We know nothing of the political incidents of Vijayasimha's reign. The dates of his extant inscriptions extend from 1180 to 1195 A.D. It is not known definitely how long he ruled after 1193, or who succeeded him. The Kumbhi inscription mentions as one of his sons *Mahākumāra Ajayasimha*,³ who possibly succeeded his father after the latter's death. No records of Ajayasimha or any of his successors have so far been discovered. The Rewah grants of Trailokyavarman dated in 1240 and 1241 A.D.⁴ however show that the northern portion of Baghelkhand at least had passed under the control of the Candellas in the first half of the 13th century. In the S.E. from the last quarter of the 11th century the Ohhattigarh division had formed an independent state under the Turmāṇa branch of the Haihayas.⁵ North of the Bhaner range the Muslim power gradually advanced into Saugor and the Damoh districts in the 13th century. This is shown by the *Batthagarh stone inscription* dated in (V)

¹ Edited by Kuelhorn, *IA* Vol. XVIII pp. 218-19. First noticed by Dr. F. E. Hall in *JASB* Vol. XXXI p. 113 and then by Cunningham in *ASB* Vol. IX p. 99 No. XV.

² *IASI* No. 23 p. 143.

³ *JASB* Vol. VIII Part I p. 493. See also Bheraghat stone inscription *IASI* No. 23, p. 142, lines 2-3.

⁴ *IA* Vol. XVII pp. 230-36; also *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II pp. 724-26.

⁵ *BI* Vol. XIX pp. 75-81; see also *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II pp. 789-791, 92 and *infra* pp. 805-06.

Samvat 1385 (A.D. 1328). This inscription was originally found at Batihagari, a village 21 miles N W. of Damoh. It is written in Sanskrit and records the construction of a *gomat̥ha*, a garden and a well in the town of Batihādīm by the order of a local Muḥammadan ruler Jallāl Shojā (Jalāl Khwājah), son of Isāka (Ishāq)-rāja. This Jallāla is stated to have been appointed as his representative by Hīsāmadīm (Hīsām ud-Dīn) also called Chipaka, son of Malik Julacī, who was made commander of the Khaipara armies and lord of Cedi (*Cedi-desādhīpa*) by the *Sakendra Suratrāṇa* (Sultān) Mahamūda (Mahmūd) of Yoginīpura (Delhi). The inscription further states that Jallāla appointed his servant Dhanau as manager of the institutions mentioned above. The principal architects (*Sūtradhāra*) were Bhojūka, Kāmadeva and Hāla of the *Śilapatta-vamśa*. The composer of the record was the *Māthurānvaya-Kāyastha* Baijūka.¹

Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified the Delhi Sultān Mahmūda with Nāsir ud-Dīn Mahmūd (1246-66 A.D.), who is reported to have subdued Bundelkhand region and appointed a governor about 1251 A.D.² The name of the governor is not mentioned by the Muslim writers. Hiralal may be right in thinking that he was apparently Malik Julacī of the Batihagari inscription. 'Between the conquest of Mahmūd and the record of our inscription there is an interval of 77 years spread over three governors, the Malik, his son Hīsām ud-Dīn, and Jalāl ud-Dīn, giving a fair normal average duration of administration for each.'³

We may conclude from this inscription as well as the *Bāmhnī Satī record* of the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn, dated in A.D. 1309⁴ that

¹ Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 44-47. Dr. Barnett suggests that 'Chipaka' is probably an Indian name. The editor's suggestion that it stands for 'Safiq' is according to him wrong.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45. The regions subdued were Gwalior, Chanderi, and Malwa, see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 351, *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 239.

³ *EI*, Vol. XII, p. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2. I have already mentioned this inscription, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 734-35.

the Muslims had extended their power in the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries as far as the Bhaner Range. It is difficult to say how far their dominions extended south of that range. But it is likely that the Kalacuris of Tripurī may have lingered on as a minor power in the Jubbulpore division for a considerable time. The Muslims never succeeded in effectively subjugating this region, known in later history as Gondwana. Possibly this dynasty was ousted finally by the extension of the power of the Gonds into Jubbulpore about the beginning of the 15th century.¹

(8) *Kalacuris of Tuhmāna* * (C P)

The Kalacuris of Tuhmāna claim to be descended from Kokkala I, the founder of the Tripurī branch of the family. They trace their pedigree to one Kalīṅgarāja, who claimed descent from one of the 17 younger sons of Kokkala I. We are told that 'in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya he abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of *Dakṣiṇa Kośala*. Since Tuhmāna had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies'.² Though Tritasaurya has not yet been identified, there is no doubt that it was the name of a portion of the original territories of the Kalacuris round about Tripurī.³ *Dakṣiṇa Kośala* is generally taken to represent roughly the

¹ *IGI* Vol. XIV 1908 p. 206. Bishop Chatterton records a tradition that Jadurāl, the founder of the Good kingdom of Garha (mod. village about 3 or 4 miles from Tewar) was at first a servant of the last Kalacuri Rajah but later on overthrew his family and usurped the royal power; see his *Story of Gondwana* pp. 15 ff. Dalpat who married Durgavati, was the son of Sangram Shāh a descendant of Jadurāl. Durgavati was killed by Akbar's (1556-1605 A.D.) general Āṣaf Khān.

* Usually called *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*; but see *supra* p. 742 fn. 2.

² *BI* Vol. I pp. 32 ff. Vs. 6-7. *Tuhmāna* is sometimes spelt *Tummāna* (*BI* I P. 41, V 12).

³ Kielhorn took it to be the name of the residence or country of Kokalla. See *BI* Vol. I p. 33. For a guess by Hiralal see *IA* 1934 pp. 266-70. He tries to show that it was a tribal name and identical with the Vedic tribal name *Tṛtau* (?).

modern division of Chhattisgarh of the C. P., while Tummāna has been identified with the modern village of Tumana in the Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur District ¹ As the earliest certain date of Pithvīdeva I, the great-grandson of Kalingarāja, is 1079 A D, we may fix upon the first quarter of the 11th century as the approximate date of the latter. It is likely that he was a contemporary of *Vikramāditya* Gāngeyadeva, and may have acted as his viceroy in the Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. The Kalacuris of Tūpūi had already crossed over the Maikal Range into Chhattisgarh before the time of Kalingarāja, for a Ratnapura stone-inscription tells us that Tummāna 'had been made a royal residence by his ancestors' before he left Tūtasaurya and came to reside there. It seems likely that the family of Kalingarāja remained feudatories to the Dāhala branch till about the seventh decade of the 11th century, which probably saw the defeat and death of Karna ²

Kalingarāja was succeeded by his son Kamalarāja. According to the Amoda plates of his grandson Prthvīdeva I, he is said to have defeated the *Utkala-nrpa*, and endeavoured to equal Gāngeyadeva in prosperity. ³ It is interesting to find that Gāngeya himself is also credited with victory over the ruler of Utkala, ⁴ and it is not unlikely that his relatives in Tummāna may have substantially helped him in his South-Eastern campaign. Kamalarāja in that case must have been a younger contemporary of Gāngeya.

Kamalarāja was succeeded by his son Ratnarāja, also called Ratneśvara. ⁵ This prince is said to have 'ornamented

¹ Tumana is situated in 22°35' N, and 82°45' E. *Ibid.* XIX, p. 77. *IA*, 1924, pp. 267 ff. Tummāna is referred to as a *deśa* in a Muhammadpur epigraph, see *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84 ff., see also *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff., 45 ff. In another inscription Jājalladeva II is described as *Tummānādhipati*, see *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff. *S. Kosala* sometimes comprised portions of Sambalpur, Patna and Ganjam. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 393 ff.

² See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 780 and 789.

³ *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 79, Vs. 8-9.

⁴ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 771 and 774.

⁵ *EI* Vol. I, p. 35, Vs. 10-11.

Tuṛmāpa with the temples of the gods Vaṅkeśa, Ratneśvara and other gods and also with gardens of flowers and fruits, palatial dwellings and a charming high mango grove ¹ We are also told that he founded the 'extensive city of Ratnapura, which became 'like the city of (Kuvera) the lord of riches and decorated it with many temples' ² The only other interesting event of this reign appears to have been his marriage with Nonallā ³ She was the daughter of Vajuvārman or Vajjūka, the prince of *Kōmā maṇḍala*, which has been identified with the Pendra Zamindari in Bilaspur district where there is still a village named Komo ⁴ The existence of a separate principality so close to the capital of Ratnarāja shows that as yet his power was extremely limited As this marriage alliance is mentioned with pride by almost all the records of his successors, we may conclude that it marked a definite stage in the evolution of the Tuṛmāpa Haihayas as an independent power

Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Pṛthvīdeva, also called Pṛthivīśa ⁵ Recently a land grant of this king was discovered in the Bilaspur district of the C P This was the *Amoda grant* It was dug out of a field in the village of Amoda, which is 'about 10 miles from Jānjgir, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in Bilaspur' The inscription contains

¹ Ibid The god Vaṅkeśa the lord of vagabonds is taken by some to be an aboriginal local deity; but it was probably a name of Śiva who was always accompanied by an army of vagabonds; see *ibid* Vol. XIX, p. 77

² Ibid *Ja.* 11 12

³ Ibid V 18. In Vol. XIX, p. 79 V 12 the name is spelt Nonallā. But the former name is given in *IHQ* September 1925 p. 410 V 8; p. 413 V 8 Also in *Id* 1925 p. 44 The name of the queen may be an inflation of *Nānī* which in the Chhattisgarh dialect of Hindi means a maiden. Hiralal suggests that the termination *allā* was added to the names of ladies of rank; cf. *Āvallā* *Lāchallā*, *Rājallā*, *Rambhallā* etc See *EI* Vol. XIX pp. 77 78.

⁴ *EI* Vol. XIX, p. 77 Note the name Vaju. As the Tuṛmāpa region of Bilaspur is still largely inhabited by aboriginal tribes, it is not unlikely that Vaju was a powerful non-Aryan chief

⁵ Ibid Vol. I p. 35 Vs. 14-16.

41 lines and is incised on two plates. Each of the plates has a hole, 'the first at the bottom and the second at the top,' but the ring and the seal are lost. The grant opens with *Om namo Brahmane*. In the introductory portion the genealogy is traced from Kārtavīya, Kokkala, and Kalingarāja to Prthvīdeva. The prose part of the inscription records the grant of the village of Vasahā (mod. place of the same name in Bilaspur *taluk*), in the *Yayapara-mandala* (the region round mod. village of Jaijpur, 10 miles from Amoda) to a Brāhman named Keśava, son of Cātta and grandson of Thīāica, on the occasion of the dedication of a four-pillared hall (*Catuskikā*) to the god Vañkeśvara at Tumānaka. The donor was *Samadhigata-pañca-mahāśabda-Vaṇkeśvara-vara-labdha-prasāda Eka-vimśati-sahasraikhanātha-Mahā-pracanda-Sakala - Kosalādhipati-Parama-māheśvara - Kalacurivamśodbhava-Samasta-rajāvali-virājamāna-Mahāmandaleśvara Pithvīdeva*. The grant is dated *Cediśasya Sam. 831* (A. D. 1079) ¹

(2) *Lāphā* (spurious) grant — This grant is in possession of a Zamindar at Lapha in Bilaspur district. It consists of 9 lines, incised on a single rectangular plate. The style of writing is Oriya. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. The grant opens with '*Śrī-Kṛṣṇacandī*'. In the first verse it mentions *Mahārājādhirāja Pithvīdeva*. In verses 3-4 it records a gift of 120 villages with the *Lāphā-durga* to a person named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi. The grant ends with the date *Samvatsare 806* (which if referred to the Kalacuri era would approximately correspond to 1054 A. D.) ²

The titles of Prthvīdeva shows that he was still a feudatory of their relatives of Dhāhala. But it is significant that the issue

¹ Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81. The editor has argued from the word *Cediśasya* that the name 'Chhattisgarh' was derived from *Cediśa-gadha*, meaning 'forts of the lord of Cedi,' and not from *Chhattīsa-gaḍha* (36 forts), which on philological grounds is unacceptable.

² Edited by Hiralal, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 293-95. Hiralal shows good reasons to prove that this grant is a forgery. But there is no difficulty about the date which is only removed by a period of 25 years from the Amodā grant. It is not impossible that Prthvīdeva may have ruled for about that period.

of this grant synchronises with the period of confusion which followed the death of Karna. It is not impossible that he may have co-operated with Yaśaḥ Karna when the latter invaded the banks of the Godavari. But the serious reverses which Yaśaḥ Karna suffered during his reign from his western and northern neighbours probably made his hold on Kosala precarious, and allowed the Tummāṇa branch to become virtually independent.¹

Pr̥thvideva built temples for the god Pr̥thvideveśvara and others at Tummāṇa and a 'tank like the sea, at Ratnapura'. He married Rājalladevi² and had by her a son named Jājalladeva, who succeeded him. So far only one record has been discovered for the reign of this prince. This is his *Ratnapur stone-inscription*. The reddish brown stone which bears this inscription was found at Ratnapur in the C. P. It consists of 31 lines and opens with a verse in praise of Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy (as in No. 1 above). Pr̥thvideva's son was Jājalla. The proper object of the inscription appears to be to record the establishment of a monastery for ascetics (*tāpasa maṭha*), the making of a garden and a lake and probably also the foundation of a temple at Jājallapura and the grant of the villages of Siruli and Arjunaśaraṇa (?) etc., by king Jājalladeva. The inscription ends with the date (K) *Saṃvat* 806 (1114 A. D.)³

There is reason to believe that this Kalacuri branch became completely independent during the reign of this king. We are told in the inscription mentioned above that he was 'allied with the ruler of Cedi (*Odiśa*) and honoured by the princes of Kanyakubja and Jeṣa-bhuktika'. He defeated and captured in battle one Someśvara and he had either annual tribute paid or presents given to him by the chiefs of the *maṇḍalas* of (Dakṣiṇa) Kośala, Andhra Khimḍi, Vairāgara, Laṅṅikā, Bhāṇāra, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura,

¹ See *supra* DHNI Vol. II pp. 788-89

² EI Vol. I, p. 85 V. 17. Ratnapura was probably at times used as a second capital.

³ IHQ September 1925 p. 413 line 13 and p. 410 line 14. She is sometimes simply called Rājalla see EI Vol. I, p. 85.

⁴ Edited by Klahorn EI Vol. I pp. 32-33. It is now in the Nagpur Museum.

⁵ *Ibid* pp. 33 and 35 V. 21.

Nandāvalī and Kukkuta.¹ A Khairod stone-inscription further tells us that Jājalladeva defeated the lord of Suvainapura² Kielhorn appears to have been right in suggesting the identification of the rulers of Kanyakubja, Jejā-bhuktika, and Cedi with the Gāhadvāla Govindacandra (c. 1114-1154 A. D.), the Candella Kīrtivarma (c. A. D. 1098) and the Kalacuri Yaśah-Karna (c. A. D. 1073-1125), respectively. But he could not identify Someśvara. This prince, however, seems to me to be the same as the Nāgavamśī (Sinda) prince Someśvara, the father of Kanharadeva (Śaka 1033=A. D. 1111).³ I have elsewhere⁴ suggested how these Nāgavamśī rulers came to hold that portion of the C. P. which is now occupied by the state of Bastar. It appears that the Tummana and the Bastar kings carried on that policy of hostility which they inherited from their former masters, viz., the Haihayas of Dāhala and the Cālukyas of Kalyani. The identification suggested above seems to be confirmed by the Kuruspal stone-inscription of the Nāgavamśī king Someśvara which refers to the chiefs of Lañji and Ratnapura as his rivals or contemporaries.⁵ It is certain that this Lañji, which has been identified with a well-known tract of that name in the district of Balaghat (C. P.) is the same as the Lañjika-mandala of the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladeva. Vanāgara was identified by Kielhorn with Wanagarh in the Chanda district. The same scholar also suggested that we may possibly have to read Andra-khimidī in the Ratanpur inscription and Jājalladeva and not Andra and Khimidī. If this is accepted then this place may possibly be the same as Kimedī, or Khimide situated in the Ganjam district (Madras).⁶ Talahāri is probably the same as the *Talahāri-bhumi* which was

¹ *Ibid.*, pp 33 and 35-36, Vs 21-23

² *IA*, Vol XXII, pp 82-83

³ Nārāyanpal stone-inscription, *EI*, Vol IX, pp 160-61, *ibid.*, Vol X, p 26. Others identify this Someśvara with Kumāra Someśvara of Sonpur grant, see *ibid.*, Vol XII, p 239

⁴ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 781 and fn 2 on the same page

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol X, pp 25-31. *Vajra* mentioned in this inscription is identified by Hirralal with Vairagara of the Ratanpur inscription.

⁶ *IA*, Vol. XVI, p 131.

acquired by a minister of Ratnadeva II, the son of Jājalladeva¹ Suvarnapura appears to be the same place from which the Orissa Somavāṁśis issued some of their grants and which has been identified with Sonpur, the capital of the Sonpur State² The other places whose chiefs Jājalladeva claims to have defeated cannot at present be identified But it looks certain that the power of the Kalacuris of Turmāṇa, which was gradually increasing since the days of Ratnarāja, had at last reached its acme in the reign of his grandson Jājalla was no longer a feudatory of Tripuri, but an ally of the lord of Cedi

According to a Rajim stone-inscription, Jājalla was materially assisted in his victories by his minister Jagapāla *alias* Jagasimha We are told that he helped Jājalladeva in conquering a country (?) and 'afraid of him the *Maṇḍaleśvaras* of Māyurika and the Sāvantas betook themselves to the mountains' The same inscription gives us the name of Devarāja who appears to have served Jājalla as his chief minister (*pradhāna*)³

Jājalla was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II In the grants of his son he is called the lord of the whole Kosala country (*Sakala Kosala maṇḍanāśrī*) In the Malhar stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II he is described as 'a fierce cloud to extinguish the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the prowess of prince Coḍagaṅga' (c. A D 1078-1135)⁴ This fact is also mentioned by a Kharod inscription of the time of Ratnadeva III⁵ The Rajim inscription of the time of Prthivideva II tells us that Jagapāla and Devarāja, the ministers of Jājalladeva, continued to serve under his son The former of these two claims to have acquired the Talahāri bhumi

¹ *Ibid* Vol XVII, p. 135 ff This minister was Jagapalla who also served under Jājalla. Talahāri maṇḍala is also mentioned in a Ratanpur inscription of the (K.) S 915 See *BI* Vol. I p 33

² See *supra* DHNI Vol. I pp 396 401 402, 408 and 413.

³ *IA* Vol. XVII pp. 135 ff

⁴ *Ibid* p 137 lines 15-16

⁵ *BI* Vol I p. 40 V 4; see also *Errata and Corrigenda* under p. III at the end of the volume. For Coḍagaṅga see DHNI Vol. I pp. 401 ff

⁶ *IA* Vol. XXII pp 83-85

and another district for his second master. No grant of this king has so far been discovered but the Malhar inscription referred to above records grant of the village of Kosāmbī to a Brāhman named Gangādhara¹ The context of the passage wherein this grant is mentioned seems to indicate that the village was situated in the *Tummāna-deśa*

Ratnadeva II was succeeded by his son Pithvīdeva II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Kugda stone-inscription* —It is said to have been found at Kugda near Bachhaudgadh, 5 miles to the west of Baloda in the district of Bilaspur. The inscription is much damaged and fragmentary and seems to have contained 25 lines. In line 2 it mentions *Mahisī Lācalladevī*, in line 3 we can read the name *Śrī-Ra(tnadevah?)*, and in line 7 the name *Vallabharāja*. It is dated in *Kalacuri-Samvatsare* 893 (A D.1141-42) in the reign of Pithvīdeva.²

(2) *Rajm stone-inscription* —The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Rāmacandra at Rājim, in the Raipur district, near the junction of the Mahanadi and the Panu. The inscription contains 19 lines and opens with *Om namo Nārāyanāya*. It then gives the genealogy of Jagapāla who served as an officer under Pithvīdeva II, and his two immediate predecessors. His ancestor ' *Thakkura Śrī-Sāhilla*, the spotless ornament of the Rājamāla race, which gave delight to the Pañca(ha)msa race,' is stated to have come from the *Vadahaia-deśa* and as gladdened by the attainment of the *Pañca-mahāśabda*. One of his sons named Svāmīn is said to have conquered the Bhattavila and Vihāia countries. Svāmīn had two sons named Jayadeva and Devasimha. The former is said to have acquired the district of Dāndora while the latter took the *Komo-maṇḍala*³. A wife of one of the latter was probably the *Thakkurājñī* Udayā. The son appears to have been

¹ *EI*, Vol I, p 41, V 13

² Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol XX, p 84

³ See *supra* *DHNI*, Vol II, p 804

Jagapāla also called Jagasimha. The eulogy was composed by *Thakkura Jasānanda*, son of *Thakkura Jasodhara* of the Ayodhyā purīya family and written and engraved by the rūpakāra Śrī Ratnapāla. The inscription is dated in lines 18-19 in K(n)lacuri *Samvatsare* 896 (A D 1145) ¹

(9) *Amoda grant (i)* —It was discovered in the village of Amoda, 40 miles S E of Bilaspur (O P). The inscription contains 32 lines and is engraved on two plates. The seal attached to the ring contains the figure of the goddess *Gaya Lakṣmī* and the legend *Rājā Śrīmat-Prthivideva*. The grant opens with *Om om namo Brahman*. The introductory portion then gives the usual genealogy of the dynasty from Kārtavīrya, Kokkala and Kahāgarāja down to Prthivideva. "In the formal part of the inscription we are told that this last king granted to the Brāhman *Sīlana*, who had emigrated from Takārī the village of *Āvalā* in the *Madhya maṇḍala*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The inscription was written by Śrī Vatsarāja of the *Vāstavya* family and engraved by *Lakṣmīdhara*. It ends with the date (K) *Samvat* 900 (A D 1149) ²

Amoda grant (ii) —Found with No 3. Contains 35 lines engraved on two plates. Same seal. In this grant Prthivideva grants the village of *Buḍubuḍū* in the *Madhya maṇḍala* to the donee of No 3 and his two brothers *Pīthana* and *Lakṣnū*. It was written by the same as in (No 3) and engraved by one *Cādārka*. The date (K) *Samvat* 905 (A D 1154) completes the grant ³

A transcript and a kind of translation of the inscription was published by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XV pp. xv ff. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR* Vol. XVII, p. 18. Finally edited by Kielhorn in the *II* Vol. XVII pp. 135-40. Cunningham traced the name of the town of Rajm to the tribal name *Rājama*.

Edited by Hiralal *IHQ* September 1925 pp. 409-11. The Editor identifies *Madhya maṇḍala* or the Central circle with the division which contained the capital of the kingdom *Āvalā* according to him in *Anurābhāṣā* in the *Lāpha Zamindari* in which *Tumāna* the old capital of the *Haihayas* is situated.

Edited by the same. *ibid* pp. 419-14. The village granted is identified by the editor with *Barbur* in the *Lāpha Zamindari*.

(5) *Ratanpur inscription* —The inscription is dated in Kalacuri *Samvatsare* 910 (c. A.D. 1158) in the victorious reign of King Śīmat-Prthvīdeva.¹

The only record of the incidents of this king's reign is contained in the Rajim inscription of his officer Jagapāla. Lines 15-16 of this inscription seem to indicate that 'this chief and his two brothers Gājala and Jayatasīma together with the prime-minister Devarāja, subdued the earth'. In lines 10-11 we are told that Jagapāla 'not only took the forts of Saraharāgadh and Mavakāsīha(vā), and conquered the Bhāmaravādīya country, but also took Kāntāra, Kusumabhoga, Kāndāse(hva)ra and the district of Kākayara'.² Most of these places have not yet been properly identified. But Kielhorn accepted Cunningham's identification of Kākayara-*deśa* with modern state of Kanker in the C.P. The same scholar was also disposed to regard Kāndāse(hva)ra 'with Sehāwā or Sihwa situated to the east of Kanker, Bhāmaravādīya with Bamra and Saraharāgadh with Sarangarh to the east of Raipur'.³ The identification of Kākayara with Kanker makes it possible that the Somavamsī princes of Kanker, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1191 to 1320 A.D., may have been originally feudatories, of the Kalacuris of Tummāna. Rai Bahadur Hiralal has approximately fixed 'the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th' as the date of Simharāja the founder of the Somavamsīs of Kanker.⁴

¹ Noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XVII, plate X, No. 417 in Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (*EI*, Vol. V, Appendix). The Ratanpur inscription dated in (K) S 915 which mentions Talahārī-mandala may also belong to this reign. This inscription was first noticed by Sir R. Jenkins in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 504, and then by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. I, p. 33. Hiralal notices in the *IA* (1926, pp. 44-45), a grant of Prthvīdeva (II) dated in *Sam* 1000, which he believes to be spurious.

² *IA*, Vol. XVII, pp. 137 and 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁴ For the inscriptions of the Somavamsīs of Kanker, see

(a) *Sihwa stone inscription of Karnarāja*, Śaka year 1114, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 182-87.

(b) *Kanker plates of Pamparāja*, (K) years 965 and 966. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-70.

(c) *Kanker inscription of the time of Bhānudeva*, Śaka (?) year 1242. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-30.

(d) *Gurur stone pillar-inscription of Vāgharāja*, *IA*, 1926, p. 44.

Prthivideva II was succeeded by his son Jajalladeva II. The following two records are known for his reign.

(1) *Amoda grant* — It was found in the village of Amoda, in the district of Bilaspur (C P). The inscription contains 37 lines incised on two massive plates. The ring and the seal are lost. The inscription opens with *Om om namo Brahmane*. In the introductory portion the donor's genealogy is traced from Kārtavīrya, Kokalla, and Kalūgarāja. In the formal part it records the grant of a village named Bunderā to the astrologer Rāghava and the royal priest Namadeva. It was written by the *Vastavya Kāyastha Citrabhānu* in (K) *Samvat* 91(2) which is equivalent to A D 1161.¹

(2) *Malhar stone-inscription* — It is reported to have been brought from Malhār in the C P. It consists of 28 lines and is incised on a piece of black stone. It opens with *Om om namah Śivāya* and two verses invoking the god Sambhu and Gaṇapati. Then comes the genealogy of Jajalladeva (II), 'the ruler of Tummāpa, traced from Ratnadeva (II) of the lunar race. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection, at the town of Mallāla (probably mod Malhar or Malar), of a temple of the god Kedāra (Śiva) by the Brāhman Somarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who settled in Tummāpadeśa from the village of Kumbhaṭī in Madhyadeśa. The inscription was composed by Ratnasūtra, son of Māme of the Vastavya race. The date (K) *Samvat* 919 (A D 1167-68) comes at the end.²

Nothing definite was so long known of the reign of this prince. But his recently discovered Amoda grant supplies us with a piece of important information for his reign. This grant we are told 'was made by way of thanksgiving on an

¹ Edited by Hiralal *SI* Vol. XIX, pp. 203-14.

² Edited by Kielhorn *SI* Vol. I, pp. 82-45. The inscription is now in the Nagpur Museum. The dance of the inscription is described as the eye of the teaching of Akṣapād and the *Cāraka-sāhā malana*. He is also reported to have delighted the pitcher-born (Agastya) by drinking the difficult to be restrained Buddha Ocean and appeared as the god of death to the Digambaras. Note the spelling *Tummāpa* a variant of *Tumimāpa* (l. 14).

escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one Dhīrū who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim.' ¹ According to Hiralal Dhīrū is a non-Aīyan name. If this is accepted then it appears that there was a serious rebellion of the aboriginal tribes under the leadership of Dhīrū which was only suppressed with difficulty by Jājalladeva II.

Jājalla II was succeeded by Ratnadeva III, his son by his queen Somalladevi. ² Only one record has so far been discovered for his reign. This is his *Kharod stone-inscription*. This inscription is inside a Śaiva temple at the small village of Kharod, 3 miles north of Seorī Narayan (on the northern bank of the Mahanadī in the Bilaspur district, C.P.). The inscription contains 28 lines and gives a complete list of the Tummāna princes down to Ratnadeva III. It is dated in line 28 in *Cedi-Samvat* 933 (A D. 1181-82). ³

It is difficult to say definitely who succeeded Ratnadeva III. From a *Ratanpur stone-inscription* dated in (V) *Sam.* 1247 (?) which refers itself to the reign of king Prthvīdeva, it is generally assumed that this prince was the successor of Ratnadeva III. This inscription was discovered within the fort of Ratanpur in the C.P. It consists of 24 lines and is incised on a black stone. The record opens with *Om namah Śivāya* and two verses invoking the gods Rudra and Ganapati. Then follows the usual genealogy. In the lunar race Jājalladeva. His son Ratnadeva who was 'a submarine fire of the unique ocean of the array of the difficult to be subdued armies of the Cedi princes,' and who defeated the champions of Codaganga (V. 5) His son Prthvīdeva. The rest of the inscription gives the genealogy of the Vāstavya Devagana who originally came into the Tummāna

¹ *EI*, Vol XIX, p 21 Can Dhīrū be an apabhramśa of a Sanskrit name like Dhīrendra? We still use such abbreviations in modern Bengal

² *AI*, Vol XXII, p 83 A mutilated Amarkantak inscription also mentions the name of Somalladevi, see *ibid*, p 83 fn 14

³ First noticed by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol VII, p 201, and Vol XVII, p 43, then by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol XXII, pp 82 83

country from Cedi *maṇḍala*. This person erected a Śaiva temple at the village of Sāmbā. The inscription which was composed by Devagaṇa himself is dated at the end in (V) *Samvat* 1247 (?) (A D 1189 90).¹ The date agrees with the ascription of the inscription to Pṛthvīdeva III. Another fact also supports this conclusion. The father of the Vastavya Devagaṇa of this inscription is named Ratnasimha, son of Māme. This Ratnasimha seems to be identical with the person of the same name who composed the Malhar stone inscription of Jājalladeva II (1167 68 A D). But there are unfortunately also some difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The ascription of victory over Coḍagaṅga to Ratnadeva of this inscription reminds us of a similar victory credited to Ratnadeva II by the Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II. Coḍagaṅga must be taken to be the same as the great Orissa king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (c 1078-1135 A.D.), who must have been dead long before the accession of Ratnadeva III (A D 1181-82) but was certainly a contemporary of Ratnadeva II (c 1120 35). Thus if Ratnadeva of this inscription really fought with Coḍagaṅga then he must be Ratnadeva II. This inscription in that case has to be referred to the reign of Pṛthvīdeva II. Kielhorn noticed that the date of the inscription 'has not been written by the writer of the inscription who forms his numeral figures differently. He suspected that the inscription was originally 'dated in a year of the Cedi year'.² But the following table inclines me to think that the inscription really belongs to Pṛthvīdeva III.

Vastavya Māme

Ratnasimha	composed Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II (1167 68 A D)
Devagaṇa	composed Ratnapur inscription dated in 1189-90 in the reign of Pṛthvīdeva

¹ Edited by Kielhorn *RI* Vol. I pp 45-52. See also *Errata and Corrigenda* at the end of the volume under page 47.

² *Ibid* p 49 fn 41.

Thus it is possible that Devagana was wrong in making Ratnadeva III the father of his patron Pithvīdeva III a contemporary of the Orissa king Codaganga

It is difficult to trace the genealogy of the Tummāna Kalacuris after Pithvīdeva III. A Bhuvaneswar inscription ¹ gives us the name of king Paramardī or Paramādi of the Haihaya-vamśa who married Candrikā, the daughter of the Eastern Ganga king Anaṅga Bhīma II (c. 1211-38 A.D.). The Cāteśvarī stone inscription of this Ganga prince tells us that his Brāhman minister fought with the lord of Tummāna ². It is not unlikely that the Haihaya king Paramardī was the ruler of Tummāna who was at first the enemy and then the son-in-law of Anaṅga Bhīma. In the present state of our knowledge however it is impossible to connect him with the main line of the Kalacuris at Tummāna.

The details of the history of this portion of the C. P. during this period is unknown. It is certain that the Muslims never succeeded in establishing their power in the Chhattisgarh division and there is evidence to show that the Kalacuris continued to figure as chiefs of Chhattisgarh right up to the 18th century. The Khalari stone-inscription of the Kalacuri king Haribrahmadeva is dated in 1415 A.D.³ while the Aiāng plate of the Haihaya king Amarasimhadeva is dated as late as 1735 A.D.⁴ The latter appears to have been ousted by the Bhonslas of Nagpur in c. 1750 A.D.

¹ *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 150 ff., *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 478 and 483-84

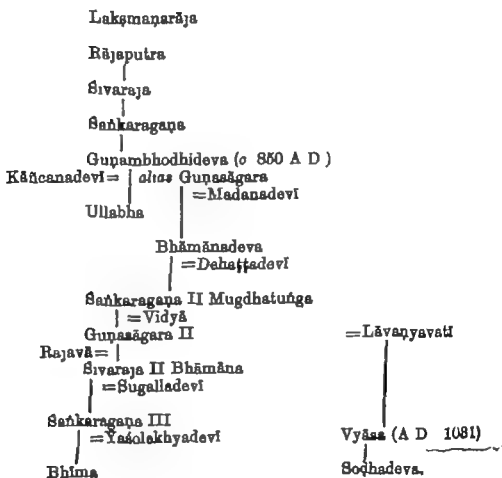
² *JASB*, 1898, pp. 317 ff., *ibid.*, 1903, p. 119, also *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 477-78

³ *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 228-31. Haribrahma traces his descent to the Kalacuri prince (1) Sindhana of the *Aihaya-vamśa*. Then came his son king (2) Rāmadeva. His son was Haribrahmadeva, a devotee of *Candracūḍa* (Śiva). The village of Khalari is 45 miles east of Raipur.

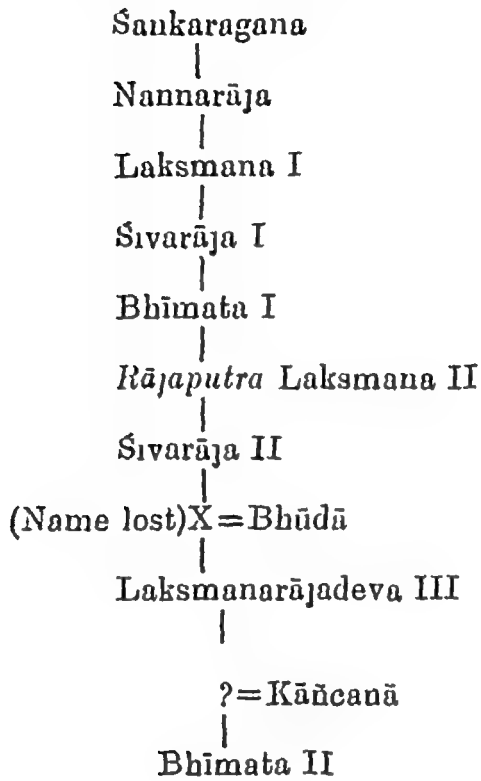
⁴ *DLI*, p. 100, *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p. 56.

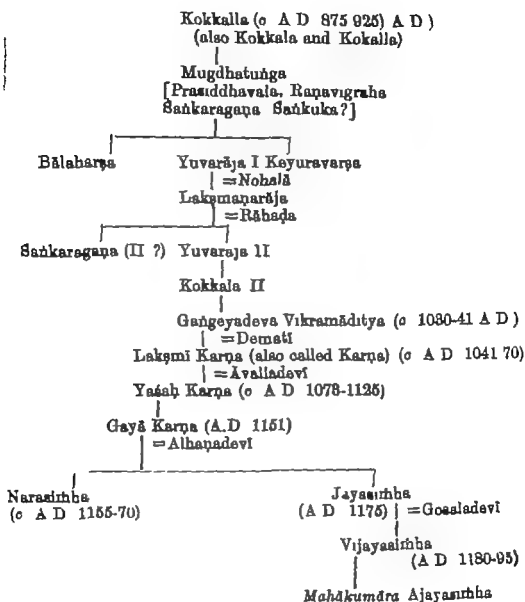
(Dates Approximate)

(a) *Kahla branch*



(b) *Kasia branch* (c 1025-1225 A D):



II *Kalachuris of Dāhala*¹¹ Usually known as *Kalachuris of Tripura*.

III *Kalacuris of Tummāna* ¹

Kokkala of the *Dāhala* branch
 |
 A younger son, lord of a *Mandala*

 Kalingarāja
 |
 Kamalarāja
 |
 Nonallā = Ratnarāja I or Ratneśa
 (or Nonnalā) |
 Prthvīdeva or Pīthvīśa (A D 1079)
 | = Rājallā
 Jājalladeva I (A D 1114)
 |
 Ratnadeva II (c 1120-35)
 |
 Pīthvīdeva II (c A D 1141-58)
 |
 Jājalladeva II (c A D 1160-68)
 |
 Ratnadeva III (c A D 1181-82)
 |
 ?
 Prthvīdeva III (1189-90 ?)

IV *Kalacuris of Raipur*

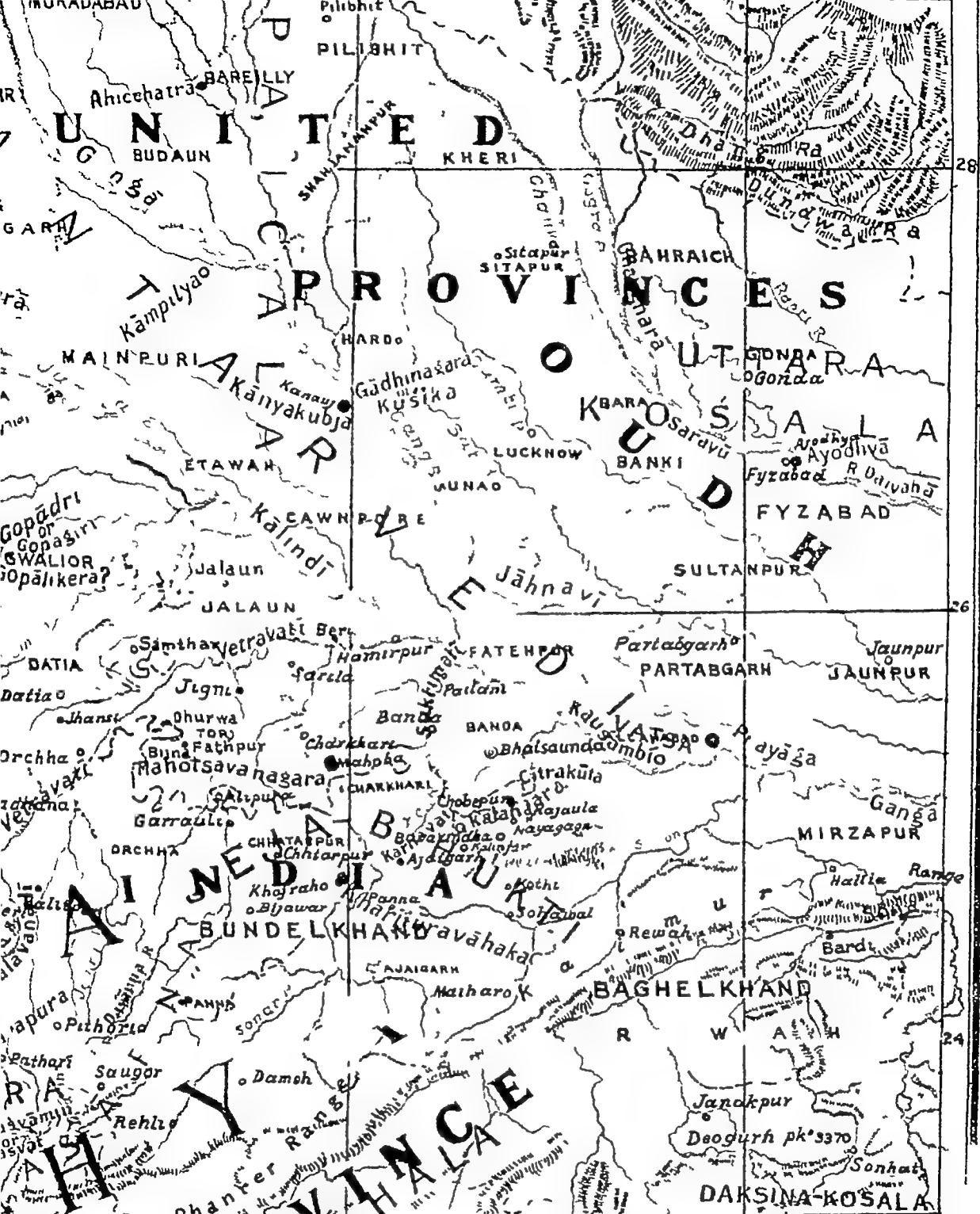
- (a) Simhana
 |
 Rāmadeva
 |
 Hanubrahmadeva (1415 A D)
- (b) Amarasimhadeva (c 1735-50 A D)

¹ Popularly known as *Kalacuris of Ratnapura*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 *The Kalacuris of Tripuri* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal Annal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927 28, pp 280-95
- 2 *On the same* Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol II, pp 300-05
- 3 *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the C P and Berar* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Nagpur, 1916
- 4 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part II, pp 225-29, 293-96, and 468-89
- 5 *Downfall of Hindu India* 1926, by C V Vaidya, pp 187-92
- 6 *Bāṅgālār Itihas* by R D Banerji (2nd Ed), Vol I, 1880 B S
- 7 *Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham, Vols IX and XVII
- 8 *Forbes Rās Mala*, Ed by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924, Vol I
- 9 *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol I, Parts I and II
- 10 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol X, pp 11 ff
- 11 *The Story of Gondwana* by Bishop Chatterton, Pitman 1916 London
- 12 *Prabandhaśintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga*, Trans by Tawney Calcutta, 1901
- 13 *History of the Gurha Mundala Rājās* by Captain W H Sleeman JASB, 1837, Vol VI, pp 621 ff
- 14 *The Haryayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* by R D Banerji, MASI, No 23, 1931





KACCHAPAGHĀTAS OF RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA

ENGLISH MILES



FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS
RIVERS AND THEIR NAMES *chambal*
MODERN NAMES IN BLACK
ANCIENT & MEDIAEVAL NAMES IN RED

CHAPTER XIII

THE KACCHAPAGHĀTAS (KACHWĀHAS) OF RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA

The modern Rajput tribe which is known as Kachwāha claim to be the descendants of Kuśa, son of Rāma, the epic king of North Kośala. According to bardic tradition, after leaving their parental abode, they erected the famous castle of Rohtas on the Son and thence a section of the tribe in company of Raja Nal, 'migrated westward, and founded the kingdom and city of Narwar,' classically styled Naisadha, in (V) S. 351 (A. D. 295).¹ The inscriptions of the tribe totally ignore this story, which was probably a later fabrication. Their earliest epigraphic records, unlike those of some other tribes of this period, contain no story of the family's mythical origin, but abruptly introduce the founders of the various branches as *Kacchapaghāta-vamśa-tīlaka*² or *Kacchapaghātānvaya-sarah-kamala-māntanda*³. It is moreover impossible to derive the word *Kacchapaghāta* or the modern *Kachwāha* from *Kuśa*. The statement that a section of the tribe settled in Narwar is however supported by the Narwar grant of Vīrasimha, which was actually issued from *st Nala-pura-mahādurga* in V S. 1177 (A.D. 1120).⁴ Moreover, there are other epigraphic records which show that in the 10th and 11th centuries at least three families of Kacchapaghātas ruled in and around Eastern Rajputana and the region now known as Gwalior Residency. They may be conveniently designated as (1) *The Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior*, (2) *The Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund*, and (3) *The Kachapaghātas of Narwar*.

¹ AR, Vol I, pp 56, 106 07, 161 62, Vol III, pp 1328 ff

² EI, Vol II, p 237, line 10 IA, Vol XV, p 36, V 5

³ JAOS, Vol VI, p 543, lines 3 4 from the top. In one inscription the last person in the pedigree is called *Kacchapāri-kula-bhūṣana*, IA, Vol XV, p 39, V 57

⁴ Ibid. p 543, line 2, text.

As the area over which they ruled was certainly included within the dominions of the imperial Gurjara Pratihāras, we may fairly assume that they were at first feudatories of these rulers of Kanauj. Definite evidence shows that a member of one of these families made himself master of the fort of Gwalior by defeating the ruler of Kanauj. As we have a record of this Kacchapaghāta prince dated in A D 977,¹ this king of Kanauj may almost certainly be identified with one of the successors of Mahīpāla I (c 914-43). In the following pages I shall give a short account of the three branches of the Kacchapaghātas mentioned above.

(1) The Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior

The existence of this branch is known from a number of records, the most important of which is the Sasbahu temple-inscription of Mahīpāla dated in V S 1150.² According to this inscription, the first prince of this line was *Lakṣmaṇa*. He is described as *Kacchapaghāta varṇa tilaka* and *Kṣaunī pati* and an 'object of reverence for all princes'.³ Nothing definite is known about his reign. We are simply told that "Wielding his bow (and) promoting the welfare of his subjects, he unaided, like Pṛthu, made the earth obedient to his will, after he had by force extirpated even mighty princes (as Pṛthu had uprooted the mountains)".⁴ The next prince in this line was his son *Vajradāman*.⁵ We are told that "When by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopādri, conquered in battle by his

¹ JASB Vol XXXI p 393 plate I No. 6

² IA Vol. XV pp 33-46.

³ IA Vol. XV pp 36 and 41 V 5

⁴ Ibid

⁵ See *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras W Kṣatrapas etc)* by Rapson London 1906 Introduction p. cllii. The names of many of the W Kṣatrapas end in *dāman*. Rapson suggested that *dāman* may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word (cf *Spalaga dama*); *ibid* p cv

irresistible strong arm.”¹ Vajradāman has been generally identified with the *Mahārājādhnūja* Vajradāman of a fragmentary *Jain image-inscription of Gwalior* dated in (V.) Sam. 1034 (A D. 977)² It is difficult to identify exactly the prince of Gādhinagara who was defeated by this Kacchapaghāta and from whom apparently he captured the fort of Gwalior His date, A D 977, however indicates, as I have already suggested, that this ruler of Kanauj must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla I (c. 914-43 A D), possibly Vijayapāla, for whom we have the date 960 A D.³ It is likely that Vajradāman at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty. But the rising power of the Candellas, which in Dhanga's reign (c 954-1002 A D) reached ‘the mountain called Gopagiri’⁴ seems to indicate that he may have soon after acknowledged the hegemony of his more powerful eastern neighbour That the title of *Mahārājādhnūja*, in this period, was not inconsistent with feudatory rank, is shown by the Rajoi stone-inscription of Mathanadeva dated in V S. 1016 (A.D. 960)⁵

The next prince⁶ mentioned by the Sasbahu inscription is Mangalarāja, who is said to have “scattered his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) does the darkness As he for ever paid worship to the lord (*Īśvara*), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords”⁷ Mangalarāja is probably to be identified with the prince of that name who is mentioned in an ‘*Ukha-Mandar*’ stone-inscription at Biana, ‘the chief town of the *tahsīl* of the same name in the Bharatpur State in Rajputana’ This

¹ IA, Vol XV, pp 36 and 41, V 6

² JASB, Vol. XXXI, p 393, plate VI and pp 399 400 It contains a single line and is incised on the pedestal of the image

³ EI, Vol III, pp 263 ff, also my chapter on the *Later Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj*, DHNI, Vol I, p 594

⁴ EI, Vol I, p 129, V 45 See also *supra*, DHNI, Vol I, p 593, and my chapter on the *Candellas*, *ibid*, Vol II, p 678

⁵ EI, Vol III, pp 263 ff, also my chapter on the *Later Gurjara Pratihāras*, DHNI, Vol I, pp 592 93

⁶ *Tato* = ‘then came’

⁷ IA, Vol XV, pp 36 and 41, V 7

inscription is incised at the foot of a pillar in the ' Ukha Mandar, an old Hindu temple, now used by the Muslims as a Masjid. Unfortunately, a portion of the stone being permanently built in below the bottom of the pillar, only 'the first 27 or so letters of each of the 23 lines of which it consists are visible. The script of the record is older than the Biana inscription of *Adhirāja* Vijaya dated in (V) *Samvat* 1100 (c A D 1043)'. The inscription is a Vaiṣṇava *prasasti*, and shows that the temple was 'originally one of the god Viṣṇu. In line 12 it mentions *Maṅgalarāja*, to whose reign it apparently belongs'.

The next¹ *Kacchapaghāta* ruler was *Kirttirāja*. We are told that he conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of *Mālava*. 'When that (Malava prince) had met with defeat the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitude of spears, which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction'. As *Mahipāla* of the *Sasbahu* inscription (A D 1093) is the fourth in lineal descent from *Kirttirāja*, we can approximately assign the latter to the period c 1015-35 A D. He was thus a contemporary of *Mahmūd of Ghazni* (998-1030 A D), the *Candella Vidyādhara* (1019 A D), and the *Paramāra Bhoja* (1021 A D). These synchronisms lead us to conclude that the *Mālava bhūmipa* who was defeated by the *Kacchapaghāta* prince was probably *Bhoja*. They also indicate that *Kirttirāja* was possibly a feudatory of the *Candellas*, whose power during this period had reached its height. The *Dubkund* inscription² shows that *Arjuna* the local *Kacchapaghāta* prince, was a contemporary of the *Paramāra Bhoja*, and a vassal of *Vidyādhara*. The synchronisms mentioned above also indicate

¹ According to *Fleet* it is probably a century or perhaps two centuries older than the inscription of *Adhirāja* Vijaya. *IA* Vol. XIV p 9

² The record was first noticed by *Carlisle* in *ASR* Vol. VI pp 50 ff. He also gives a description of the temple *ibid* pp 50-51. It was then noticed by *Fleet* *IA* Vol XIV p 9-10

³ *Tato* = then came

⁴ *IA* Vol. XV pp 36 and 4-43, V 10

⁵ *BI* Vol II pp 232 ff. See also *DHNI* Vol II p 639

that it was probably Kīrttirāja who commanded the fort of Gwalior when Mahmūd besieged it in 1022 A D. I have already mentioned elsewhere that the reference by Niẓām ud-Dīn to this prince of Gwalior at the time of Mahmūd's invasion as *hākīm* (حاکم), coupled with the statement that the Yamīnī invader reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of 'Nandā,' indicate the subordination of the Gwalior ruler to the prince of Kalinjar ¹ As a Candella inscription tells us that the (Paramāra) Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara 'full of fear, like a pupil,' ² we may infer that Kīrttirāja's success against the powerful Mālava prince was attained not without the moral and material assistance of the mighty Candella king.

The only other recorded achievement of Kīrttirāja is his building of 'a wonderful temple of the lord of Pārvatī, which shines like a column of fame' at the town of Sīṃhapāya.³ He was succeeded by his son Mūladeva, also known as Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla ⁴ Nothing definite is known about this prince. But his sudden assumption of two additional names and the statement in the Sasbahu epigraph that 'his body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign' may indicate his freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas I have already shown that the period between the reigns of Vidyādhara (1019 A D) and Kīrttivarman (1098 A D) is one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Candellas ⁵ If our suggestion for Kīrttirāja's date (c 1015-35) be correct, his son's reign must have fallen in c 1035-55 A D It is thus likely that Mūladeva, taking advantage of the disastrous defeats of the Candellas by the Kalacuri Laksmī-Karna, asserted his complete independence.

¹ See *supra*, my chapter on the Candellas, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 692 fn 2, also *TA*, Trans p 14 and text p 15 Al-Bīrūnī (*KH*, Vol I, p 202) says that between Kajurāha and Kanoj 'there are two of the most famous fortresses in India, Gwāliyar (Gwalior) and Kālanjar' This occurs in the passage where al-Bīrūnī describes Jajāhuti and its capital Kajurāha The fort of Gwalior is called 'the pearl of the necklace of Hind' by *Tāq ul-Ma'āthir*, *Elliot*, Vol II, p. 227

² *DHNI*, Vol II, pp 689 and 831

³ *IA*, Vol XV, pp 36 and 43, V II This town has not yet been identified

⁴ *Ibid*, pp 36 and 42, Vs 12-13, p 202, V 1

⁵ *DHNI*, Vol II, pp 694 ff.

Another interesting point in this reign seems to be raised by the king's name Trailokyamalla. It may not be without significance that these names in *malla* occur in the family of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi.¹ In fact, Āhavamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1044-68), during whose reign his son Vikramāditya is said to have carried on extensive raids in Northern India, had actually the same *malla* name as Mūladeva. At present we have no evidence to form any conclusion, but we may point out that both the Kacchapaghāta and Cālukya princes were contemporaries.²

A fragmentary Gwahor inscription dated in V S 1161 (A.D. 1104) gives us the name of one of Mūladeva's officers. Stanzas 11-13 tell us that Manoratha of Mathurā who belonged to the Kāyastha *vaṁśa*, served as the 'Secretary of Bhuvanapāla'.³

Mūladeva was succeeded by Devapāla his son by the queen. Devapāla appears to have been also known as Devavraja. The Sasbahu inscription tells us that this prince Aparājita, by his generosity, the son of Prthā by his 'surpassed Karna', and Dharmarāja by his truthfulness, 'knowledge of the bow, was like Mandhātṛ 'the ornament'. His son was Padmapāla who is said to have invaded the various of universal sovereigns. He is, 'conquering them, marched to the quarters of the globe, and after subduing them, marched to the southernmost point of India'. During his reign he is reported to have built a temple of Hari (Viṣṇu), who was named after him Padma natha. Padmapāla when 'still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat on the lap of Saṁkran-dana (Indra). Then his brother Mahipāla, also styled Bhuvanaikamalla, son of Suryapāla, became king at Gopādrī.

¹ BG Vol. I Part II table facing p. 423.

² See IA Vol. XV p. 42 V 17 where Mūladeva's grandson is said to have marched to the southern region. See also DHNI Vol. II p. 828.

³ IA Vol. XV p. 202.

⁴ Ibid p. 202, V 2.

⁵ Ibid Vol. XV pp. 36 and 42 V 15.

⁶ Ibid V 16.

⁷ Ibid, pp. 35-36 and 42, Vs. 16-17.

⁸ The temple where the Sasbahu inscription was put up *ibid* p. 36.

⁹ Ibid pp. 27 and 43, V 30.

The relationship between Mahīpāla and his predecessor is not clear. In some passages his father Sūryapāla is referred to as *nrpa*.¹ But as he is called a brother of Padmapāla, we may infer that his father Sūryapāla was a son of Mūladeva and uncle of Padmapāla. In that case Mahīpāla was the first cousin of his immediate predecessor.

For the reign of this prince we have the long and interesting *Sasbahu inscription*. This is incised on a slab inside the larger of the two temples, near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of Gwalior, which the people call *Sās bahū kā dehrā*. It contains 42 lines of writing and 112 Sanskrit verses. It opens with ' *Om namah Padmanāthāya* ' and 4 verses invoking Aniruddha, the lord of Uṣā. Then comes the genealogy of the Kacchapaghātas from Lakṣmaṇa down to Mahīpāla. Next follow verses praising the last in fulsome terms familiar to the Indian *praśastikāras*. The main fact recorded is that Mahīpāla soon after his coronation promised to complete the half-finished temple of Hari which was begun by his predecessors, and kept his vow (V. 70). A detailed list of the charitable institutions connected with the temple, the portions of his revenue devoted by him to the erection of the temple buildings, the idols that he gave to the shrine, the ornaments he presented to them, the arrangements he made and the implements he furnished for their worship, are fully stated in verses 71-102. V. 75 tells us that the income of the village of Pāsāṇapallī was divided into 30 shares, of which a few were allotted to the god, and by far the greater number to Brāhmins. The letters of the inscription were written by Yaśodeva Digambarārka, ' a poet in all languages,' and engraved by the *Śilpis* Padma, Māhula, and Simharāja. The *praśasti* was composed by Manikanṭha by order of the king in (V.S.) 1150 (A.D. 1093), when the wise Gaura was serving as his (minister).²

¹ *Surya-nrpa-nandana*

² First edited by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 411-18, errors and omissions of this edition pointed out by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 367 ff. Finally edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XV, pp. 33-46.

Nothing more definite is known about Mahipāla's reign. The only noteworthy feature about him is his name Bhuvanai kamalla, which was also the *biruda* of Someśvara II (1069-76 A.D.), the son of the Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.).¹ According to Dr. Barnett 'the two Cālukya *birudas* in this family strongly suggests alliance between the rulers of Gwalior and the Deccan. The date of Mahipāla's death is approximately settled by a fragmentary inscription discovered in the fortress of Gwalior. This record mentions the Kacchapaghāta princes from Bhuvanapāla to Mahipāla, who is referred to as the *adhipati* of Gopālikera, probably the original form and the immediate source of the modern name Gwalior. Stanzas 7-9 seem to refer to the death of Mahipāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor, but unfortunately the preserved portion does not contain this name. The inscription appears to have recorded the setting up of a *linga* when 1161 years had elapsed from the reign of Vikramārka (A.D. 1104). The record was composed by the *Nīgrantha nātha* Yaśodeva'. It is thus clear that Mahipāla was dead some time before 1104.

According to Rajput tradition, the last Kachwāha king of Gwalior was Tej Karan, otherwise known as Dulha Rai (the bridegroom prince), who left his capital about 1128 A.D. "There are different stories as to the cause of his departure. Some say that he was expelled by his uncle, and others that he left in order to marry Maroni, the daughter of the Bargūjar Rajput chief of Daosa, leaving Gwalior in charge of his sister's son, who was either a Parihār or a Paramāra Rajput, and who repaid the confidence thus placed in him by usurping the principality. Both accounts, however, agree that Dulha Rai received from his father-in-law (who had no sons) the district of Daosa and the Kachwāha dynasty in Eastern Rajputana may be said to date from about 1128, with the town of Daosa

¹ BG Vol. I Part I, table facing p. 438.

² First edited by R. L. Mitra JASB Vol. XXXI pp. 402 ff. p. 406. Re-edited by Halizsch, JA Vol. XV pp. 201-2.

as its first capital.....About 1150 A.D., one of Dulha Rai's successors wrested Amber from the Susāwat Mīnās and made it his capital.....Pajūn, fourth (or, as some say, fifth) in descent from Dulha Rai, is said to have married the sister of Prthwī Raj Chauhān, the last Hindu king of Delhi, and was killed with the latter in 1192 in a battle with Muhammad Ghori.”¹

(2) *The Kacchapaghātas of Dubkund.*

The existence of this branch is known mainly from one record, the Dubkund inscription of Vikramasimha dated in V. S. 1145 (A. D. 1088).² The genealogical portion of this record introduces the first two names of this line as follows

“There was an ornament of the Kacchapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja, who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince (*bhūpati*) Ajuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a Bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva (*Vidyādhara-deva-kārya-niratah*), fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.”³

¹ IGI, Vol. XIII, pp. 384-85, ASR, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff. Parmāl Deo (Paramardī-deva) according to some chroniclers, was the nephew of Tej Karan, who founded the Parihār dynasty of Gwalior, ‘which ruled for 103 years, until the capture of the fortress by Iltutmish in A. D. 1232, from Sārang Deo, the 7th and the last prince of the line. According to the *Tāj ul-Ma’āthir*, Rāi Solankh Pāl was the ruler of Gwalior who submitted to Quṭb ud-Dīn in 592 H. (A. D. 1196). Cunningham identifies him with the Parihār Lohang Deo of the bards. See *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 227-28, and *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 378-79, and fn. on p. 379. For a list of Parihār kings of Gwalior from the chronicles of the bards, see *ibid.*, p. 378.

² *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 232-40.

³ *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 233 and 237, lines 10-13.

The identification of Rājyapāla and Vidyādhara of this passage with the Gurjara Pratihāra (A D 1018) and Candella (A D 1019) princes of the same name is generally accepted¹ It is clear that the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna² was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, described by Ibn ul Athīr as the most powerful Indian prince of his time I have already referred to the Candella inscription which extends the limit of the dominions of Dhaṅga (c 954 1002 A D) in the west to the hill of Gwalior³ It seems likely that the Dubkund branch first grew into importance in the service of the great Candella Vidyādhara The fact that the family *prastikāra* failed to give Yuvarāja any other honorific than *Śrī* is probably a sufficient indication that he was a man of no importance The fame and prestige acquired by Arjuna as a successful military leader, specially his destruction of Rājyapāla, must have laid the foundations of his family's fortunes As he is called *bhūpati*, he may have even carved out a small principality round about the present Dubkund (Long 77° 51' E, Lat 25° 43½ N) on the river Kunu

Arjuna was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu, of whom the Dubkund inscription gives the following description

" Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, (he) valued other princes as lightly as a straw

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrellas? "

¹ See my chapters on the *Later Gurjara-Pratihāras* and the *Candellas* *DHNI* Vol. I pp. 603 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 689

² *DHNI* Vol. I p. 693; Vol. II pp. 677-78.

³ *EI* Vol. II pp. 233 and 237-38.

The Bhoja mentioned in the above passage is generally identified with the Paramāra of that name (c 1010-55 A.D.). It is however difficult to know what relation existed between the Paramāra prince and Abhimanyu. It is wellknown that the relations between the Candellas and the Paramāras were not very friendly during this period. A Candella inscription describes Bhoja as worshipping Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil' ¹ We know for certain that Vidyādhara died some time before 1051 A D , the only known date of his grandson Devavarman ² As the earliest known date of Bhoja's successor is 1055 A D ³ it is probable that Bhoja survived Vidyādhara at least by some years. It is therefore possible that, taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors, Bhoja may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund; and the statement of the *praśastikāra* possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramāra.

Abhimanyu was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla. Nothing definite is recorded of him in the Dubkund inscription. Some evidence of his military success may however be gathered if we accept his identification ⁴ with the *Adhirāja* Vijaya of the *Biana stone-inscription*. This record was discovered on a pilaster of a Jaina temple, now used by Muslims as a mosque, in the town of Biana (Lat. 26° 55' N , Long. 77° 21' E), on the river Gambhir, in the State of Bharatpur in Rajputana. It contains 18 lines, opening with *Om om namah Siddhebhyah* (Sūri), records that in the kingdom of the Svetāmbaras belonging to the city of Śrīnagar the *Mahāyāna-gaccha* (or sect), who occupied the seat of Viṣṇu Sūri, In lines 6-11, it records that Maheśvara Sūri died when the (V.) year one thousand one hundred was drawing to its close. In

¹ EI, Vol II, pp 219 and 222, V 22, see also DHNI, Vol II, p 689

² IA, Vol XVI, pp 201 02 and 204 07, see also DHNI, Vol II, pp 694-95.

³ EI, Vol III, pp 48 ff

⁴ EI, Vol II, p 235

⁵ According to Fleet the ancient name of Biana, IA, Vol. XIV, p 10

Of all the three Kacchapaghāta families, it is only this branch which assumes imperial titles. As we have the date A D 1120 for the third of this line, we may with probability assign the three princes to the period c 1075-1125 A D. It is not unlikely that, taking advantage of the weakness of the three neighbouring dynasties, *viz*, the Candellas of Jejābhukti, the Kalachuris of Dāhala, and the Paramāras of Malava, this branch may have established a sovereign power in the valley of Sindh. Nothing is however known about the political incidents of the reigns of these Kacchapaghātas or any of their possible successors¹.

¹ On the subsequent history of Nala pura see: (1) Sarway inscription of Gopapati V S. 1348 (A D 1392) *IA* Vol XXII p. 88. (2) *ASR* Vol. II pp. 313 ff. Cunningham thought that Tejkarān the last Kacchwāha king of the Gwalior region was a son of Vīratihha of Narwar (*ibid* pp. 313-14). According to him Narwar then fell into the hands of the Parihāras of Gwalior. The last Parihār prince after the capture of Gwalior by Iltutmish in 1233 A.D. took shelter in Na war. The Parihāra, according to Cunningham, were dispossessed by Malayavarman, for whom we have the dates from A.D. 1223-1233. He was probably succeeded or ousted by Oāhaja (A.D. 1245-54) the Jāhīr Deo of Fīrīahī who submitted to Sultan Nāṣir ud-Dīn of Delhi in A.D. 1280. (*TF Brigg Trans.* Vol. I p. 239). The dates of his son Āsalā on his coins range from A D 1254 to 1279. A Narwar fort inscription dated in A D 1296, gives the names of Gopāla and Gopapātī the son and grandson of Āsalā. As no coins of these two last princes have yet been found it is likely that they were feudatories of the Khaljī rulers of Delhi. The tribal name of this family was probably Cākamāna see *infra*, chapter on the Cākamāna (of Banastambhapura).

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates approximate)(1) *The Gaudar Branch (c. 900-1100 A.D.)*

Lakshmana (c. 900-75).
 |
 Anantadaman (c. 975-95).
 |
 Madagalaraja (c. 995-1015).
 |
 Karttavya (c. 1015-35).
 |
 Madagalaraja, Bhuvanesvara and Trailokyasimha
 | (c. 1035-55).
 |
 |
 |
 |
 Devaditya (c. 1055-75).
 |
 |
 Purnoditya (c. 1075-80).
 |
 Mahipaditya, alias Bhuvanendrasimha (c. 1080-1100).

(2) *The Dabhumati Branch (c. 1000-1100 A.D.)*

Yuvaraja (c. 1000).
 |
 Arjuna (c. 1015-35 A.D.)
 |
 Abhimanyu (1035-44 A.D.)
 |
 Vijayapala (c. 1044-70).
 |
 Vikramasimha (1070-1100)

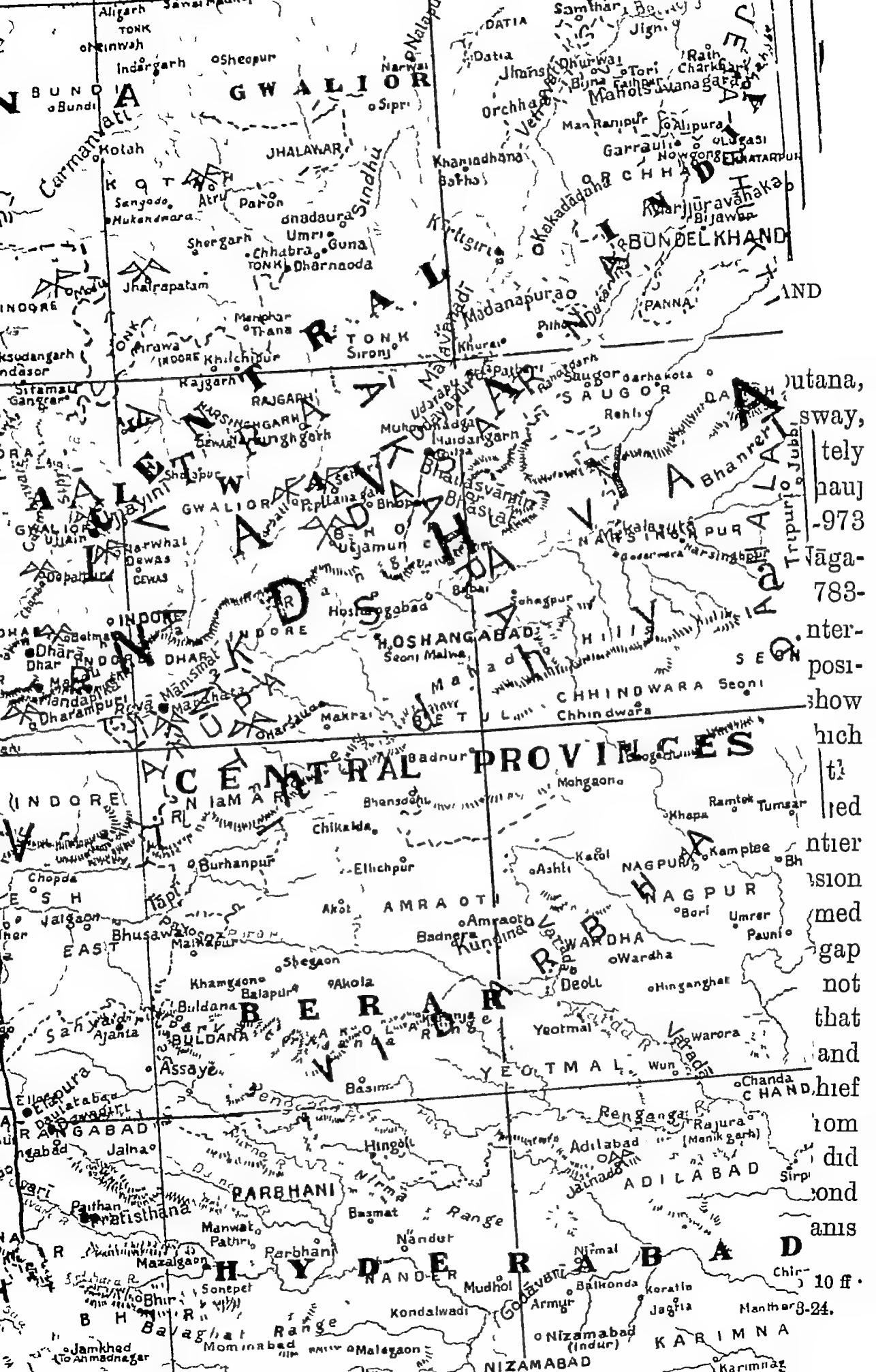
(3) *The Naruar Branch (c. 1075-1125 A.D.)*

Gaganasimha (c. 1075-1090)
 |
 Sarudasimha (c. 1090-1105)
 | = Laksmidevi
 |
 Virasimha (c. 1105-1125).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed by Crooke
Oxford
- 2 *Archaeological Survey Reports of Cunningham*, Vol II
- 3 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām ud Dīn
- 4 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol XIII, New Edition, 1908
- 5 *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, translated by Briggs Vol I
- 6 ' *Vestiges of the Kings of Gwalior* ' by R. L. Mitra, *JASB*,
1862, pp. 391-424





utana,
sway,
tely
pauj
-973
Tāga-
783-
nter-
posi-
show
hich
t3
ied
ntier
vision
med
gap
not
that
and
hief
iom
did
ond
anis
10 ff.
9-24.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PARAMĀRAS (PĀVARAS) OF GUJARAT, MALWA AND RAJPUTANA

The history of Gujarat, Malwa and Southern Rajputana which at different periods the Paramāras¹ claimed sway were in the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries intimately connected with the annals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj (c. 836-1037 A D) and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Malkhed (c. 754-974 A D). From the time of Vatsa (c. 783-84 A D) and Nāga bhata II (c. 815-33 A D) and Dhruva and Govinda III (c. 783-815 A D), the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas, with brief intervals, continued to fight almost incessantly for a dominant position in Indian politics; and there is reliable evidence to show that the region indicated above was one of the zones in which the fight was most bitter. Allying themselves with all the hostile forces against the Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūtas maintained a constant pressure against their northern rivals on this frontier for about a hundred and fifty years. On more than one occasion the Rashtrakuta forces of these predecessors of the Marathas, swarmed into the Pratihara dominions through Malwa and the Baroda gap with disastrous consequences for the northern power. It is not impossible, though at present there is no definite evidence, that besides the glamour of an imperial city, the proximity and frequency of Rāṣṭrakūta attacks may have been one of the chief factors that led the Pratihāras to transfer their capital from Ujjayinī to Kanauj. It is well known that even this step did not save the Pratihāra capital from spoliation. Before the second decade of the 10th century was over the fury of the Deccanis

¹ In inscriptions the name is sometimes spelt *Pramāra*, see *EI*, Vol IX, pp. 10 ff. also *Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1937 F. (1927-28 A O.), pp. 23-24.

pursued them across the 'unfathomable Yamunā' and 'completely uprooted' their imperial city. In this unceasing struggle both the Northern and the Deccan powers realised the strategic importance of Gujarat and Malwa. These two areas, together with portions of Rajputana, had been the chief strongholds of the Gurjara Pratihāra power from the 6th and 7th centuries A D. The three principalities of Mandor, Broach and Ujjayini had withstood the vicissitudes of war and peace for a long time, till at last the rulers of the last seized the imperial crown of Northern India. But this success and the subsequent transference of their capital to Kanauj did not make the Gurjara Pratihāras forgetful of the importance of Gujarat and Malwa. The Haddala grants of Mahipāla and the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II seem to show that they tried to maintain their hold over the provinces till about the first half of the 10th century.¹ I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,² that the Deccan powers from the time of the Śātavāhanas onwards always realised the strategic importance of Gujarat. As soon as Dantidurga (A D 754) overthrew the Calukyas of Badami, he seems to have invaded Southern and Central Gujarat and established *Kakkarāja* (747 A D) possibly his paternal cousin's son, in the Surat region as his feudatory. It would seem from the proximity of the dates of the last Broach Gurjara and *Kakka* that Lāṭa, roughly the region between the Mahi and the Narmada, was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Jayabhata III (c 706-36 A D).³ But the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvaḍḍha II dated in V S 813 (c 756 A D), shows that the Gurjara Jayabhata III must have been followed at Broach by this Cāhamāna feudatory of Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhatta I.⁴ It was probably from Bhartṛvaḍḍha II or one of his successors

¹ See *DHNI* Vol. I pp. 582-83 and 585-87

² *JL* 1917 Vol. XIV pp. 12-15

³ *EG* Vol I Part I pp 117 and 122.

⁴ *EI* Vol. XII, pp 197 ff

that the Rāstrakūṭas controlled Lāta. In the time of Nirupama-Dhruva Lāta appears to have been placed in charge of his distinguished son, Gajjala III. The latter after his accession to the throne, made extensive raids into the Pratīhāra dominions in Northern India, and then appointed his younger brother Indira-rāja as his viceroy in the Lāteśvara *mandala*. The grants of Indira-rāja's successors show that they not only held the territory between the Tapti and Mahi, but that their power also sometimes extended from the river Ambika to the Sabaimati. Many of their grants were made from places in the modern Kaira district. The unfortunate attempt of Dhruva I (c. 835-67), the grandson of Indra, to shake off the yoke of Malkhed, which involved the two branches in civil war, appears to have served as a check on the further expansion of Rāstrakūṭa power on this frontier for more than half a century. In the reign of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa II (c. 888-912 A.D.) the main line of the Rāstrakūṭas seems to have re-established their control over Southern Gujarat. The Kaira grant of Amoghavarṣa Kakka II informs us that Kṛṣṇa II's enemies, frightened by his exploits, abandoned Khetaka (mod. Kaira) 'with its *mandala* and its forepart,' i.e., the surrounding territory.¹ The identity of one of the chief enemies to which the Kaira grant refers seems to be established by the Navsari plates of Indra III, 'which mention his grandfather Kṛṣṇa fighting with the roaring Gurjara' (*garjad-Gūjara*). It is likely that this Gurjara power is to be identified not with the Lāta Rāstrakūṭas, as Bhagwanlal Indraji suggests, but with the mighty Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, which now extended from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal. It is also possible that the attempt of the Lāta Rāstrakūṭas to throw off the yoke of their kinsmen at Malkhed may have been undertaken with the active support of the northern Empire. But unfortunately for the Pratīhāras, the death of Mahendrapāla almost synchronised with the accession of Indira III, one of the most

¹ BG, Vol I, Part I, p. 128.

successful military leaders amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. Soon after his accession, about 915 A.D., the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch undertook his famous expedition against Kanauj. I have shown elsewhere that in this northern campaign, Indra appears to have passed through Ujjain in Malwa¹ and it is not unlikely that he may have followed the reverse of the route pursued by the Muslims, which passed along the Betwa Valley through Chanderi and Bhilsa. The success of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas thus initiated by Indra's brilliant victories seems to have continued for some time. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV, as I have already suggested, may indicate that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas retained some hold over the Ganges-Jumna valley till c. 930 A.D.² Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 845-46) shows that the Pratīhāras had recovered possession of Malwa, including Mandu and Ujjain, yet there is evidence to show that they could not effectively checkmate the northern campaigns of their southern rivals. The claim of the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-53 A.D.) that during his father Amoghavarṣa-Vaddiga's reign, his angry glance caused the hopes about Kalāñjara and Citrakūṭa to vanish from the heart of the Gujara, has been confirmed by the recent discovery of his inscriptions in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat and the Maihar State in Baghelkhand Agency (C.I.).³

I have already referred to the success of Kṛṣṇa II (c. 888-912 A.D.) and his son Indra III (c. 915-17 A.D.) against the local branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Lāṭa. Akalavarṣa Kṛṣṇarāja (A.D. 888) appears to have been the last Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Southern Gujarat in the line of Indrarāja. When Bhagwanlal Indraji and Jackson wrote on the 'Early History of Gujarat' in 1896, they were unaware of any other feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed in Gujarat. But according to the traditional policy of the Deccan rulers it was naturally to be expected that

¹ See chapter on the Later Gujara-Pratīhāras DHNI Vol. I p. 580

² Ibid, p. 581.

³ Ibid pp. 588-90

after the success of Kṛṣṇa II and Indira III, they should appoint a new viceroy to govern their possessions in Gujarat. The recent discovery of the Harsola plates of Kṛṣṇa III has thrown welcome light on the Gujarat *paramāras* Rāstrakūṭas by revealing the existence of *paramāras* who appear to have supplanted the *paramāras*. The *Mahā-mandir* of Akālavarṣa, his father Vairiśimha, and his grandfather Akālavarṣa for this inscription have been rightly identified with the well-known Paramāra rulers Vākpati I, Vairiśimha II, and Harsa-Siyaka II.³

Bardic and epigraphic traditions agree in tracing the origin of the Paramāras⁴ from a fire-pit on Mt. Abu. European and Indian scholars have interpreted this myth to mean that the Paramāras belonged to the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.¹ But the discovery of the Harsola plates seems to cast grave doubts on the reliability of this theory. The earliest reference to the fire-pit origin of the Paramāras is contained in records which belong to about the middle of the 11th century A D.⁵ The Harsola plates, which are nearly a century older, does not refer to this origin, but on the contrary seem to state that Bappairāja (Vākpatiāja) I was descended from the family (*kula*) of the (Rāstrakūṭa) Akālavarṣa (Kṛṣṇa III). Messrs Dikshit and Diskalkar, who have edited them, have suggested that 'the Paramāras may have been descended from the Rāstrakūṭa kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa, through a Rāstrakūṭa princess'.⁶ But unless it is proved that 'a portion of the original draft is missing' 'through the engravers' oversight,' the clear statement that Bappairāja was

¹ PTOC, Madras, 1924, pp 303-08, EI, Vol XIX, pp 236 ff

² EI, Vol XIX, pp 236 ff, JBORS, December, 1928, pp 479 ff

³ In bardic tradition and vernacular the name is spelt as *Pāvar*, *Pamar*, etc

⁴ I reserve the question of the origin of the Rajputs for the third volume. For the origin of the Paramāras see AR, Vol I, pp 112 ff, ASR, Vol II, pp 254 ff, JBRAS, XXI, pp 428-29, BG, Vol IX, pp 484-85, AAK, Vol II, pp 214-15

⁵ RMR, 1927, pp 2-3, EI, Vol XIV, pp 295 ff, EI, Vol IX, pp 10 ff *Navasāha-lā-carita*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No L III, 1895, XI, 64 ff.

VI EI, Vol. XIX, pp 239-40.

indicate his semi-independent position¹. The fact that all his three grants come from Gujarat and that the lands granted are presumably to be located in the same tract, confirms our suggestion that sometime before 945-46 A.D. the Paramāras were hurled back by a temporary revival of the Gurjara Pratihāra power into Lāṭa. According to the *Navasāhasāṅka carita* Siyaka conquered the Raḍupāṭi paṭi and a Hūṇa chief². The Harṣa grants inform us that Siyaka was encamped on the Mahi after a successful expedition against one Yogarāja, a uncertain whether this Yogarāja can be identified with either of the two who were reported by Padmagupta to have been defeated by Siyaka. Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar have suggested that possibly this Yogarāja may be one of the rulers of the Cāpoṭkaṭas or Cāvḍas of 'Anahilavāḍa Pātan'. Though there is not much to support this guess, yet the possibility of a conflict of Siyaka with the Cāpas is shown by the Haddal grant (A.D. 914) of the Gurjara Pratihāra Mahipāla, which reveal the existence of a Cāpa principality immediately to the west of the Mahi, in Eastern Kathiawar. In addition to these conflicts the Udaipur *prasasti* supplies us with information about another military achievement of Siyaka. This record tells us that Harṣa, "equalling the snake-eater (*Garuḍa*)" in fierceness took in battle the wealth of king Khoṭṭiga³. Bühler has rightly identified this Khoṭṭiga with the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the same name (c. 956-71 A.D.) the younger brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.). The same scholar also pointed out that Dhanapāla, the author of the Prakrit dictionary *Pāṇya-lacchī*, who composed his work for his sister Sundarā in V.S. 1021 (972-73 A.D.), when Mānyakheta was looted by the people of

¹ Cf. Rajar stone-inscription of Mathanadeva *RI* Vol. III pp. 263 ff.; also *DHN* Vol. I pp. 592 ff.

² *Hūṇa-śarodhaśa-saidharya-dikṣa-dānam*. The Hūṇa prince was probably killed.

³ *RI* Vol. XIX p. 239.

⁴ The cognisance of the Paramāras.

⁵ *RI* Vol. I pp. 235 and 237 V. 12.

ālava, must have been referring to this expedition of Sīyaka.¹ The Arthuna inscription of the Banswara Paramāra Cāmunda² reveals that one of his ancestors, Kaṁka-deva (Kakkadeva?), a hero's death on the banks of the Naimadā after over-throwing the army of the king of Karnāta. We are informed the same record that he was fighting on the side of Harsa of ālava, no doubt the Harsa-Sīyaka II of the main line. The place of the battle and the name of the Southern king are supported by the Panhera inscription of Mandalika³ which tells us that Cacca died fighting against Khottika-deva at a place called halighaṭṭa on the Revā on behalf of Sīyaka, the great-grandfather of Jayasīma (V S. 1116). There is no doubt that both the inscriptions are referring to one and the same campaign, which was connected with the great offensive of Harṣa-Sīyaka II against the Rāstrakūtas of Malkhed. It is possible that Kamka (Kakka?) of the Arthuna inscription is the same as Cacca of the Panhera inscription?

This conflict with his sovereign shows that Harṣa Sīyaka was also following in the footsteps of his predecessors the ālava-Rāstrakūtas. But he was more fortunate. The rapid decline of the Rāstrakūtas of Malkhed soon after the death of Kṛṣṇa II gave him ample opportunities to consolidate his power, and even to strike deadly blows against the inglorious successors of Kālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the destruction of his sovereign's family, to which Sīyaka appears to have materially contributed, indirectly brought him face to face with one of the greatest crises in the history of his family. The Cālukya Taila II, who overthrew the Rāstrakūta Kakka II in 973 A.D., following the traditional policy of the Deccan emperors, at once attacked Lāṭa and established Bārappa as his feudatory there. The Surat grant of the Mahāmandaleśvara Kīrtirāja, Bārappa's grandson, is dated

¹ *Ibid*, p. 226

² *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 295-96

³ *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20.

Tailapa II himself died in Śaka 919 (A D 997-98), it is certain that Muñja's death must have occurred between c 993-94 and 997-98 A D. The same scholar also suggested that 'the beginning of Vākpati's reign is probably not far distant from A D 974, the date of his first land grant

Padmagupta tells us that 'Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms when he started for Ambikā's town'. Considering the manner of Vākpati's death, this may indicate that Sindhurāja had become anointed as *Yuvarāja* some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition to the Godavari valley. The Jain Prabandhas however assert that Muñja was succeeded not by Sindhurāja but by the latter's younger son Bhoja. Thus Merutunga tells us that Muñja's younger brother named 'Sindhala' out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sindhala came to Gujarāt and established his settlement (*palli*) in the neighbourhood of Kāśahrada'.¹ While living there he was told by a ghost that king Muñja's destruction was drawing near and that the sceptre should descend into his line. He was therefore bidden by the ghost to return to Mālava. 'Being thus sent by the ghost he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district which brought him in revenue, but again displaying haughtiness he had his eyes put out by Muñja and was confined in a wooden cage. He begat a son named Bhoja. When Bhoja grew up, Muñja became apprehensive owing to the forecast of astrologers that his nephew was destined to rule 'Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauda for fifty five years and three days and fearing that if Bhoja lived, his own son would not inherit the kingdom, he ordered him to be put to death. But before the execution could take place, a verse from his nephew

¹ VI 98.

² A Prakrit hypocoristic form of the name Sindhurāja sometimes also Sindhala. *RI Vol I p. 238*

³ Forbes suggested probably Kāśandra Pālatas about 14 miles from Ahmeda. *Ras Vol. II p 85*

induced Muñja to change his decision and honour him 'with the dignity of crown prince' When the news of Muñja's death reached Mālava the ministers placed Bhoja on the throne¹ Though Buhler has doubted² it, it is not impossible that these stories may have been based on possible differences between Muñja and Sindhurāja, a phenomenon not at all unusual in Indian history But the further statement of Merutunga that Sindhala was blinded and was passed over in the succession by his son Bhoja is certainly untrue, for it is contradicted not only by Padmagupta but also by epigraphic evidence The Udaipur *praśasti* distinctly states that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Sindhurāja³ The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūna king (*rāja*) and gained glory by other victories. But naturally a fuller account of his career is supplied by the *Navasāhasānka-carita* According to the author of this *Kāvya*, Sindhurāja was also known as Navasāhasānka⁴ and Kumāranāyana He had a minister (*śaciva*) named Yaśobhaṭa, *alias* Rāmāṅgada. The poem opens with a description of the city of Ujjayinī⁵ The author devotes his main attention to the description of the incidents which led to his hero's marriage with Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga king Śankhapāla To obtain his object he had to kill the Asura Vajrāṅkuśa, whose capital we are told was situated 'fifty *gavyūtis* from the Narmadā.' In his struggle against the demon prince the king

¹ *PC*, pp 31 33 and 36

² His doubts were mainly based on Padmagupta's silence and his statement 'When his Majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal (*mudrā*) on my song; Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that brother of poets, now breaks it' 'Had the brothers been deadly enemies,' says he, 'Padmagupta would certainly have been left in obscurity after his first patron's death' (*EI*, Vol I, p 230) But I do not see any reason why Sindhurāja, even if he was inimical to Vākpati, should have refused to patronise his brother's court poet when the latter was willing to write the eulogy of the new king by composing a *navasāhasānka-carita*, in which Vākpati's victories are passed over in silence while those of Sindhurāja are exaggerated

³ *EI*, Vol I, pp 235 and 237, V 16

Sometimes *Navīnasāhasānka*, VI, 11.

The city of Dhārā is also mentioned in the poem as *aparā purī*

had the Vidyādharas as his allies. The story is mainly mythical but Bühler long ago perceived that it may have a historical basis. The Nāgas were a well known ruling tribe who held principalities in Rajputana and Central India. The minute description of the distance of Vajrāṅkuśa's capital also leads us to suspect that he was probably a historical figure. But in the present state of our knowledge it is hopeless to try to identify the family or locate the principality of the enemies and allies of Sindhurāja. The passages which are of real historical importance occur in the tenth *sarga*.¹ Here we are told that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūṇa king (*nṛpati*) and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murala Lāṭa, and Kosala. Of these the first as we have seen is also mentioned by the Udaipur *prafasti*, and can therefore be accepted as a fact. It is however impossible to locate the area over which the Hūṇa chief ruled Vāgaḍa, as Bühler pointed out, roughly correspond to modern Dungarpur State in Southern Rajputana.² As the region round about Dungarpur was the stronghold of a branch of the Paramāra stock, it is not unlikely that Parimala was referring to a conflict with some representative of the Banswara branch of that family. The Surat grant of Kirtirāja,³ dated in Śaka 940 (c 1018), shows that Sindhurāja's opponent in Lāṭa was probably this grandson of Bārappa. In fighting against Kosala Sindhurāja was carrying on the policy of Vākpati II. The Kosala king against whom Sindhurāja made war was most probably the Kalacuri Kokalla II,⁴ the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. Sindhurāja's struggle with the Muralas, if the latter are located near Kerala,⁵ looks rather improbable. But

¹ X, 14-20

² Ojha however holds that the whole area now occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara is known as Vāgaḍa. see *HR* II 453.

³ *WZKM* 1893 Band VII, pp. 88-89. See also *infra* *DHNI* Vol II chapter on *Canishkas*.

See *infra* *DHNI* Vol II p. 771

⁴ See my chapter on the *Later Gurjara Pratihāras* *DHNI* Vol I p. 57. Ldb. Murala is identified by some with Narmadā. Can Muralas mean the tribes living am. Narmadā? †

as Buhler long ago suggested, this statement probably vaguely refers to a continuation of the conflicts with the Cālukyas of Kalyani.¹

No inscriptions have so far been discovered for the reign of Sindhurāja. As the exact date of his successor's accession is also unknown, it is difficult to fix his reign period. From the number of victories ascribed to Sindhurāja in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, Buhler guessed that the Paramāra prince must have reigned at least seven or eight years before the poem was composed. As Vākpati II died between 994 and 997 A.D. he assumed that the poem was composed about the middle of the first decade of the 11th century. 'How much longer Sindhurāja may have reigned, cannot be determined at present.'²

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva.³ The following inscriptions are known for his reign

(1) *Banswara grant* —Originally found in the possession of the widow of a *thatherā* (coppersmith) living at Banswara, in Southern Rajputana. The exact find-spot is not known. It contains thirty-two lines incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. At the end of the grant, at the left-hand side of the second plate, in a rectangular border, there is the usual flying figure of Garuda, holding a snake in his left hand. The inscription opens with two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakeśa*, *Smarānāṭi*), and then traces the genealogy of the Paramāras from *Pb.-M.-P.-Sīyakadeva* (II) to *Pb.-M.-P.-Bhojadeva*. It then records that the last prince, 'at the anniversary⁴ of the conquest of Konkana' (*Komkana-vijaya-parvati*), having worshipped *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva), granted 100 *nivartanas* of land at

¹ *EI*, Vol I, p 229 Dr Barnett doubts the correctness of this suggestion of Bühler.

² *EI*, Vol I, p 230

from ³ He appears to have had the *biruda* Tribhuvana Nārāyaṇa. Bhoja built a temple of tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa in Citrakūṭa durga (Chitor in Udaipur State) see the Chirwa inscription of Guhila Samarasimha (V S 1930) *WZKM*, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff

rem. ⁴ *Parvati* may also be translated as 'on the festival day,' *IA*, 1912, p 201

Vatapadraka,¹ included in the *Ghāghradora bhoga* of *Sthalī manjāla*, to the Brāhman Bhāila, whose ancestors had emigrated from *Chīrūchā-nagara*. The date is given in line 31 as (V) *Saṃvat* 1076 Māgha Sudi 5 (3rd January, A D 1020). The writing in both the plates end with the sign manual of Bhojadeva.²

(2) *Beṭma grant* — Found buried in a field at the village of Beṭmā, 16 miles to the west of Indore in Central India. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. The second plate contains, like No 1, a flying figure of Garuḍa holding a snake. The introductory portion is as in No 1. In the formal part of the grant we are told that Bhojadeva on the occasion of the festival day of the victorious occupation³ of *Koṅkana* (*Koṃkana-grahana-vijaya parvaṇi*), granted the village of *Nālatadāga*,⁴ included in *Nyāyapadra⁵ saptadaśaka*, to the Brāhman *Pandita* Delha, who came from *Bhānviśvara*. It is dated in (V) *Saṃvat* 1076, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* (September, 1020 A D).⁶

(3) *Ujjain grant* — Discovered by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream called *Nāgajhari* at Ujjain. It contains 81 lines incised on two plates. Figure of Garuḍa as in No 1. The introductory portion as in the two grants mentioned above. It records that when Bhojadeva was residing at *Dhārā*, he granted the village of *Virāṇaka*, situated in the *Nāgadraba paśoima pathaka*, to the Brāhman *Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa* of the *Karṇāṭa* (country) an emigrant from *Bādāvi* attached to *Belluvalla*.⁷ The date is given in lines 80-81 as (V) *Saṃvat* 1078 (c 1022 A D).⁸

¹ Identified by some with mod. Baroda.

² Edited by Hultzsch *EI* Vol. XI pp. 181-83; also by D. R. Bhandarkar *I I* 1912, pp. 201-02.

³ According to some subjugation, *EI* Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

⁴ May be mod. Nār (Nāl) in the Kaira District *EI* Vol. XVIII p. 321.

⁵ May be mod. town of Nāpad in the Kaira District to the S W of Indore *ib id.*

⁶ Edited by Diakalkar *EI* Vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.

⁷ The editor wrongly translated the passage as 'Who being an inhabitant of *Bādāvi*, *Sarasanga Karṇāṭa*. But see Fleet, *IA* 903, p. 365. *Belluvalla* was situated close to *Bādāvi*.

⁸ Edited by Kirtane (N. J.) *IA* Vol. VI pp. 53-55.

(4) *Depalpur grant*.—Found at Depalpur. 24 miles to the north-west of Indore (C I). It contains 30 lines incised on two copper plates held together by two copper rings. Flying figure of Garuda and the introductory portion as in No 1 above. It records that the last prince after taking his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals¹ and having worshipped the *Bhavānīpati* (Śiva) while residing at Dhārā,² granted 34 *amśas* of level land (*prastha*),³ furnished with 4 ploughs (*halacatustayasamvrttam*) at Kīṇkaikā⁴ in the western *Pathaka* of Ujjayinī to the Brāhman Vacchala, who had migrated from Mānyakheta.⁵ The grant is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1079 on Caitra Śudī 14 (19th March, 1022 A D). The writing on both the plates end (as in No. 1 above) with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.⁶

(5) *Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman*.—Discovered in the village near Kalvan, in the N. W. of Nasik District, Bombay Presidency. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The grant opens with an eulogy of the Paramāra⁷ Bhojadeva of Dhārā and his ancestry from Siyakadeva (II). We are then told that through Bhoja's favour the illustrious Yaśovarman had obtained the town (*nagara*) of Selluka and was enjoying 1,500 villages. The inscription then records that in the (village) Muktāpalī in the Audihādī-*viṣaya*, the *Sāmanta*, the illustrious Rānaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, being convinced of the excellence of the *Jina-dharmā* from the teachings of the Svet-āmbara *ācārya* Ammadeva, gave some land at Mahisabuddhikā,

¹ The editor plausibly suggests that this must indirectly refer to the river Carmanvatī (mod Chambal). See in this connection the story of king Rantideva, *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparva*, 67 *IHQ*, 1932, pp 308-09

² Modern Dhar, capital of the Dhar State, C I

³ I am not sure that *prastha* here does not mean a measure of land

⁴ Modern village of Kīrkī, in the Depalpur Pargana on the Chambal about 6 miles from Depalpur

⁵ Modern Malkhed

⁶ Edited with plates by R. G. Ojha, *IHQ*, June, 1932, pp 305-15. Note author's remarks on the numeral signs—the figure 7 (in the date, line 29), *ibid*, p 308

⁷ In the original plate *Pravāhara*, probably a mistake for *Pramāra*

at the holy *tirtha* of Kālakāleśvara¹ The grant was made by Amma on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the *amāvāsya* day of the month of Caitra, after having washed the feet of (the *ācārya* ?) with water thrown from the hands of his wife *rājñī* Caccāī of the Calukya family This land measured 40 *nivartanas* A second piece of land measuring 25 *nivartanas* was given by Rāja Kakkapāī A third piece of land measuring 35 *nivartanas*, a flower garden measuring 2 *nivartanas*, 2 oil mills (*taila ghānaka*), 14 shops (*Vanik haṭṭāh*), and 14 *drammas* were given by the commercial community consisting of Vakaaī gala and others² The donee apparently was the temple of the Jina in the Svetapada³ (country), which was thoroughly repaired and dedicated (*nivedita*) to the illustrious Muni Suvratadeva The grant was written by Sāndhivigrahika Jogeśvara. It is not dated in any era⁴

(6) *British Museum image-inscription*—An image of Sarasvatī, dated in (V) *Samvat* 1091 (A.D. 1034-35) in the reign of Bhoja⁵

(7) *Tilakwada grant*—Found at Tilakwada in the bed of the river Narbada, the headquarters of a *mahal* contiguous to that of Sankheda in the Baroda Prānt, Baroda State The grant originally consisted of 8 plates, of which the first, containing the greater part of the introductory portion, is missing The present portion of the grant practically begins with 'From him (Sindhurāja ?) was born Bhojadeva' We are then introduced

¹ Identified with the temple of Kālakāleśvara which still exists about 10 miles from Kalvan. *HI* Vol. XIX, p. 70

² The editor translates *Vakaagala prabhṛti-nagara* as Vakaagala and others of the town But Dr Barnett points out that *nagara* is a regular term in the south for a commercial community

³ Identified with the northern portion of Nasik district *ibid*

⁴ Edited by R. D. Banerji *EI* Vol. XIV pp. 69-75 The editor's arguments that the grant must be referred to the period of confusion after the death of Bhoja do not appear to me to be convincing I agree with Hirananda Sastri that Yaśovarman was a feudatory of Bhoja (*ibid* p. 73 fn. 1) at the time of the grant. See also Diskalkar *EI* Vol. XVIII, 320, fn. 3.

⁵ Noticed in *EI* Vol. XVIII p. 320 fn. 3 Transcribed by Dikshit, *Rūpani* 1924 p. 2.

to the *Narottama* (prince ?) *Suāditya* (*Śūrāditya*) of the *Śravanabhadra-īamśa*, who came from Kanyakubja and was a devotee of the lotus-like feet of Bhoja¹ His son *Jasorāja* (*Yasorāja*), who resided in *Sangamakheta-maṇḍala*, having bathed in the *Narmadā* in V. S. 1103 (c. 1047 A.D.), in the temple of *Śiva Maheśvara*, situated at the confluence of the (river) *Manā*, granted to the god *Ghanteśvara*, the village of *Viluhaja* and also a hundred (measures) of land in the village of *Ghantāpallī* The sage *Dinakaṛa* was appointed a trustee for the administration of the endowment. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* *Sohika*.²

The dates in the inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1076 to 1103, i.e., from about 1020 to 1047 A.D. Two more dates for Bhoja's reign within these limits are supplied by literary tradition One of these is supplied by *al-Bīūnī*, who records that in c. 1030 A.D., when he composed his *Indica*, the king of *Dhārā*, the capital of *Mālava*, was *Bhojadeva*.³ Another date, *Śaka* 964 (A.D. 1042-43), is supplied by the *Rājamaṅgāṅkarakarāṇa*⁴ Buhler, chiefly relying on the statement of *Bilhana* that on his journey from *Kashmir* to various places in Northern India *Dhārā* cried out to him 'Bhoja is my king,'⁵ placed the death of Bhoja sometime after the year 1062 A.D.⁶ But the *Mandhata* grant of his successor *Jayasimha* shows that he must have died in or before V.S. 1112 (A.D. 1055-56)⁷ The upper limit is more difficult to settle. The fact that his *Banswara* plates show that he had already conquered *Konkan* in 1020 A.D. certainly indicates that he ascended the throne some time before that date Buhler has pointed out from the *Cālukya* records that Bhoja fought with

¹ He is said to have fought with *Sāhavāhana* (?) and others and made the royal glory of Bhojadeva stable *EI*, Vol XIX, *Appendix*, p 21, No 128

² Edited by *Kudalkar*, *PTOC*, Poona, 1919, pp 319-26

³ *KH*, Trans by *Sachau*, Vol I, p 191

⁴ *EI*, Vol I, p 232

⁵ *Vikramāṅkadeva carita*, XVIII, 96

⁶ *EI*, Vol I, p 233

⁷ *EI*, Vol III, pp 46 ff

the Calukya Jayasinha some time between Saka 933 (1011 12 A D) and Saka 941 (A D 1019 20) As Padmagupta, who probably composed his work in c 1005, does not refer to Bhoja, Bühler thought that Bhoja at that time had not reached the age of 16, the Indian age of majority He therefore concluded that Bhoja's accession must fall c 1010 A D , or even somewhat later¹ With this conclusion most scholars agree

The Paramāra inscriptions are unanimous in praising Bhoja's great military talents Thus the Udaipur *prasaṣṭi* tells us that he resembled king Prthu and "possessed the earth up to Kailāsa up to the Malaya hills, and up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun he scattered in all directions the weighty crowd of earth supporters (*uroṣbharu*), easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow Seeing the Karpāṭas, the lords of Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turuṣkas, chief among whom were the lord of Cedi, Indra ratha,² Toggala³ (?) and Bhīma, conquered by his mercenaries (*bhṛtya*)⁴ alone his hereditary warriors (*maula*)⁵ thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of their fighters⁶ The Dhar *prasaṣṭi* of Arjunavarman designates Bhoja as a *Sārvabhauma*, and gives him credit for having defeated Gāṅgeya, the Kalacuri king of Tripurī⁷ (c 1030-41 A D) It is true there is much exaggeration in these statements of the *prasaṣṭi*-writers But epigraphic evidence shows that there is a substantial basis for ascribing to Bhoja many of these conquests The war with the Karpāṭas was only another episode in the struggle which had taken so disastrous a turn

¹ *EI* Vol. I pp 232-33

² Kielhorn identifies him with the prince of the same name who was defeated by Ravendra Coja I in his northern expedition (*EI* IX, 32) II; *ibid* p. 230; see *List of Southern Inscriptions* p. 120 note 3; also *MAI* No 23 p 18

³ Not identified

⁴ On this word see my *Notes on War in Ancient India* *JL* 10 7 Vol XIV pp 215

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *EI* Vol I pp. 235 and 237 Vs 17 and 19

⁷ The *Pārijālamāṣaṭī* or *Vijaya śrī* of Madana; see *EI* Vol VIII p 101 line 2, V 3, p. 103 line 7; also p 93. See also *supra* *DHIV* Vol. II p. 771

in the reign of Vākpati II, and which was to prove in the end equally disastrous to Bhoja. But in the beginning of his reign Bhoja appears to have retaliated with success, and may have even avenged the death of Muñja. Merutunga refers to a story in which Bhoja, while attending a dramatic performance in which Tailapa II, was represented as imprisoned, was so stung by the sarcasm¹ of Dāmara, an emissary of the Caulukya king Bhīma I, that he at once 'proceeded to march to the country of Telinga.'² The same story, with additions, is found in the *Bhoja-carita*, which tells us that Bhoja 'captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected, and finally executed him.'³ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that, as Tailapa was dead before Bhoja ascended the throne, his name is probably a mistake for Vikramāditya I,⁴ of whom we know so little and put him to death.⁵ Several scholars have recently agreed with this conclusion of Bhandarkar.⁶ Whatever may be the value of this guess, it is certain that Bhoja gained some substantial successes against the Cālukyas of Kalyani before the Śaka year 941 (A.D. 1019). For the Balagamve stone-inscription of that date of the time of Jayasimha (c. 1018-42 A.D.) claims that he was 'a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja,' i.e., he 'took away the glory of Bhoja just as the moon causes the water-lilies

¹ He reminded Bhoja that Tailapa 'is recognised by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake', *PC*, p. 45.

² *Ibid*.

³ *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214.

⁴ Vikramāditya V (c. 1009-11 A.D.) according to Fleet's list, see *ibid*, table facing p. 428.

⁵ *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 214. *Bhoja-carita* of Rajavallabha, I, 50-56.

⁶ See *IA*, 1919, pp. 117-18, *EI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321. Ojha however, relying on a verse (I, 86) of *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita* which states that Jayasimha 'received a garland, culled from the Pārijāta tree, from Indra's own hands' concludes that it was this prince who was killed by Bhoja. But see Venkatarama Ayyar, in *IA*, 1919, p. 118, fn. 54, where he argues that since in Hindu mythology it is usually the *Apsarases* and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battlefield, Jayasimha could not have died on the field of battle. But note *EI*, Vol. II, p. 102, where Bhīmā, who possibly died fighting

that bloom in the daytime to close their flowers at night.¹ The same inscription also claims that Jayasīrha 'searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mālava'.² There is no evidence to show who were the princes that were included in this confederacy of Mālava. The claim that the Cālukya king completely destroyed the power of Bhoja is most probably mere *prasaṅga*. That his success could not have been substantial is shown by the first three grants of the time of Bhoja. The first records the celebration of the festival day of the conquest of Konkan in January 1020 A.D., which shows that the actual conquest must have taken place either in January 1019, or even earlier. The second grant about 8 months later again records gifts on the festival day of the victorious occupation of Konkan. That these are not mere vain boasts is shown by the Kalvan plates of his feudatory Yaśovarman, who appears to have held sway in the Nasik district, bordering on Konkan.³ Unfortunately this inscription is not dated in any era. But that the struggle continued unabated on this frontier till at least Śaka 946 (A.D. 1024) is indicated by the Miraj plates of Jayasīrha where he claims to have taken away everything belonging to the rulers of the seven Koṅkaṣas (*Sapta Koṅkaṇa dhīśvarāṇām sarvasam gṛhīto*).⁴ Bhoja's success however was not permanent. The *Vikramānkhadeva carita* tells us that Āhavamalla (Somēśvara I, c. 1044-68 A.D.) 'stormed Dhārā the capital of the Paramāras in Mālava, from which Bhoja had to flee'.⁵ The Nagpur *prasaṅga* of Naravarman (V.S. 1161)

¹ *IA* Vol. V p. 17; *BG* Vol. I Part II p. 436.

² *IA* Vol. V p. 17.

³ Note in this connection the indirect evidence of the Jainad inscription of a Paramara feudatory of Udayāditya in the Warangal Division of Hyderabad [see *Report Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-28, pp. 23-24].

⁴ *IA* Vol. VII pp. 18-19 and in *VO* on p. III. Fleet takes the passage as referring to the lords of the seven Koṅkaṣas. But Sir R. G. Bhandarkar accepts it as referring to the ruler of the seven Koṅkaṣas. See *BG* Vol. I Part II pp. 213 and 430. But as *adhīśvarāṇām* is in the plural, Fleet seems to be right.

⁵ *I* 91-96.

makes it clear that the success of the Kainātas was due to their alliance with the powerful Kalacuri king Kaina.¹ The mention of Kaina in this Nagpur inscription as one of the forces that brought about Bhoja's downfall shows that the Udaipur *prāśasti* was right in mentioning the *Cedīśvara* as one of the adversaries of the Paramāra king. The same inscription also refers to the *Gujara-rāt* as another enemy of Bhoja. There is little doubt that this Gujara prince is to be identified with Bhīma I, who is mentioned in the same verse as one of the chief enemies of Bhoja, the other being the 'lord of Cedi'. Merutunga records stories of many conflicts between Bhīma and Bhoja. On one occasion, we are told, Bhoja's general, the Digambara Kulacandīa, taking advantage of Bhīma's absence in Sindh, 'sacked the city of Anahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory'.² On another occasion when worshipping his family goddess in a temple in the suburbs of Dhārā, Bhoja was surprised and nearly captured by a party of Gujarati cavalry.³ The Jain chroniclers are agreed that Bhoja died during a joint attack on Dhārā by the Caulukya Bhīma I, and Kaina, king of Dāhala.⁴ Thus it seems that as an answer to the 'confederacy of Mālava,' the enemies of the Paramāras succeeded in forming another league, in which the Caulukya Bhīma, the Kalacuri Lakshmī Kaina, and the Cālukya Someśvara were the chief partners. This league may have also included the Lāta prince Tillocanapāla, for whom we have the date Śaka 972 (c. 1051 A.D.) In the struggle that followed Bhoja was overwhelmed and lost his life when Kaina's armies stormed the gates of Dhārā.⁵ Bhoja's military activities were however not confined only to fighting with these adversaries. Before the Kalacuris of Tūpurī could raise

¹ *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32

² *PC*, p. 46

³ *PC*, pp. 70-71

⁴ See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapters on the *Hathayas* and the *Caulukyās*

⁵ *PC*, pp. 74-75. Buhler doubts the historicity of the Bhīma I-Kaina combination against Bhoja. *EI*, Vol. I, p. 282 fn. 47

themselves into a position of importance on his eastern frontier and bring about his downfall, Bhoja had been maintaining contact with the Candellas of Bundelkhand and their allies the Kacchapaghātas of the Gwalior Residency. The statement in the Candella inscriptions that Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil, shows that the relation between the two princes were probably not very friendly.¹ The victory claimed by Kirtirāja, one of the Gwalior Kacchapaghātas (c 1015-35 A.D.) of whom the Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahipāla records that he conquered the countless hosts of Mālava was probably gained with the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara. I have elsewhere suggested that the defeated Mālava prince was possibly the Paramāra Bhoja.² The statement of the Dubkund inscription of the Kaccapaghāta Vikramasimha that the "highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja had widely celebrated the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots of Abhimanyu (c 1035-44 A.D.), one of his predecessors, may, as I have already suggested, contain a veiled hint of his subservience to the great Paramāra.³ Bhoja possibly succeeded in extending his influence in the Kunu valley by taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors. It was probably in this region that Bhoja met and defeated some detachment of the Turuṣka prince Maḥmūd of Ghazni, when the latter invaded Gwalior and Bundelkhand. In the N.W. Bhoja, following the policy of Muṇja, maintained his pressure on the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Guhilas of Medapāṭa. This is proved by the statement of the Sundha hill inscription, which informs us that Anahilla slew Saḍha, a general (*daṇḍ-ādhiṣṭa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja.⁴ The Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarasimha (V.S. 1330) indicates that Bhoja was in possession of the fort of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and built there a

¹ See *supra* DHVI Vol II p. 659

² See *ibid* Vol II p. 831

³ *Ibid* pp. 830-31

⁴ FI Vol. IX pp. 67

temple to Tribhuvana-Nāīyana.¹ It was probably for his assistance during these campaigns that the Banswara Paramāra Satyarāja received a fortune from Bhoja.²

Apart from all these military campaigns Bhoja is probably best remembered by his achievements in the domain of art and letters. The Udaipur *prastāva* calls him a king among poets (*kavīnāja*),³ and states that 'he made the world worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sumdīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra.'⁴ Bühler has pointed out⁵ that his claim to literary merit is amply corroborated by the discovery of numerous works in poetics, astronomy, philosophy, architecture, and poetry which all bear the name of *Mahārājādhnīja* Bhoja and are said to have been written by him, no doubt with the assistance of the numerous scholars who flourished under his patronage. An analysis of the list of publications ascribed to Bhoja in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*⁶ shows that besides the above subjects there are other works on medicine, grammar,

¹ WZKM, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff, see also *infra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*

² RMR, 1917, pp 2-3

³ EI, Vol I, p 235, V 18

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp 235 and 238, V 20

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp 231-32

⁶ Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p 418, and Part II, p 95. As a medical writer Bhoja is quoted in the *Bhāva-prakāśa* and Mādhava's *Rug-viṃśaya*. As a grammarian and lexicographer he is noticed by Kṣīrasvāmin, Sāyana, and Mahīpa. The following list of Bhoja's work are given by Aufrecht and Bühler

(1) *Āditya-pratāpa-siddhānta* (2) *Āyurveda-sarvasva* (3) *Campanī rāmāyana* (4) *Cānakya-nīti* (5) *Cāru caryā* (6) *Tattva prakāśa* (7) *Nāma mālikā* (8) *Yukti kalpataru* (9) *Rāja mārtaṇḍa Yoga-sūtra vṛtti* (10) *Rāja mṛgāṅka* (11) *Vidyā-vinoda kāvya* (12) *Vidvaja-jana vallabha Prasna jñāna* (13) *Viśānta vidyā vinoda* (14) *Vyavahāra samuccaya* (15) *Sabdānuśāsana* (16) *Sāhitya* (17) *Siva-tattva ratna kalikā* (18) *Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra* (19) *Sarasvatī kaṇṭhābharana* (20) *Siddhānta saṁgraha* (21) *Subhāṣita prabandha* (22) *Prasna-cintāmanī Vidvaja-jana-vallabha* (23) *Bhojarāja vārttika* (24) *Sṛṅgāra mañjarī kathā* (25) *Rāja-mārtaṇḍa (Jyotiṣa)* (26) *Rāja mārtaṇḍa (Vedānta ?)*

To these must be added the *Kūrma-Śataka*, two Prakrit poems, each of 109 stanzas addressed to the tortoise-incarnation of Viṣṇu. They were discovered at Dhār, written with great care on a stone slab. Edited by Pischel EI, Vol VIII, pp 241-60. No 18 above has now been edited by Ganapati Sastri in GOS.

and lexicography which are attributed to the pen of the Paramāra king. It is true that all these works were probably largely written by the literary men living in his court but a prince who had such wide sympathies and could inspire scholarship in so many varied fields of knowledge must ever remain a remarkable personality in the records of time. There is little evidence available to corroborate the extensive building operations which are ascribed to Bhoja in the Udaipur *prāśasti* but as Bühler has remarked 'it is very probable that a prince so fond of display as he was adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments. But of these, thanks no doubt largely to the iconoclastic zeal of the early Turkish conquerors very few specimens have survived to our times.

I have already referred to Bhoja's tragic end. The Udaipur *prāśasti* states that "when that devotee of Bhargava (Śiva) whose brilliancy resembled the sun (i.e., Bhoja), had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness; the exalted foes with the rays issuing from his strong sword (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour." The Nagpur *prāśasti* in referring to the same incident states that when 'he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Kārṇa² who joined by the Kārṇāṣṭas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boar." According to both these inscriptions Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja. But the Mandhata

¹ EI Vol I pp 226 and 228 V 1

² Dr Ganguly identifies this prince with the *Caṇḍikya* Kārṇa (c. 1061-91 A.D.) because the *Prithvī Rāj Raso* (Vs 76-78) states that Udayāditya obtained the crown of Mālava by defeating the Gurjjara Kārṇa. Without accepting this identification it is possible to agree that Udayāditya had to fight with the successor of the Caulukya Bhīma the enemy of Bhoja before he could securely grasp the sceptre of the Paramāras.

³ EI Vol II pp 180 and 191 V 32. See also *supra* *DHVI* Vol II p 780

and Panahera inscriptions of Jayasimha conclusively prove that during the period V S 1112-1116 the ruler of Mālava was not Udayāditya but Jayasimha. As the earliest date of Udayāditya is V S 1116,¹ there is no difficulty in fitting in the reign of Jayasimha between those of Bhoja and Udayāditya. Kielhorn has pointed out instances where predecessors are sometimes omitted in the genealogical lists of Indian inscriptions. But in this particular case, a strong motive for omission may have been the fact that Udayāditya usurped the Mālava crown by ousting the lawful successor of Bhoja. As to the relationship of Bhoja with Jayasimha we have only to depend upon the expression *pādānudhyāta*, which separates the latter's name from that of his predecessor. Though this word does not necessarily indicate the relationship of father and son, yet in this particular case, in view of the fact that Bhoja died at an advanced age, it is quite likely that he may have left Jayasimha as his son and successor.² The two following records are known for the reign of Jayasimha

(1) *Mandhata grant*.—Found at Mandhata, an island in the Naibada, attached to the Nimai District of the C P. It contains 30 lines, incised on two plates. At the end of the grant, on the left-hand corner of the second plate, is the usual figure of the flying Garuda holding a snake. The inscription opens with two verses praising Śiva (*Vyḍmakeśa*, *Smarānāti*), then follows the genealogy of the donor, which is traced from Vākpatiñajadeva (II). It then records that *Pb -M.-P* Jayasimha-deva, while residing at Dhāiā, granted the village of Bhīma, included in the *Muktulā-grāma-dvīcatvāṁśa* of Purnapathakamandala, to the Brāhmins of the Pattaśālā at the holy Amareśvara,³ for food and other purposes. The date V.S. 1112

¹ *JASB*, Vol IX, pp 515 ff

² The *PC* (p 11) supplies the name of the poetess Arundhatī as one of the queens of Bhoja. But it is unknown whether she or some other lady was the mother of Jayasimha.

³ Same as Amareśvara tirtha of the Bhopal grant of Arjunavarman (V S 1272). It

(c 1055-56), is given in line 29. It ends with the sign manual of the donor.¹

(2) *Panahera stone inscription* — Engraved on a slab built into a wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara (Mahādeva) at Panahera in the Banswara State, South Rajputana. The record is damaged. It belongs to the feudatory Paramāra branch of Banswara. But in the beginning, after 5 verses in praise of Śiva, it mentions the Paramāras of Malwa from Siyaka II to Jayasīma. Then it traces the genealogy of the feudatory line from Dhanika to Maṇḍalika.² The latter was a contemporary of Jayasīma. The record is dated in VS 1116 (c 1059-60 A.D.).³

Nothing is definitely known about Jayasīma's achievements. But if the Nagpur *prastāva* is to be believed, Jayasīma may have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī Karna. The country was unprotected and became the happy hunting ground of the Karpāṭa and other enemies. At least these were the pretexts which Udayaditya appears to have urged to support his apparent act of usurpation. Is it likely that Udayāditya succeeded in ousting his rival with the assistance of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi? The statement of Bilhana that Āhavamalla 'utterly destroyed the power of Karna the king of Dāhala,'⁴ probably shows that the alliance between the Karpāṭas and the Kalacuris did not long survive the fall of Bhoja. Indeed Morutuṅga's reference to a struggle between the Caulukya Bhīma I and Karna over the spoils of Dhārā,⁵ may indicate the outbreak of a general war amongst the allies after the destruction of the Paramāra king. In this connection Bilhana's statement that

is situated near the island of Māndhātā on the southern bank of the Narmadā : *LI* Vol. III p. 17

¹ Edited by Kielhorn. *EI* Vol. III pp 46-50

² For details see the history of Banswara branch, *infra* DHNI Vol. II p 220 ff

³ *ASI* 1916-17 pp 19-20. *BMR* 1917 pp 2-3.

⁴ *Skandābhakṣa-carita* I 102-103

⁵ *PG* pp 74-75

during the reign of Āhavamalla his son Vīkramāditya 'lent his assistance to the king of Mālava, who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom' ¹ may be significant. The assistance was possibly given either to Udayāditya or more probably to his ousted rival Jayasīma

For the reign of Udayāditya we have the following dates and records .

(1) A 'modern inscription' in vernacular at Udayapur, in Gwalior, gives the dates V. S 1116 and Śaka 981 (corresponding to A.D 1059-60), for the reign of Udayāditya and speaks of him as having built a temple of Śiva ²

(2) *Udayapur stone-inscription* — 'An apparently well preserved inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple' of Udayapur in Gwalior. It contains 6 lines. The inscription mentions king Udayāditya and gives the date (V.) *Samvat* 1137 (c 1080-81 A.D.). It was composed probably by *Pandita Mahīpāla*. ³

(3) *Jhalrapatan stone-inscription* — Found at Jhalrapatan in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It records the erection of a temple of Śambhu by the *Pattakila* (i.e., Patil), Jānā, belonging to the *tailika* (oilman's) family. It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1143 (c 1086-87 A.D.) in the reign of Udayāditya. ⁴

¹ *Vīkramānīkadeva carita*, III, 67

² Noticed by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol VII, p 1056, then edited in *ibid*, Vol IX, pp 545-50. Also noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1908, p 37. Buhler was disposed to reject the date as spurious (*EI*, Vol I, p 233), but see Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol III, p 48, fn 1. The date of the inscription is V S 1562 = S 1429 = c 1560 A.D.

³ Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol XX, p 83

⁴ Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p 56. Edited by B. N. Shastri, *Journal* and *PASB*, Vol X, pp 241 ff., and Plate XXII. The *Udayapur Prasasti* of the Paramāras of Malwa, which is incised on a stone slab, 'at present lying in the courtyard of the great temple at Udayapur (Gwalior) may also belong to this prince. The record opens with verses in praise of Śiva, Pārvati, and Gaṇeśa, and may have recorded the erection of a Śaiva temple by Udayāditya. But unfortunately it is fragmentary, and though the last name in the preserved portion is that of Udayāditya we cannot be sure that the lost portion did not contain the name of one of his immediate successors. The record was first noticed by Dr Hall in *JASB*, Vol XXXI, p 114, note, and was edited with a valuable introduction by Buhler in *EI*, Vol I, pp 222-33. It is one of the most important records for Paramāra history.

The inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V S 1116 to 1143 (c 1058-60 to 1087 A D) Udayāditya was probably closely related to the family of Jayasimha In the Nagpur *prastāva* he is referred to as the relation (*bandhu*)¹ of Bhoja In the recently discovered Jainad inscription the Paramara prince Jagad deva is described as the son of Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja² Udayaditya therefore appears to have been probably a younger brother of Bhoja³ and possibly an uncle of Jayasimha

Besides his victory over Lakṣmī Karna and his re-establishment of peace and prosperity in the land of Malwa, the only other definitely known incident of Udayāditya's reign was the marriage of his daughter Syāmaladevī to the Gobhila putra Vijayasimha Alhanadevī the daughter of Syāmaladevī, was again married to the Dahala Kalacuri Gayā Karna⁴ (1151 A D) The Jainad inscription contains the name of one of his officers, Lalārka *alias* Arjuna, belonging to the family of Dahamas He had a powerful army and was a celebrated warrior and a great favourite of Udayāditya Tradition as recorded in the *Rasmala* seems to contain a few more facts about Udayāditya Thus it refers to a Raja of Mandoogurh, whose service Udayaditya performed and on whom when summoned, he was in the habit of offering 'speedy attendance' Mandoogurh is certainly modern Mandu, situated about 14 miles to the south of Dhar and it is not unlikely that the chief of Mandu was an officer of the great Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (c 1055-1120 A D), who in his father's reign may have been instrumental in placing Udayāditya on the throne of Dhārū According to the

¹ Also means a brother In an unpublished Kumbhalgaṇh Inscription (V 148) of the Guhila Kumbha's reign (1100 A D) *bandhu* is actually used in the sense of a uterine brother see *Udaypur Rājyākṣ Itihāsa* (Hindi) by G H. Ojha p 142, fn 3 Prof B. Dutta drew my attention to this inscription

² *Yasy-Udayāditya nṛpaḥ—pit—āsīd—devaḥ p itṛyaḥ sa ca Bhoja rājāḥ* *Annual Report Hyderabad Archaeological Survey* 1927-28, pp 23 ff.

³ *Pitṛya* means a father's brother; but it can also mean any elderly male relation Was Udayāditya a cousin or a more distant relative (J 108 Vol VII p 30) of Bhoja? See *Modern Review* 1933 pp. 96 and 171-7

⁴ *EI* Vol II p L. No. 172 See also ante chapter on the *Hathayas* *DIHI* Vol II p 701

Rasmala, Udayāditya by his two queens, of whom one was of the Vāghela clan, and the other of the Solanki, had two sons. The Vaghela queen's son Rindhuwul (i.e., Ranadhavala), was the elder and the heir-apparent. The son of the Solanki queen was Jug-Dev (Jagaddeva), who was dark and handsome. On account of a palace-intrigue the latter left Malwa and entered the service of the Caulukya Siddharāja in Gujarat. He served him for 18 years, but when the Caulukya king 'advanced to attack Dhāiā,' Jug-Dev quitted his service and returned to his father, who soon after invested him with 'the royal authority,' and died. He reigned for 52 years and 'went to Dev-lok' at the age of 85, after placing his son Jug Dhuwul (Jagaddhavala) on the throne.¹ Much of this bardic tale must be pure myth. For the date of Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144) makes it rather improbable that he could be a contemporary of Udayāditya (c. 1059-87) at all, much less for a period of 18 years. But the historicity of Jagaddeva is established by an inscription which has been recently discovered in the N.E. of the Nizam's dominions. This is the *Jainad* (or *Jamath*) inscription found some six miles to the south-east of Adilabad. It contains 28 lines and opens with (Om) *namah Sūryāya*. The first two verses are devoted to the invocation of the Sun and Śiva (*Sthānu*, *Tripuṇḍrahana*) respectively. It next refers to the birth of Pāmāra (Paramāra) through the meditations of Vasistha, for the destruction of Viśvāmitra's valour. In his family (*tad-anvaye*) was born king (*ksitīśa*) Jagaddeva. He was the son of king Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja. He conquered the Andhra king (*Andhrā-dhīśa*)² and subdued the king of Cakradurga (*Cakradurga-nīpati*),³ entered the city of Dorasamudra⁴ and struck terror in the heart of Malahara (*Malahara-ksonīśa*). The record

¹ *Ras*, Vol I, pp 117-149

² This prince may be identified with the Eastern Calukya Rājendra Cola II (1070-1108 A.D.)

³ Probably the same as *Cakrahūṭa*, *Cakrahottā* or *Sakkarahottam* in C.P. See *DHVI*, Vol I, pp 470, 470 fn 3, and 470, fn 1, see also *EI*, Vol X, pp 25-31 and 31-31

⁴ The capital of the Hoysalas, mod Halebid in Mysore

also refers to the victory of Jayasīṃha over the Gurjaras whose wives are stated to have sought refuge in the caves of the mountain Arbuda. The record then passes on to speak of Lalārka alias Arjuna, a great favourite of Udayāditya. He belonged to the family of Dāhīmas and was the son of Guṇaraja and grandson of Mahendra. The inscription next records that his wife Padmāvatī founded a temple of Nīmvāditya in an *agrahāra*. It was composed by the *Kavi* Aśvatthvāma.¹

Jagaddeva therefore must have ruled for some time at least over a portion of the Paramara territory. He seems to have been a vigorous ruler who claims to have raided the territories beyond the Tugabhadra and the limits of whose kingdom extended over the territories between the Penganga and the Godavari. It is significant that though he fought with the Eastern Calukyas and the Hoysalas there is no reference to his conflict with the successors of the Kalyana Čālukya Taila II. It is interesting to note that some of his enemies were also the traditional foes of the Karpāṭa king Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.). It is therefore not impossible that he, like his father may have been an ally of the great Čālukya emperor.

According to the Nagpur *prasaṅga* however the two immediate successors of Udayāditya were his sons Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman. It does not mention Jagaddeva. Is it likely that this name was a *biruda* of Lakṣmadeva? While this is possible we cannot rule out the possibility that Jagaddeva was a brother or half brother of the more powerful Lakṣmadeva who paid the penalty of deposition for his subservience to the Karpāṭa overlord.

As many as twenty verses are devoted in his brother's Nagpur *prasaṅga* to describing the various military campaigns of Lakṣmadeva.² We are told that, "desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he proceeded to Hari's quarter (i.e. the East), and then "just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa (V 38). In the course of (another?) unchecked

¹ Deciphered by Krishnamachari. Published in the *Annual Report Hyderabad*

Dep. of Survey 1917-18 pp. 23-1 (Transcript and plate)

² pp. 186-88 and 19-24 Vs. 33-54

expedition . he had attacked Tripurī, and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries', he (then) "encamped on the banks of the Revā, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torments of the Vindhya mountains. The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revā a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river banks . Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains." (Vs 39-41) "He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses, the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land." (V 42)

"Even the troops of elephants of Anga and Kalinga, kindled to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain clouds, dark like herds of hogs, kept for pastime, —even they had to sue for mercy" (V. 43)His praise was proclaimed by clever men near the eastern ocean, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully" (V 44) . "When like the pitcherborn Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Colas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountain. The water of the Tāmapainī, which is famed all the earth over for pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles of their hips, behold, even to this day the water affords a livelihood to the Pāndya chief." (Vs 46-47) "Informed by the people, that the dam before him was the bridge of holy Rāma he scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army" (V. 48) "Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings (*īājaiājam-anyam*), he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of the Yaksas (*i.e.*, North), the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they

abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of the Kuvera (i.e., North) ' (V 52) ' Encamped on the banks of the Vaukṣu, ' he was presented with ' teams of frisky horses ' by the Turuṣka, ' whom he had eradicated with ease ' he also ' taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvatī was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage ' (V 54) Of this laudatory account Bühler accepted as ' tangible and probably true facts ' the expedition undertaken against Tripurī, the well known capital of the Dāhala kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muslim invaders, when the king was encamped on the bank of the river Vaukṣu ' I have suggested elsewhere that the Dāhala king defeated by Lakṣmadeva was the Kalacuri Yaśah Karṇa (c 1073-1125 A D) ' It is possible that Lakṣmadeva's victory over the Colas may contain a reference to his conflict with Rajendra Coḷa II Kulottuṅga (c 1010-1118 A D) ' The Turuṣkas who came into conflict with the Paramāra were probably the successors of the Yamīni Mahmūd who as we know, made frequent raids into the Ganges Jumna valley from their strongholds in the Punjab But besides these two conflicts I think there may be some historical basis for the other victories which are claimed for the Paramāra king Though it is clear that much of these statements is mere *prāśasti*, yet the references to the king's campaigns in all the directions of the compass may indicate a desperate attempt to revive the lost glory of the Paramāras But unfortunately for the ' fire born race ' their attempts were, as we shall presently see, doomed to failure

No inscription of Lakṣmadeva have yet been discovered, but the Nagpur *prāśasti* records that on the occasion of a solar

1 A small arm or branch of the Ganges; EI Vol II p 104 fn. 80.

2 EI Vol II p 181

3 See *supra* DHVI Vol II chapter on the Harkay s p 768

4 MSI No 23 p 5

eclipse, he gave with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura-*mandala*¹ The inscription tells us that Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his brother Naravarman. Of the latter's reign we have the following published records.—

(1) *Nagpur praśasti*.—Incised on a stone slab in the Nagpur Museum. It contains 41 lines. The inscription opens with *Om om namo Bhāratya*; then follow seven benedictory verses addressed to the 'goddess of speech,' Durgā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahman, and 'that form of the husbands of Umā and Laksmī' (i.e., Viṣṇu-Śiva or Hari-Hara). Then follows the genealogy of the family from Paramāra, sprung from the fire-pit of Vasistha on Mountain Aṭbuda, to Naravarman. In V. 55 we are told that Lakṣmadeva granted two villages in the Vyāpura-*mandala* on the occasion of a solar eclipse; 'afterwards his brother the king Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhalapāṭaka, at the request of the three places.' (V 55) The name of the donee is not specified but it was probably the temple which the king ordered (the architect) Lakṣmīdhara to build, and in which this inscription was put up. The record is dated in (V) *Sam.* 1161 (c. 1104-05 A.D.). The *praśasti* appears to have been composed by the king himself.²

(2) *Madhukargadh* (Harouta, Rajputana) *stone-inscription*.—This opens with an invocation to Nīlakantha (Śiva), and then traces Paramāra genealogy from Sindhula (= Sindhurāja) to Naravarman, omitting both Jayasimha and Lakṣmadeva. It seems to record the construction of a Śaiva temple by Hara, the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya.³ It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1164 (c. 1108 A.D.)⁴

¹ *EI*, Vol II, pp 188 and 194, V 55

² Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol II, pp 180-95. It had been previously twice edited by Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī in *JBRAS*, Vol I, p 259, and by Lassen in *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol VII, p 194

³ Perhaps the grandson of the person bearing the same name in No 2 of Vākpati II, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 853

⁴ Substance given by Tod in *TRAS*, Vol I, p 226. Also called *Madhucara-ghar Inscription*, *EI*, Vol XIX, *Appendix*, p 28, No, 175.

(3) *Bombay grant* — 29 lines incised on two plates. The introductory verses are devoted to praise of Śiva. Then follows the genealogy of the Paramāras from Sindhurāja to Naravarman (as in No. 2). The inscription records the grant of several pieces of land situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, which was being enjoyed by the *Mahāmandalika* Rājyadeva, in the *Pratijāgaraṇaka* of Mandaraka in the Upendrapura *maṇḍala*, to the Brāhman Āśādhara. The date is *V S* 1167 (c 1110-11 A D). But it also contains two more dates, *V S* 1154 (c 1097-98 A D) and *V S* 1159 (c 1102-03 A D), when some other pieces of land were granted by the king's wife Mahādevī and the king respectively.¹

The above inscriptions give us dates from *V S* 1154 to 1167 (c 1097-1111 A D) for Naravarman. Naravarman was apparently succeeded by his son Yaśovarman some time before *V S* 1191 (c 1134 A D). For an Ujjain grant records that Yaśovarman performed the funeral ceremony (*Sāṃvatsarika*) in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman 'on the 8th lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika of that year'. Another Ujjain copper-plate, which records some grants made by Yaśovarman in *V S* 1192, on the occasion of the funeral ceremony (*Sāṃvatsarika*) of Momaladevī,² probably indicates that the latter was the mother of the new king. The following dates and records are so far known for his reign.

(1) An Ujjain grant of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman records that in *V S* 1191, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies in honour of *Mahārāja* Naravarman, the *M P* Yaśovarman at Dhārā granted the village of Vaḍaṭṭa, belonging (*sambaddha*) to Surāsaṇī and the village of Uthavanaka, belonging to

¹ Noticed in *ASI* WC 1021 p. 1. Sometimes known as *Kadambapadraka plates*.
EI Vol. XIX Appendix p. 29 No. 180

² *IA* Vol. XIX p. 333, lines 6-8

³ *Ibid* p. 349 lines 1 ff

Suvarnaprāsādika—both situated in Rājaśayana-bhoga¹tion of Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala to the Karnāta Brāhman Dhanapāla . . .

(2) *Ujjain grant* —Obtained from the city of Ujjain 'The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of apparently two plates, the first of which has never been discovered' The inscription records that the *Mahārāja* Yaśovarman granted the village of Laghuvaṃganapadra and part of the village of Ṭhikkarikā² to two persons (names lost), probably instead of some other land connected with Devapātaka, which had been granted to the donees on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Momaladevī Lines 12-13 gives the date (V.) *Samvat* 1192 (A.D. 1135). Line 15 gives the sign-manual of the donor.³

(3) *Jhalapatan stone-inscription*.—Found in Jhalrapatan, in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It is highly weather-worn. 'In the body of the inscription can be read the names of the Paramāra kings Naravarmadeva and Yaśovarmadeva. An account of their ministers is apparently given.' Ends with the date V. S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.D.)⁴

The inscriptions noticed above give us the dates V. S. 1191 to 1199 (c. 1134-42 A.D.) for the reign of Yaśovarman. The Paramāra records say nothing about any incidents of the reign of these two princes. The reason for their silence is probably to be found in the statements of the Caulukya records. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Jayasīṃha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.⁵ According to the *Prabandha-cintāmani*, the Mālava king Yaśovarman once invaded and overran Gujarat, while Jayasīṃha was absent from his capital. It was with great

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-53. The donee was an emigrant from Adrelaviddhāvarī; see *infra*, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 891. Ujjain grant of Jayavarman.

² Or, Ṭhikkarikā (line 3).

³ Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 348-49.

⁴ Noticed in *ASI*, W. C., 1906, p. 56, No. 2097. On account of the damaged condition of the record we cannot be absolutely sure whether the record really belongs to this reign.

⁵ *V*, 41.

(3) and humiliation that the Gujarat minister, after washing the Mālava king's feet and throwing ' into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of merit gained by his master by his pilgrimages, succeeded in persuading Yaśovarman to turn back. The chronicler then proceeds to state that as a result of this a war of 12 years' duration took place between the two kingdoms, at the end of which Jayasinha stormed Dhārā, captured Yaśovarman, and led him in triumph to Anahillapura.¹ The *Dvyāśraya*² and the *Vasantavilāsa*³ substantially corroborate the statement of Merutuṅga. I have shown elsewhere that the statements of the chroniclers are supported by epigraphic evidence.⁴ Jayasinha's assumption of the title of *Avantinātha*, which first appears in his Gala grant⁵ shows that the Caulukya king must have achieved substantial success in his protracted campaign before V S 1193 (A D 1137). His Ujjain inscription shows that one of the capitals of the Paramāras was already in the hands of Jayasinha before V S 1195 (A D 1139). The Jhalrapatan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman possibly indicated that the Paramāra king had been forced to withdraw down the valley of Kalī Sindhu, but succeeded in maintaining a precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to V S 1199 (A D 1142). The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasinha unquestionably prove Caulukya occupation of the whole territory from the Panch Mahals to the Betwa. These repeated disasters to the fortunes of the Paramāras must have shaken the foundations of their power in Malwa. There is reason to believe that the Paramāras never fully recovered from the blow which destroyed Bhoja and his

¹ PC pp. 85-88. In early Caulukya grants Anahillapura is called *Aṇahillapāṭala*, see IA Vol. VI pp. 191-93. RI Vol. X pp. 75-79 etc. In the records of the Caulukyas of Vyāghrapāṭi the name of the city is given as *Aṇahillapāṭaka*. see IA Vol. VI pp. 310-13; Vol. XI pp. 241-45 etc.

² IA Vol. IV p. 266.

³ III, 22-23.

⁴ See *infra* DHVI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas.

⁵ JBRAS Vol. XXV 1917-21 pp. 323-34.

empire. This is shown by the *Ingnoda stone-inscription* of Vijayapāla. This was found 'engraved on a slab of stone . . . which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda, in the territory of the junior Rāja of Dewas,' dated in V. S. 1220 lines, opening with *Om namah*, after which 1163-66 A.D., Kumā-Samvat 1190 (c. 1133 A.D.). It then records his scrip on Malwa ganapata,¹ M -P -Prthvīpāla-pādānudhyāta-Pb -M -P -'lūhinapā-ladeva-pādān-dhyāta-M -P -Vijayapāladeva, after worshipping Bhagavān (Śiva), granted the village of Agāsīyaka to the god . . . It was written by the *Vālabhānvaya-Kāyastha* and engraved by the *Sūtiadhāra Sājana*.² This inscription reveals the presence of a kingdom within about 50 miles north-east of Ujjain, the princes of which, to judge from their titles, seem to have claimed an independent position. As the record supplies the date, V. S. 1190 for Vijayapāla, it may be concluded that his grand-father carved out this principality on the lower course of the Sīpra not long after V. S. 1111-12 (c. 1054-55 A.D.), when Bhoja apparently met his doom at the hands of Karna and his allies. The presence of this independent kingdom shows the limitations of the jurisdiction of Udayāditya and his successors, and explains the reason why Jayasīma, apparently unaided by any powerful ally, was able single-handed to deal such heavy blows against his western neighbours. Jayasīma's victories had so paralysed the energies of the Paramāras that even when death relaxed the grip of the Caulukya king on Mālava, they apparently did not succeed in recovering their ancestral possessions in Avanti. On the evidence of the Dohad inscription of the *Mahāmandaleśvara Vāpanadeva*, I have suggested

¹ i.e. Inganapata, identified with mod village of Ingnoda, in western Malwa. "About 7 miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kāhīra, the ruins of a Śaiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gohādeśvara named in the grant." *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 50.

² Edited by Kirtane, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 49-50 and 55-56. I think the editor is wrong in taking Āsādhara as the writer of the grant. Some accept this family (I think without sufficient reason), to be a *Kacchapaghāta* family, see *EI*, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 86, No. 229.

elsewhere¹ that some time between 1140 and 1146 the Caulukya may have lost their hold on the Panch Mahals, which command one of the important strategic routes to Malwa. The intrigues and one of the important strategic routes to Malwa. The intrigues and hand a handful of vassals became rampant in the Caulukya gained by his master by ~~the~~ Jayasinha (c. 1094-1144) and Yaśovarman to turn back ~~the~~ path of his successor that as a result of this at first beset the path of his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) may have produced a state in the distant provinces apt to rouse the ambition of a conqueror or a usurper. The significant omission of the name of Dhārā in the Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman, dated V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1244),² as his place of residence, while in the same grant it is mentioned as the place of residence of his father Yaśovarman in V.S. 1191 (c. 1184 A.D.), seems to indicate that the city which had been lost some time before V.S. 1198 (A.D. 1187), had not yet been recovered by the Paramūras in V.S. 1200. The occurrence of the name of one Ballāla as ruler of Avanti Mālava, and Dhārā during this period in Jain chronicles and Caulukya inscriptions therefore shows, as Lüders long ago supposed,³ that these territories had been conquered by this usurper of unknown lineage. I have shown elsewhere⁴ how this Ballāla formed an alliance with the Śakambharī Cāhamūna Arṇorāja to attack Kumārapāla. But unfortunately for the enemies of the Caulukyas, the scheme failed. Arṇorāja was defeated, and Ballāla himself lost his life in the struggle that followed the submission of the Cāhamūna prince. An Abu inscription tells us that the Paramara Yaśodhavalā of Candrāvati 'quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla'.⁵ The evident identity of this 'lord of Mālava' whose

¹ See *infra* DHNI Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.

² IA Vol. XIX p. 352.

³ EI Vol. VIII p. 202. According to some Ballāla was "apparently a scion of the Hoyasala family of Dhārasamudra"; see IA Vol. LXI, p. 192.

⁴ See *infra* DHNI Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.

⁵ EI Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216 V. 35.

head, we are informed by the Vadnagar *prāśasti* (V. S. 1208),¹ Kumārapāla suspended at his gate, with Ballāla shows that the latter must have lost his life between c. 1144 and 1151 A D. The Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla,² dated in V.S. 1220 and 1222, proves that sometime before c. 1163-66 A D, Kumārapāla, like his predecessor, had re-established his grip on Malwa up to the banks of the Betwa in the west. There is no reason to suspect that this grip was relaxed before the end of his reign (c. 1173 A D)

The period between c. 1137 A.D., the date of the Ujjain inscription of the Caulukya Jayasimha, and c. 1173 A.D., the approximate date of Kumārapāla's death, roughly a period of 36 years, must have been one of very great difficulties for the Paramāras. I have already suggested that after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about V.S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.D.) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu. The difficulties of the Paramāras seem to have been further accentuated during this period by disunion and differences amongst the sons of Yaśovarman. This was first found out by Kielhorn³ after a thorough analysis of the genealogical lists of the available grants of the Yaśovarman's successors. The facts from these grants⁴ may be presented in tabular form as follows :—

According to—

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------|
| (1) | Piplianagar grant of Ajunavarman | (V. S. 1267) |
| (2) | Bhopal (i) „ „ „ | (V. S. 1270) |
| (3) | „ (ii) „ „ „ | (V. S. 1272) |

¹ *EI*, Vol I, pp 293 ff

² *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 341-43, *ibid*, pp 343-44

³ *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 345-48

⁴ For references to these grants see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II pp 891 ff.

- (a) Bhojadeva succeeded by
- (b) Udayāditya succeeded by
- (c) Naravarman his son
- (d) Yaśovarman his son
- (e) Ajayavarman his son
- (f) Vindhavarman his son
- (g) Subhavarman his son
- (h) *Mahārāja* Arjunavarman (V S 1287 72)

According to—

- (4) Ujjain grant of Lakṣmivarman (V S 1200)

- (a) *Pb M P* Udayāditya succeeded by
- (b) Naravarman succeeded by
- (c) Yaśovarman (V S 1191) succeeded by
- (d) *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmivarman [apparently son of (c)] V S 1200

According to—

- (6) Ujjain grant of Jayavarman (undated)

- (a) *Pb M P* Udayāditya succeeded by
- (b) Naravarman
- (c) Yaśovarman
- (d) Jayavarman

According to—

- (8) Piplianagar grant of *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V S 1235 and 1286)

- (a) *Pb M P* Udayāditya succeeded by
- (b) Naravarman
- (c) Yaśovarman ,
- (e) Jayavarman ,
- (f) *Mahākumāra* Hariścandra (V S 1235-86) son of
- 1 *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmivarman

According to—

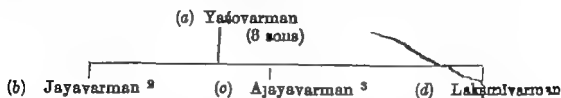
(7) Bhopal grant of *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V S. 1256)

- (a) *Pb M -P -Yaśovarman*, succeeded by
- (b) „ „ „ *Jayavarman*, „ „
- (c) *Mahākumāra Laksmīvarman* „ „
- (d) „ *Harīścandra*
- (e) „ *Udayavarman* (V S 1256)

A comparison of the above lists will show that the genealogy as far as Yaśovarman is the same in all the grants, but that the two groups entirely differ after him. According to Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Ajayavarman. Since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title *Mahārāja* which had been borne by Yaśovarman, Kielhorn concluded that the princes *e* to *h* of this list represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramāra family. According to No 4 Yaśovarman was succeeded by *Mahākumāra* Laksmīvarman on or before V. S 1200, while No. 5 places Jayavarman next to Yaśovarman. According to No 6 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Jayavarman and the latter on or before V S. 1235 by *Mahākumāra* Harīścandra son of *Mahākumāra* Laksmīvarman, while in No. 7 the line of succession passes from Yaśovarman through Jayavarman, Laksmīvarman and Harīścandra to *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (V S 1256) “Here we naturally ask why the *Pb -M.-P.* Jayavarma-deva should have been omitted in grant No 4 and why *Mahākumāra* Laksmīvarman similarly should have been omitted in grant No 6. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in grants Nos 4 and 6. In No 4, we read—*Śrīmaṇ-Jayavarmadeva-rājye vyatīte nija-kara-kṛta-kaṇāvāla-prasād-āvāptanī-ādhipatyā . Mahākumāra-Śrīmal-Laksmīvarmadeva*,¹

¹ i.e., ‘the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Laksmīvarmadeva, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmadeva had passed away’

and in No 6, *Sri-Jayavarmadeva ity etasmāt prsthātama prabhoh prasād-ādāpta nīy ādhīpatyah Mahākumāra Sri Hariścandradevah* " ¹ Taking these expressions with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions Kielhorn conceived the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows —



At first No (a) was succeeded by No (b) soon after this succession, and certainly sometime between V S 1192 and 1200, No (b) was dethroned by No (c), who with his successors became the main branch of the Paramāras in Malwa. But the 3rd brother, No (d), did not submit to No (c), but, as stated above in grant No 4, succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Malwa, which he, his son, and his grandson ruled as *de facto* independent chiefs. At the same time No (d) and his son and successor looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful ruler of Malwa and in the opinion of Kielhorn it is for that reason that Hariścandra in grant No 6 professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra* which was handed down to and adopted by even Lakṣmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman ⁴

The above suggestions of Kielhorn, though not entirely free from difficulties, are under the present circumstances the best solution of the problem presented by the genealogical lists of the

¹ i.e. the *Mahākumāra* the illustrious Hariścandradeva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler before mentioned the illustrious Jayavarmadeva

² In the inscriptions not actually called son of No. (a)

³ Fleet and Ganguli identify him with (b); see *IA* Vol. XVI p. 453; *ibid* Vol. LXI p. 213. But Kielhorn rejects their identity; *ibid* Vol. XIX p. 347 lines 28-29 (from the top).

For a fresh discussion on the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* see *IA* Vol. LXI pp. 102 ff. Ganguli thinks that there were two branches of the *Mahākumāras* one founded by Lakṣmīvarman and the other by his son Hariścandra.

later Paramāras. It is however certain that the Paramāra dominions, already reduced by the Caulukya occupation, were after Yaśovarman's death still further dismembered by division amongst his successors. Of the reign of Jayavarman, who perhaps succeeded Yaśovarman we have only one undated inscription. This is his *Ujjain grant*, so named because it was obtained from that city in Malwa. Unfortunately one of (probably) two plates has been only discovered. It contains 16 lines, and opens with *Om svasti*, and two verses in eulogy of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa Smarāriti*), followed by the donor's genealogy¹. It next records that *Pb -M.-P.* Yaśovarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta Pb -M -P -*Naravarmadeva, from his residence at Vaidhamānapura, informs his officials and the people concerned that while in residence at Candīapuri he has granted the village of Māyamōdaka, belonging to Vatakhēṭaka-*Ṣattrmśat*, to a Brāhman living at Rājābrahmapuri (name lost), who had emigrated from Adriyalavidāvai². The extant portion contains no date, but Kielhorn assigns it 'with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200'³. No grants have yet been discovered of the next prince Ajayavarman. But we have the *Ujjain grant* for the next brother Laksmīvarman. It was so named, because it was also found in the city of Ujjain in Malwa. It contains 20 lines, incised on two plates and opens exactly in the same way as the grant of Jayavarman. Then follows the genealogy of the donor.⁴ Next it mentions the grant made by his father in V S 1191 from Dhārā.⁵ We are then told that in V S. 1200 (c 1144 A D) *Pb -M -P.* Yaśovarmadeva-*pādānudhyāta-Samadhigata-Pañca-mahā - śabd-ālankāra - vīṇā-māna-Mahākumāra*-Laksmīvarman confirmed the grant made

¹ See *ante*, DHNI, Vol II, p 888, No 5

² See *ibid*, p 883, fn 1. According to Kielhorn the donee of the two grants was the same person, IA, Vol XIX, p 350

³ Edited by Kielhorn, IA, Vol XIX, pp 349-51. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified

⁴ See *ante*, DHNI, Vol II, p 888, No 4

⁵ See *ibid*, pp 882-83, No 1.

by his father¹ Lakṣmīvarman was succeeded by his son Hariścandra for whose reign we have the Piplianagar grant, found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C I. It opens with *Om Śrī Gaṇeśāya namaḥ* then follow two verses in praise of Śiva (*Vyomakeśa* and *Smārārāṭi*), and the genealogy of the donor.² The inscription next records that the *Samadhigata-Pañca mahā śabd-ālaṅkāra virājamāna Mahākumāra Hariścandra*deva, who obtained sovereignty (*ādhipatyā*) by the favour (*prasāda*) of Pb M -P Jayavarmadeva, in V S 1236 (c 1178 A D), after bathing in the Narmadā, near the (temple of) the god Caturmukha Mārkaṇḍeśvara granted two shares (*aṁśa dvayam*) of the Palasavādā³ grāma belonging to *Maḍāpadra pratiyāgaranaka* of the Nilagiri⁴ maṇḍala to the donee *Paṇḍita Daśaratha Sarman*. It further records that in V S 1236 (c 1179 A D) the same donor made some further grants to the *Paṇḍita Mālune Sarman*, and ends with the sign manual of the donor, who describes himself as the son of *Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman* and a son (*kamala-bandhu*) to the *Paramāra kula kamala*.⁵

Hariścandra was succeeded by his son *Mahākumāra Udaya varman*. We have the *Bhopal grant* for his reign. This was found 'during survey operations, in a field at the village of Uljamun, in the Shamsgaḍh Pargana of the Bhopal State, C I. It contains 41 lines written on two plates. In the lower part of the second plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa with folded hands. The inscription opens in the same way as the

¹ Edited by Kielhorn, *IA* Vol. XIX, pp. 251-53. The place of residence of the donor is significantly omitted. Kielhorn pointed out that the donee of this grant is the same as in Jayavarman's grant: see ante. The localities mentioned are not identified.

² See ante *DHNI* Vol. II p. 688 No. 8.

³ Identified by some with Palaswara 69 miles north of Malegaon in Khandesh. *IA* Vol. LXL, pp. 213-14.

⁴ Identified by some with Nilgiri fort, about a mile north of Narmada. *AI* Vol. LXI, p. 213.

⁵ Edited by Wilkinson in *JASB* 1838 Vol. VII pp. 730-41. The plates ought to be re-edited.

grant of the donor's father. Then comes the donor's genealogy.¹ We are then told that Udayavarṃmadeva, son of *Pañca-mahā-śabd-ālamkāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra-Harīścandīa*, having bathed in the Revā at the Guvāḍaghatta,² in V.S. 1256 (c 1200 A.D.) granted the village of Gunaurā,³ one of the forty-eight belonging to Vodasūnā, which formed part of the Naimadapurīa⁴ -*pratiyā-garanaka*⁵ in the Vindhya-maṇḍalā, to the Brāhman Mūla Sarman. The grant ends with the sign-manual of the donor and that of the *Dūtaka*, the illustrious *Mandalika* Ksemvarāja.⁶

The inscriptions of Lakṣmīvarman's successors noticed above range from V S. 1200 to 1256, corresponding to c. 1144 to 1200 A.D. On account of the difficulties in identifying the places mentioned in the grants of predecessors of Udayavarman, it is impossible to fix the location of the principality, which Lakṣmīvarman claims to have carved out with his own sword. But it is significant that Harīścandīa, before he made his grants in V S. 1235-36 (c. 1178-79 A.D.) bathed in the Narmadā. If the identifications proposed by Fleet of the localities mentioned in the grant of Udayavarman be accepted, they tend to show that in V.S. 1256 (c 1200 A.D.) he was in possession of a portion of the Bhopal Agency.⁷ The occupation of the Bhopal region was no doubt made possible by the death of the Caulukya emperor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), the murder of his

¹ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 889, No 7

² 'Possibly represented by the modern village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmadā, 2 miles to the west of Hoshangābād' Fleet

³ 'Undoubtedly the modern Ganora of the map miles S W of Hoshangābād' Fleet

⁴ Identified with mod Hoshangābād by Fleet

⁵ Derived from *pratiyāgr*, 'to watch beside' Generally taken to mean a district, see *IA*, Vol XVI, p 253, fn 5

⁶ Edited by Fleet, *IA*, Vol XVI, pp 252-56 Two Bhopal inscriptions dated in V S 1241 (c 1184 A.D.) and S 1108 (c 1186 A.D.) of one Udayāditya (*JAOS*, Vol VII, p 35) is referred by some to this reign, see *IA*, Vol LXI, p 214

⁷ If the identifications proposed by Fleet (*IA*, Vol LXI, pp 252-56) and Ganguly (*IA* Vol LXI, pp 213-14) are accepted, then the territories of the *Mahākumāras* must have sometimes extended to the south of the Narmadā

successor Ajayapāla (c 1173-76 A D), and the complications that inevitably followed the rule of minors¹ The rapid succession of so many calamities must have weakened the hold of the Caulukya rulers upon Western Malwa and it seems likely that this region was gradually recovered for the Paramāras by the successors of Lakṣmīvarman

The misfortunes of the Caulukyas seems to have also reacted very favourably on the fortunes of the main branch of the Paramāras of Malwa As I have indicated above, when the conquering legions of the Caulukyas burst through the Panch Mahals and occupied the whole of western, southern, and eastern Malwa as far as Udayapura Yaśovarman may have been forced down the Kali Sindhu and the Parbatī He may have maintained a precarious existence somewhere round the modern states of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar His two immediate successors, Jayavarman and Ajayavarman, do not seem to have had any great degree of success in retrieving the lost dominions of their ancestors But Ajayavarman's son and successor, Vindhavarman, appears to have come out from his northern retreat and recovered Dhārā, which had been lost to his family since the days of Yaśovarman This is proved by the statement found in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla, which inform us that Vindhavarman's long arm was eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras (*Gūrjara ccheda*) and that "the sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges (i.e., *tridhārā*=Ganges), to protect as it were the three worlds"² The recovery of Dhārā must have been completed about V S 1249 (c 1192 A D) for Jain tradition records that soon after that year Āśādhara's father Salakhapa (Sallakṣapa) came to Dhārā, to the court of Vindhavarman *alias* Vijayavarman³ According

¹ See *infra*, DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas

² JASB 1836 Vol V p. 378 Vs. 12-13; JAOS Vol. VII, p. 26, Vs. 12-13; EI Vol. IX pp 108-09 and 114, Vs. 12-13. It was Kielhorn who first pointed out the true significance of the verses. See IA Vol. XIX p. 316 fn. 3.

³ *Sāgāra-dharmaśāstra* of Āśādhara (Published by Manik Chandra Digambara-Jaina-granthamālā Samiti, Bombay) p. 1.

to the same tradition *Mahākavi* Bilhana served as the *Sāndhi-vigrahika-mantri* of Vindhyaavarman.¹ An unpublished inscription of this minister, dated in the reign of his master, is reported to have been found at Maṇḍapa-durga (mod Mandu) ²

Vindhyaavarman was succeeded by his son Subhatavarman, known also as Subhata, corrupted into Sohada, in popular tradition. By the time this prince ascended the throne of Dhāiā, the position of the Paramāras had become so well consolidated in their home-kingdom that they were able to undertake expeditions into the territory of their Caulukya rivals. The grants of his successors claim that “the fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (i.e., Subhatavarman) whose splendour was like the sun’s, in the guise of a forest fire (*dāvāgni*) even to-day blazes in the *pattana* of the blustering Gūrjara (*Garjṇad-Gūrjara-pattane*)”³ This claim is supported by the statement of the Jain writer Merutuṅga, who tells us that during the reign of the Caulukya Bhīma II, “the Mālava king Sohada advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country.”⁴

Subhatavarman was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman. The following inscriptions are known for his reign.

(1) *Piplianagar grant*.—Found in a field of the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C. I., by a cultivator while ploughing. It opens with *Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-Cūdāmanaye Dharmāya*. Then follow four verses praising the Moon, the lord of the twice-born (*dvijendra*), Paraśurāma, Rāma, and Yudhisthira. Next is given the genealogy of the donor from Bhojadeva.⁵ We are then told that king Arjunavarman when he was resident in Mandapa-durga (mod. Mandu), in (V.) *Samvat* 1267 (c 1211 A.D.), granted the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2

² *Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa*, by Luard and Lele, p. 58

³ *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 108 and 114, V. 15, *JASB*, Vol. V, p. 378, V. 15, *JAOS*, Vol. VII, p. 26, V. 15

⁴ *PC*, p. 154, see also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas

⁵ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 887-88, No. 1.

village of Pīḍivīḍi in the Śakapura *pratiyāgaranaka* to the *Purohita* Govinda. The grant was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana with the assent (*sāmmata*) of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.¹

(2) *Bhopal grant* (i) —This and the next grant were found 'deposited in the library of the Begum's school at Sehore in Bhopal'. Its introductory portion is the same as in No. 1. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1 above, after bathing in the *Somavati tīrtha* 'on Monday, the 15th day of the moon's wane, granted to the priest (*Purodhas*) Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the *Dapḍādhipati*' (*Dandādhipati vāsa-vigraha*)² in the city of Mahākala (i.e., Ujjain). It further records that while residing at Bhṛgukaccha (mod. Broach), on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V) S. 1270 (in words) the same donor granted to the *Purohita* Govinda Sarman (same as Govinda above) the village of Uttarāyana, appertaining to (the district of) Sāvairisole.³ The inscription is again dated towards the end in (V) *Saṁvat* 1270 (A.D. 1213), written in figures. It was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana, with the permission of *Mahāsāndhi(vigraha)* *Pa(ṇḍita)* Bilhaṇa. Then comes the sign manual of *Mahārāja* Arjunavarmadeva. Last is given the name of the engraver *Paṇḍita* Bāpyadeva.⁴

(3) *Bhopal grant* (ii) —Introductory portion exactly the same as in No. 1 above. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1, while resident at the *Amareśvara tīrtha* after bathing at the junction of the Revā and the Kapilā, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V) S. 1272 (A.D. 1215), after worshipping *Bhavanīpati*, *Onkāra* and *Lakṣmīpati*, granted the village of

¹ Edited by Wilkinson *JASB* 1896 Vol. V pp. 377-82. It ought to be re-edited.

² Hall translated *Dapḍādhipati vāsa-vigraha* as a ground plot for a temple of *Dapḍādhipati*. But Dr. Barnett suggests that *vigraha* here should be taken to mean a *viśāḥa* section block; and *vāsa* in the sense of a house. The gift consisted apparently of a block of buildings which belonged to (the officer called) *Dapḍādhipati*.

³ The editor suggests it may mean the sixteen villages of Sāvairi; *sole* closely approximates to the vernacular corruption of *ṣoḍaśa*. *JAOS* Vol. VII p. 47, No. 54.

⁴ Edited by Hall in *JAOS* Vol. VII pp. 33-34.

Hathināvara, on the north bank of Narmadā, in the Pagāra-
pratiyāgaranaka, to the *Purohita Pandita* Govinda Saiman.
Towards the end the date (V) S. 1272 is again given in figures
It was composed by the same as No. (2), with the permission
of the *Mahāsāndhi(vigraha)* Rājā Salakhana (Sallaksana)
The sign-manual and engraver are the same as in No 2¹

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V S
1267 to 1272, corresponding to c 1211-15 A D. From these we
know that Arjunavarman had the *biruda* Trividha-vīra,² and
that ' his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter
of the *dhīpālas* ' when in battle ' which was his childhood's
folie. .Jayasimha took to flight ' ' We are also told that, being
' a treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has
relieved the goddess (*Sarasvatī*) of the burden of her books and
lyre ' ' These references to the king's victories and literary
accomplishments are remarkably confirmed by Jain tradition
and the fortunate discovery of a hitherto unknown drama named
Pārijāta-mañjarī or *Vijayaśīlī*⁵ which was composed as a *prasaṣṭi*
to Arjunavarman by the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*) Madana,⁶
who came from Gauda, presumably during the lifetime of his
disciple. This work was found incised on a slab of black stone
" attached to the northern wall of the principal *mukhāb* in the
mosque " at Dhar, in C. I. The slab contains 82 lines of writing.
The work is a *nāṭikā* in four acts, and is stated to have been
acted for the first time at the spring-festival in a temple of the

¹ Edited by Hall, *JAOS*, Vol VII, pp 25-31. On *Amareśvara tīrtha* and *Kapilā-sanga*,
see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 904, fn. 4, Mandbata grant of Jayavarman II, V S 1317

² *JAOS*, Vol VII, p 26, V 19. It means a hero in fight (*yuddha-vīra*), a hero in
compassion (*dayā vīra*, like *Jimūtavāhana*), and a hero in bounty (*dāna-vīra*, like *Bali*)
see *EI*, Vol IX, p 114, fn 6. This *biruda* is also mentioned by the *Pārijāta-mañjarī*
See *EI*, Vol VIII, p 102, line 7, *Trividha vīra cūdāmani*

³ *JAOS*, Vol VII, p 26, V 17

⁴ *Ibid*, V 18

⁵ Edited by Hultzsch in *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 96-122 printed separately at Leipzig in
1906 by Otto Harrassowitz

⁶ Must be the same as the composer of the three grants of Arjunavarman, see *ante*,
DHNI, Vol II, pp 896-97. He was taught by the Jain Āśādhara, *EI*, Vol VIII, p 99,
fn 11

goddess of learning¹ Unfortunately however the slab contains only the first two acts of the drama, the other two acts, which were incised on a second slab, are still missing The drama deals with the love affair of the king with Pārijāta mañjarī or Vijayaśrī, the daughter of the Gurjara king Jayasimha who fell into Arjuna's hands after her father's defeat In the opening verse the Mālava prince is called the incarnation of Bhoja² In line 7 Arjunavarman is said to have defeated the *Gūrjara pati*,³ Jayasimha 'on the borders of the land at the foot of the mountain called Parva parvata'⁴ The preserved portion of the drama reveals that the king had another queen named Sarvakalā,⁵ who was the daughter of the king of Kuntala As in the *Ratnāvalī*, the whole interest of the drama consists in the king's intrigue with his new love in which he eludes the watchful and jealous queen Hultzsch rightly remarked that, though the author must have derived the conception of his plot from older compositions, yet, 'as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions of the poet It would have been poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters' The evidence of Arjunavarman's grants which also ascribe to him victories over Jayasimha seem to confirm this conclusion The same author, following Dr Hall⁶ has suggested the identification of this Jayasimha with the Caulukya Bhīma II (c 1178-1241 A D), who had the *biruda* 'new Siddharāja, which was a surname of Jayasimha (c 1091-1144 A D) Though Merutuṅga refers to the devastation of Gujarat during the reign of Bhīma II by Solanka's son

¹ *Sārada*, line 3, *Bhārati* line 6

² *EI* Vol VIII pp. 98 and 101 V 1

³ Also called *Caulukya mahā mahendra* *ibid* p. 103 V 7

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ Called in V 30 (p. 107) *Samastakalā*

⁶ *EI* Vol. VIII pp. 100-101

⁷ *JIOS* Vol. VII pp. 39-40, No. 23.

Ajunaadeva,¹ yet I am inclined to believe that the prince referred to was not Bhīma Abhinava-Siddharāja, but the Caulukya Jayantasimha, also called Jayasimha, who during the period c. 1218-26 A.D. ousted Bhīma II and for a short time captured the sovereign power in Gujarat.² Hultzsch however may be right in his identification of the Kuntala king with the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāla II, who ruled from c. 1173-1212 A.D.³

The claim to literary merit advanced by his grants is supported by his commentary on the *Amaru-śataka*. In this work he quotes a verse by the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana, alias Bālasarasvatī. Hultzsch rightly identified this Madana with the author of the *Pārijāta-mañjarī* and the three royal grants mentioned above. The quotations in the *Rasika-samjivinī* show that Madana produced other poetical works, and he may have materially helped his disciple in the compilation of his commentary.⁴ Another luminary in Ajunavarman's court was Bilhana, who is described as *Mahāpanḍita* in the royal grants. He served the Mālava prince as his *Sāndhivigrahika*, and is referred to as *Mahākavi* in Jain tradition.⁵ The third scholar was the Jain Āśādhara, whose father Salakhana (Sallakṣana) is probably to be identified with the person of that name who appears with the title *rājā* as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Ajunavarman in one of his Bhopal grants (V S. 1272).⁶ The Jain tradition records that Madana was a pupil of Āśādhara.⁷

The facts recorded above show that the Paramāras had to some extent again succeeded in reviving the glory of the days of

¹ PC, p. 154

² See *infra*, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas, see also EI, Vol. IX, p. 118, fn. 2

³ EI, Vol. VIII, p. 101, BG, Vol. I, Part II, table facing p. 492

⁴ EI, Vol. VIII, p. 99. Āśādhara in his *Dharmāmṛta-tīkā* writes *Sa Bālasarasvatī mahā-kavi-Madana*. See *Sāgāra dharmāmṛta*, Introduction, pp. 3-4

⁵ *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 2

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1, EI, Vol. IX, p. 107. He also served in the same capacity under Arjuna's father

⁷ For the name of another officer of Arjuna, the *Amātya* Nārāyaṇa, see *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 103, V. 8

Muṣṣa and Bhoja The claim that Arjunavarman was an incarnation of Bhoja was not entirely fictitious

Arjunavarman was succeeded sometime before V S 1275 by Devapāla. The following records are known for his reign

(1) *Harsauda stone inscription* —Dug out from the ruins of a temple in the village of 'Harsaudā, about 10½ miles from the town of Chārwa, in the district of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces' It contains 18 lines, opening with *Oṃ namah Śivāya* and then praising the gods Heramba (Gaṇeśa), Bhārati (Sarasvatī) Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then follows the date (V) *Samvat* 1275 (A D 1218), at Dhāra, in the reign of *Samādhyagata pañca mahā śabd ālahkāra vrājamāna-Pb M P Parama māheśvara Limbarjā¹ prasāda vara-labdha pratāpa-Deva pāladeva*. The object of the inscription is to record that on the north-eastern side of Harṣapura the merchant Keśava built a temple of Śambhu together with a tank and that near it he put up figures of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīśa and Ambikā. It ends with *Śivamastu*.²

(2) *Mandhata grant* —Found enclosed in a stone-chest 'near the temple of Siddheśvara at Māndhātā, an island on the Narmadā river attached to the Nimar District of the C P. It contains 80 lines incised on 3 plates. The introductory portion (verses 1-19) is exactly the same as in his father's grants'.³ We are informed that Arjunavarman was succeeded in Malava, by Devapāla, son of Hariścandra. In the formal part we are told, while staying at Māhismatī,⁴ on the occasion of a lunar eclipse,

¹ I cannot identify this deity see also *JA* Vol. XX, p. 33 fn. 3. Dr. Barnett suggests. This name is right: cf. *Lambarāja* see below (*DHNI* Vol. II p. 921. Perhaps *limba* is a variant for *nimba* which occurs in names (e.g. *Nimbāditya Nimbarka*) so Kanarese has both *nimba* and *limba*.

² Edited by Kielhorn *JA* Vol. XX, pp. 310-12. First edited by Hall in *JASB* Vol. XXVIII pp. 1-8. This text was republished in *ASW* No. 10, pp. 111-12. Hall also published some notes on the record in *JAOS* Vol. VI pp. 536-37.

³ See also *DHNI* Vol. II pp. 895-97.

⁴ Identified by Kielhorn with Maheswar north of the Narmadā (Long 75 37' and Lat 22 11') in the Indore State: *BJ* Vol. IX p. 106.

in (V) *Samvat* 1282 (c. 1225 A.D.) after bathing in the Revā and worshipping Śiva in the neighbourhood of (Viṣṇu) Daityasūdana, Devapāla granted the village of Satājūnā¹ in the Mahuadā²-*pratyāgarāṇaka*, to the Brāhman Gaugādharma and 31 other donees. The date in figures is again given in line 79. It was composed by the *Rāja-guru* Madana³ with the assent of the *Mahāsāndhuigrahika-Pandita* Bilhana⁴. Line 80 contains the sign-manual of the donor.⁵

(3) *Udayapur stone-inscription (i)*—Found inside the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, in Gwalior. It contains 14 lines, opening with the date (V.) *Samvat* 1286 (c. 1229 A.D.) in the victorious reign of Devapāladeva.⁶

(4) *Udayapur stone-inscription (ii)*.—Found in the same place as in No. 3 above. It contains 15 lines, and is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1289⁷ (c. 1232 A.D.), at Udayapura, in the reign of *Pb-M* Devapāla.⁸

The inscriptions noticed above range from V. S. 1275 to 1289, corresponding to c. 1218-1232 A.D. While editing the Harsauda stone inscription Kielhorn noticed the similarity of the royal titles in that record to those occurring in the inscriptions of the descendants of *Mahākumāra* Laksmīvarman.⁹ His suspicion was confirmed by the Mandhata plates, which distinctly state that Devapāla was the son of Hariscandīa, who must be identified with the son of Laksmīvarman bearing the same name. Devapāla was therefore a brother of Mahākumāra Udayavarman, for whom we have the date V. S. 1256.¹⁰ The

¹ Mod. Satajana, about 13 miles SW of Mandhata, *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 106.

² Probably the village of Mohod, 25 miles south of Satajana. *ibid*.

³ The composer of Arjunavarman's grants and the *Pārijāta mañjarī*.

⁴ The same person who served Arjunavarman in the same office. see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 896.

⁵ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 103-17. For the list of donees see *ibid*, pp. 115-17. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

⁶ Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

⁷ Noticed by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 83.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 311.

⁹ *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 105.

fact that, unlike his father and grand father Devapāla discards the title of *Mahākumāra* and assumes imperial titles would seem to indicate that in him the two families again became reunited. It is easy to conclude that the line of Arjunavarman ceased to exist for lack of male heirs. But it is not beyond the range of probability that the line of Lakṣmīvarman, who, if Kielhorn's guess is correct, never regarded the line of Ajayavarman as the legitimate rulers of Mālava, may have ousted their relatives by violence.

The inscriptions noticed above show that Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, continued to serve in that capacity under the new king. Similarly Bilhana, who also served the previous king appears to have retained the post of minister of peace and war under the new administration. The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived Arjunavarman and finished his *Jina yajña kalpa* and *Trisaṣṭi smṛiti* during the reign of Devapāla.¹ The latter work was completed in A D 1236.² The only interesting incident in Devapāla's reign comes from *Hamīra mada mardana* of Jayasīṃha Sūri, which tells us that in alliance with the Yadava king Siṃhapa (Siṃghapa, A D 1210-47) he made a joint attack on Viradhavala the Vāghela chieftain of Dholka. But the Jain author tells us that, thanks to the ability of the spies engaged by Vastupāla the minister of the Vāghela chief, dissensions arose in the camps of the allied monarchs, and the attempted attack failed.³ We may well doubt whether this story of the failure of the Paramāra-Yādava attack is really correct. I have shown elsewhere that in the struggle with their southern neighbours the Dholka chiefs were sometimes defeated and compelled to submit.⁴

Devapāla was succeeded by his son Jaitugi who had the *biruda* *Bālanārāyaṇa*.⁵ The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived

¹ *Sāgara-dharmamṛti* p. 5.

² *Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum* Part I p. 51.

³ *GOS* No. X, See Acts I and II; also *infra* *DHNI* Vol II chapter on the *Caṇḍiyyas*.

⁴ See *infra* *DHNI* Vol II chapter on the *Caṇḍiyyas*.

⁵ *BI* Vol. IX p. 118, fn. 4 and p. 121 lines 20-23.

Devapāla and finished his *Sāgāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1296 (c. 1239 A.D.)¹ and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1300 (c. 1243 A.D.)² in the reign of the new king. No inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered. The only incident of his reign appears to have been a possible conflict with the Vāghela Viśaladeva.³ Jaitugi⁴ was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Jayavarman II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign :—

(1) *Rahatgadhi stone-inscription*.—Found 'inside the fort of Rāhatgadhi in the Central Provinces'. It contains 14 lines of very rude writing, which open with *Om Siddhih*, and are dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1312 (c. 1256 A.D.) in the victorious reign of M.-Jayavarmadeva.⁵

(2) *Modi stone-inscription*.—Found in a Jain temple at Modi, Indore State, C.I. The record is fragmentary. It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1314, and refers itself to the reign of (Paramāra) Jayavarmadeva.⁶

(3) *Mandhata grant*. Found 'at the village of Godaipura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces'. It contains 53 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion (Vs 1-21) is the same as in No. 2 of his father.⁷ The new facts

¹ *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, p. 5. See also *Grantha kartuh prasasti* at the end, Vs 19-21.

² *Ibid.*, also *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

³ See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyās*.

⁴ According to some also known as 'Jayasimha II,' *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49.

⁵ *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 31. In *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Kielhorn read the name of the king as *Jaya(sim)hadeva*. But in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 118, he was 'not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham was not right in reading the same as *Jaya (varmā) deva*'. Ojha refers the inscription to Jaitugi. See *HR*, Vol. I, p. 202. D. R. Bhandarkar gives the name of the king as *Jayasimhadeva*. See *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, No. 551.

⁶ 'Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1905, p. 12, and also in *ibid.*, 1913, p. 56.' Modi is sometimes spelt as *Mori*. The *Atru* (Kota State, Rajputana) *Inscription* of the time of M. Jayasimhadeva dated in V.S. [13]14, which records a grant to the *Mahākavi cakravartin Thakura Nārāyaṇa* probably also belongs to the reign. See *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 56, No. 2111.

⁷ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 900-01. The only important variation is the name *Jatrasimha* in place of the usual *Jayasimha*, the *Caulukya* opponent of *Arjunavarman*.

about the genealogy of the Paramāras (Vs 22 23) are as follows. After Devapāla's death, the throne of Mālava went to his son Jaitugi. After his death his younger brother Jayavarman II succeeded him. In the formal portion of the grant we are told that this last ruler in (V) *Samvatsara* 1317 (c 1260 A D), while staying at Maṇḍapa *durga* caused the Pratibhāra Gāṅgadeva to give the village of Vadaūda¹ in the Mahuāda *pathaka*² to the *agnihotrin* Mādhyā Sarman and two others (names and shares given). Gāṅgadeva made the grant at Amareśvara *kṣetra*,³ on the southern bank of the Revā after bathing at the confluence of the Revā and Kapilā⁴ and worshipping the holy Amareśvara Śiva. The *rāja śāsana* was written 'here at Maṇḍapadurga (mod Mandu) by Harṣadeva with the approbation of the *Sādhvī vīgrahika*, the *Paṇḍita* Mālādharma. It was corrected by the grammarian (*Sābdika*) Āmadeva, a disciple of the learned Gōsēka (Gōsē), 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science (*Smṛti śāstra sāra*), and engraved by the *rūpakara* Kānhada. The *Dāta* was the *Mahāpradhāna* Rājā Ajayadeva.⁵

The three inscriptions noticed above show that Jayavarman II ruled at Dhārā at least from V S 1312 to 1315 (c 1256 60). If the name 'Jayasinha' is accepted as a variation of his name⁶ then he appears to have come into conflict with the Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura.⁷ In the Balvan plates of Hammīra Vāgbhaṭa,

¹ Mentioned in the Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman and Lakṣmīvarman (V S, 1191 and 1200) see *IA* Vol XIX p 852 line 5. See also ante *DHNI* Vol. II p. 88. Perhaps the village of Barud 3 miles NE of Batejana the village granted by Devapāla's Maṇḍhātā grant see *ibid* p 901 fn 1.

² See Maṇḍhātā grant (V S 1282) of Devapāla. Note the correspondence by *Pathaka* and *Pratiṣṭhāgaropaka*.

³ Same as *Amareśvara tirtha* of the Bhopal grant (V S 1273) see ante p 897; also *JACS* Vol VII p 27.

⁴ The junction of the two rivers (Revā and Kapilā) is now known as *Kapila-Sangam* where a small stream joins the Narbada. *EI* Vol IX p 120.

⁵ Edited by Kielhorn *EI* Vol. IX pp. 117 23. First noticed by Lolo in his *Progress Report of Archaeological work in the Dhar State* 24th August 1904. The grant is sometimes called *Goderpara plates* see *EI* Vol XX Appendix p. 79 No. 553. The plates are now in the Nagpur Museum.

⁶ See ante *DHNI* Vol. II p. 903 fn 7.

⁷ See *infra* *DHVI* chapter on the Cāhamānas.

a descendant of Govindaiāja is said to have harassed Jayasimha of Mandapa (mod. Mandu) ¹ How long Jayavarman II continued to wield power in Mālava, it is difficult at present to say. But a reconsideration of the inscriptions which hitherto have been referred to a separate prince named Jayasimha may suggest that some of them perhaps belong to the immediate successor of Jaitugi. One such is the *Pathari inscription*, dated in V.S. 1326 (A.D. 1269), which Kielhorn referred to his reign ² The date is so close to the last known date (V.S. 1317) of Jayavarman II that one is naturally tempted to think that there may have been some mistake in reading the name or that they are both the names of the same prince. Some scholars however take him to be a separate prince who succeeded Jayavarman II as Jayasimha III ³ But that there was a separate prince bearing the name Jayasimha who ruled in Malwa in V. S. 1366 (c. 1310 A.D.) is clearly shown by a stone inscription incised on the inside of the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.).⁴ The date of this record is so far removed from the last known date of Jayavarman II that he must in all likelihood be accepted as a separate person ⁵ Whether his rule extended over Dhārā, as Kielhorn suggested, is however uncertain. But before this Jayasimha we must place two more princes. Rai Bahadur Ojha has pointed out that an inscription engraved on a slab in the temple of Kavālji (Kapālīśvara) in the Balvan estate of Kotah, dated in

¹ *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 49, V 7, *ibid*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 89, No. 623

² Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 33, No. 232, from a rubbing. In addition to the Aṣṭu inscription of Jayasimha noticed above (*ante*, p. 903, fn 5), another inscription of Jayasimha bearing the date V S 1311 (A.D. 1256) was discovered at Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.) This prince is accepted by some as a Paramāra, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 78, Nos. 550 and 554. It is possible, as I have suggested above, that Jayavarman was also known as Jayasimha.

³ See G. H. Ojha, *HR* (V S. 1981), Fasciculus I, p. 203

⁴ *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 84. Noticed by Kielhorn.

⁵ Ojha in his *HR* (I, p. 204) designates him as Jayasimha IV in the Malwa line

V S 1345, the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Banathambhor (c 1283-1301 A D) claims to have taken away the fortune of Mālava by defeating Arjuna . Ojha accepts this Mālava prince as Arjuna varman II in the Paramāra line of Malwa ¹ Another ruler of Mālava who may possibly have been the successor of Arjuna II was Bhoja II The *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells that the Cāhamāna prince Hammīra (c 1283-1301 A D) in the course of his *dig vijaya* defeated Bhoja of Dhārā, encamped in Ujjayini and worshipped at the temple of Mahākāla ² From the similarity of this name with that of some of the Paramāras of Malwa and from the locality over which he reigned it will probably be safe to consider him as a successor of Arjuna (varman II ?) But the exact relationship of this prince with Bhoja II (?) and of both with their predecessors or with their possible successors is at present unknown Some scholars accept Jayasīnha of the Udaipur inscription (V S 1366), as the successor of Bhoja II and as the last prince of the line of the Paramāras of Malwa ³ But this must remain at present a guess, unsupported by any conclusive evidence

The period that followed the reign of Arjunavarman (c 1211-15 A D) appears to have been one of gradual decline in the history of the Paramāras of Malwa By this time the Turks had consolidated their power in the valleys of the Indus Ganges, and Jumna and were casting greedy eyes towards the wealth of the south In the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36 A D) the greatest of the slave kings of Delhi, the Muslims first plundered and desecrated the temples and cities of Malwa The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* informs us that shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sultan in 632 A H (1234 A D) “ led the hosts of Islam towards Mālwa and took the fortress and town of Bhilsān, and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude,

¹ *Ibid* p 206.

² *IA* Vol. VIII pp 64-66 ; *Sarga* IX 18-19

³ Ojha, *HR* I p. 204

was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagari, and the temple of Mahā-kāl Dīw. The effigy of Bīkramajit who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagari, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-i era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā-kāl, were carried away to Dīhlī, the capital.”¹ Firishta repeats this, with the additional information that the temple of Mahākāla was ‘formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat’ and that the images conveyed to Delhi were ‘broken at the door of the great mosque.’² This expedition must have taken place in the reign of Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) There appears to have been a period of calm for about fifty years. But at the end of it, in 1292 A.D. ‘Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī, in the reign of his uncle Jalāl ud-Dīn Fīrūz (1290-96 A.D.) invaded Malwa, captured the town of Bhilsa, and brought much plunder to Delhi.’³ Firishta records that shortly before this expedition Sultān Fīrūz himself had ‘marched against the ‘Hindoos’ in the neighbourhood of Mandu, and returned to his capital after devastating the country.’ In his subsequent invasion of Deogiri in A.D. 1294, ‘Alā ud-Dīn probably followed the Chanderī-Bhilsa route up the Betwa valley, and did not penetrate into the valleys of the Sipra and upper Chambal. By this he probably avoided a conflict with the Paramāras on this occasion. But in A.D. 1305, ‘Alā ud-Dīn sent his general ‘Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany. with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka,⁴ the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando,

¹ *TN*, Vol I, pp 622-23

² *TF*, Vol I, p 211

³ *Ibid*, p 303

⁴ *Elliot*, Vol III, p 149, *TF*, Vol. I, p 304.

⁵ The *CHI*, Vol III, p. 111, gives the name as ‘*raja Koka or Haranand.*’

identical with Vākpati II (c. 975-90 A.D.) of the Malwa branch, who had the additional name of Utpalārāja.¹ If this identification is accepted, we must suppose that Vākpati conquered the Abu country in the course of his campaigns against the Cāhamānas of Nadol and the Caulukyās of Anahilavād.² Āianyārāja, the son of Vākpati-Utpala, was therefore in all probability established as the first feudatory of his father in the *Āibuda-maṇḍala*. Āianyārāja was succeeded by his son Vāsudeva³ *alias* Abdhuta-Kiṣṇārāja I. This Kiṣṇārāja may be identical with the hero Kāṇhadadeva, whose name occurs as that of one of the Abu Paramāras in the Mt Abu Vimala temple-inscription⁴ dated in V S 1378 (A.D. 1322). But it is more likely that the person meant in the Abu inscription was the prince Kiṣṇārāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants.⁵ The next name on the list is that of Mahīpāla, who was possibly his son, though it is difficult to be certain on the point on account of some damage to the inscription.⁶ Rai Bahadur Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar place the name of Dharanīvarāha between Kiṣṇārāja and Mahīpāla, and accept him as the son of the former and father of the latter.⁷ It is likely that Mahīpāla had another name, Devārāja.⁸ An unpublished grant of Mahīpāla is reported to bear the date V S 1059 (c. 1002 A.D.)⁹ Mahīpāla was succeeded by Dhandhuka. This prince is probably to be identified with the Abu Paramāra of that name mentioned in the Vimala temple-inscription

¹ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 854.

² See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 855.

³ *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

⁴ *EI*, Vol IX, p. 155, line 3. Also called the *Divādā Inscription* (of the Devdā Cāhamāna Lumbhaka), *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 95, No. 677.

⁵ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, pp. 844, 852.

⁶ Kielhorn writes 'His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son)' *EI*, Vol IX, p. 11.

⁷ Ojha, *HR*, I, pp. 171-72. *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 20, No. 123.

⁸ See *BG*, Vol I, Part I, pp. 472-73. The Bhūmal inscription of Kṛṣṇārāja, the son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Devārāja.

Ojha, *HR*, I, p. 172.

referred to above. We are told in this record that Dhandhu rāja, lord of the town of Candrāvati, was born in the family of Paramāra Kānhaḍadeva. This Dhandhu, 'averse from rendering homage to the (Caulukya) king Bhīma I (c 1022-64 A D) and to escape from that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā'¹ (c 1010-55 A D). As the inscription after this statement abruptly introduces the Prāgvāṭa Vimala, the *Dandapati* of Bhīma I at Arbuda, and refers to his building of a temple of R̥ṣabha (Yugādi bhair, Yugādi jina, Ādi nātha) on the top of the mountain in V S 1088 (c 1031 A D)² it seems almost certain that Vimala became the Caulukya governor of this region after ousting the Paramara Dhandhu, who was probably the feudatory of Bhoja. But the *Vasantgad stone inscription* of Pūrṇapāla shows that the Paramāras were not permanently ousted from the Abu region. This record was found in a tank at Vasantgad, apparently situated to the east of Mt Abu, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. It contains 23 lines of writing, of which about 15 akṣaras have been lost at the commencement of lines 1-9. The inscription opens with two verses in which 'the author pays homage to Maheśvara, Prācetasā (Vālmiki), and Vāṇī (the goddess of eloquence). The 3rd verse invokes Hari (Viṣṇu). Then follows the genealogy of Pūrṇapāla, as shown above.³ Then we are told that Pūrṇapāla's sister Lāhīṇī was married to one Vīgraharāja. The genealogy of this person is given as follows —

Dviṣa Yoṣa by his bravery acquired the title king
(bhūpa)

In his lineage

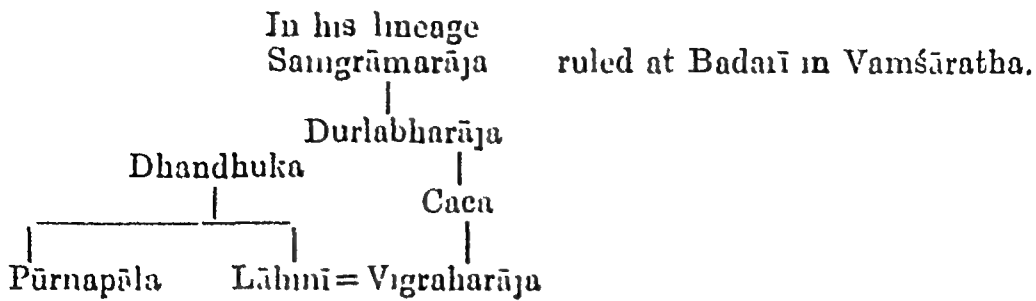
Nṛpa Bhavagupta restored the sun temple at Vaṭa
(Vaṭa vḍa: bhānu) He reigned at
Vaṭa⁴

¹ EI Vol IX p. 151 and pp 155-56, lines 1-3.

² Ibid pp 149 151 and 153, lines 5 & 8.

³ See ante DIHI Vol. II p 908.

⁴ Vaṭa-nagara or Vaṭa-pura was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī (line 15). It is not identified; but Kielhorn points out that it was an ancient place, for it is mentioned



The object of this inscription is to record that the widowed Lāhinī restored an ancient temple of the sun, and probably also a tank.¹ It was composed by the Brāhman Mātīśarman and engraved by Śivapāla. It is dated in V S 1099 (c. 1042 A D) in lines 22-23.²

Besides the above we have the *Bhadund stone-inscription* of Pūnapāla³ showing that he was still holding *Ābuda-maṇḍala* in (V) *Samvat* 1102 (c. 1045 A D). This was discovered at Bhadund, about a mile and a half from Nana in the Jodhpur State. As Pūnapāla's reign coincided with that of Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A D), it seems likely that the officers of the latter still held Abu while the country around continued to be in the possession of Dhandhuka's son. Pūnapāla was possibly succeeded by Kṛṣṇarāja II.⁴ The following two inscriptions are known for his reign —

(1) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (i) — Incised on the lower part of a pillar in the *dharmaśālā* east of the temple of Bāirāja east of the town. It contains 23 lines of writing and

in the Vasantgadh inscription of Varmalāta of the (V) S 682 (*EI*, Vol IX, p 191), and in a somewhat earlier inscription found at the village of Samoli in the Bhomat district of Mewar (*EI*, Vol IX, p 99). It is probably identical with Vasantgadh, or was situated near by.

¹ Apparently the very tank where this record has been found, Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol IX, p 11.

² Edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol IX, pp 10-15. First edited by Captain Burt in *JASB*, Vol X, pp 664-74. The inscription was composed by the Brāhman Mātīśarman and engraved by Śivapāla, the son of the *Sūtradhāra* Dēuka, grandson of Durga and great-grandson of the *sthapati* Nāga.

³ Noticed by Bhandarkar, *ASI*, WC, 1908, p 50. Edited by Ramakarna, *JBRAS*, Vol XXIII, pp 78 ff.

⁴ See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 912, fn 3.

is somewhat damaged. The record opens with *Om namaḥ Sūryāya* and a verse in praise of the Sun. Then comes the date (V) S 1117 (c 1060 A D), at Śrīmāla, in the reign of M Kṛṣṇa rāja, son of Dharmdhuka and grandson of Devarāja of the Paramāra race. It records some repairs to the temple of the god Jagatasvāmī (deva) by Dada Hari and some other persons, likewise some gifts and donations to the temple. The grants were made when Kīrṇāditya of the Dharakūṭa family was the officeholder in his turn for the current year (*Vaṣṭamāna vaṣṣa vārka Dharakūṭa jātī Kīrṇāditya* ¹).

(2) *Bhinmal stone inscription* (u) — Incised 'on the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagasvāmī. It contains 13 lines of writing. The record opens with *Om* then follows the date (V) S 1123 (c 1067 A D) at Śrīmāla, in the reign of M Kṛṣṇa rāja. The inscription is badly damaged but appears to be a Śaiva record concerning one Jāvala, a *Pāśupatācārya* and a devotee of Candīśa Mahādeva ².

A difficulty in the identification of this Kṛṣṇarāja as a member of Pūrṇapāla's family is caused by the name of his grandfather Devarāja. But considering the proximity of his reign period (c 1060-67 A D) to that of Pūrṇapāla (c 1042-45) the agreement in the name of the father of both princes, and the provenance of their records it is perhaps reasonable to accept him as a brother of Pūrṇapāla ³. I have already suggested that Deva rāja was possibly another name of Mahīpāla, the grandfather of Pūrṇapāla ⁴. Kjelhorn has pointed out that the prince Kṛṣṇa

¹ Edited by Jackson in *BG* Vol. I Part I pp. 473-73. Noticed by Bhandarkar *ASI* *WCO* 1008 p. 37.

² Edited by Jackson in *BG* Vol. I Part I pp. 473-71. On the date see *EI* Vol. V Appendix p. 93 No. 680.

³ See *JBOBS* Vol. XVIII 1933, pp. 40 ff. for another suggestion. Dr Ganguly considers Kṛṣṇa and his predecessors mentioned in the two Bhinmal inscriptions (V S. 1117 and 1123) as belonging to a separate branch of the Paramāras reigning over *Marmar-jala* from Bhinmal. See *supra* *DHVI* Vol. II p. 812, fn. 3.

⁴ See *ante* *DHNI* Vol. II p. 903.

whom the Naddūla Cāhamāna Bālaprasāda claims to have released from the prison of Bhīma I of Anahilavad (c 1022-64 A D) is probably identical with this Abu prince ¹

There is a gap of about fifty years in the history of the Paramāras of Abu after Kīṣnarāja II They next emerge from obscurity as feudatories of the Caulukyas of Anahilavad The following genealogical list of these later Abu Paramāras is given in an Abu inscription (V.S 1287=1230 A D)² of the time of Bhīma II (c 1178-1241 A.D)

From the sacrificial fire pit of Vasistha on Mt Arbuda

- 1 Paramāra In that lineage
- 2 Dhūmarāja Then there were
3. Dhandhuka,
- 4 Druvabhata and others In their lineage
- 5 Rāmadeva
- 6 Yaśodhavala
7. Dhūrūvarsa
- 8 Prahlādana
- 9 Somasīmha
- 10 Kīṣnarāja ³

It is difficult to see what relationship this group had with the line of Pūrnapāla, noticed above The latter group seems to trace its pedigree back to Utpalarāja of the main line and beyond him possibly to Kāṇhadadeva (Kīṣnarāja) It is not improbable that this last prince is the same as the Dhūmarāja of the above list ⁴

¹ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 75-76, V 18, also p. 72, see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapters on the *Caulukyas* and the *Cāhamānas*

² *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 200-04, 208-19, see *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*

³ Also known as 'Kāṇhadadeva' See *EI*, Vol VIII, p 206

⁴ Dr Barnett sees no ground for accepting this identification, I have tentatively suggested the identification because of the similarity of the two names, *dhūma* and *kṛṣṇa* both signify darkness

But as I have already noticed, there is a distant possibility that Kānhaḍadeva and the present Dhūmarāja may be identical with the Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vasantgadh stone inscription. Dhandhuka of the Abu inscription may also be the same as the father of Pūrṇapāla of the Vasantgadh epigraph. But without confirmatory evidence these suggestions must be regarded as pure guess. The person who really founded this line was Rāmadeva, who may have been a relative of Kṛṣṇarāja II (c. 1060-67 A.D.) of the two Bhinmal inscriptions noticed above. The *Kumārapāla carita* relates that the Caulukya king Kumārapāla suppressed the rebellion of Vikramasimha, the lord of Candrāvati, and having imprisoned him, installed his nephew Yaśodhavalā in his place.¹ This Yaśodhavalā is no doubt to be identified with the prince of that name in the Mt. Abu inscription. He was certainly the feudatory of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), as he claims to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when the latter became hostile to the Caulukya prince.² Thus Vikramasimha appears to have been a brother of Rāmadeva, and may have been placed in Candrāvati as his feudatory by Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). The following inscriptions of Yaśodhavalā are so far known —

(1) *Ajahari stone inscription* — Discovered at Ajahari in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is fragmentary and is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146) in the time of *Mahāmandaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva. It is now preserved in the Ajmer Museum.³

(2) *Mount Abu inscription* — Found on Mount Abu, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1207 in the reign of *Mahāmandaleśvara* Yaśodhavaladeva.⁴

¹ See *infra* DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas.

² EI Vol. VIII pp. 211 and 216 V. 35; also *infra* DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas.

³ Ojha HR I p. 178 ASI WC 1911 p. 38, JA LXI p. 12.

⁴ EI Vol. IX p. 149; *ibid* Vol. XX, Appendix p. 42 No. 280.

(iii) *Koyalbav inscription*.—Found at Koyalbav, Godwar, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S 1208 in the reign of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala).¹

Yaśodhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvaiṣa, who claims in the Abu inscription to have defeated the lord of Kaunkana, no doubt in the interest of his liege-lord the Caulukya Kumārapāla.² According to the *Pārthaparākrama* this Abu ruler also repulsed a night attack by the (Cāhamāna) Prthvīrāja III (c. 1179-98 A.D.), king of Jangala.³ It is stated that up to now one copper-plate and 11 stone-inscriptions bearing dates from V S 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) to V S 1276 (c. 1218 A.D.) have been discovered for the reign of Dhārāvaiṣa.⁴ Of these the following appears to have been noticed or published so far.

(1) *Kayadia stone-inscription* —Found in the village of Kayadia (16 miles from Vasa in the Sirohi State) in a roofless brick shed near the ruined temple of Kāśī-Viśveśvara. It is dated in (V) S. 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M-Mahāmandaleśvara* Dhārāvaiṣadeva, and records some grants by him to the god Kāśīśvara.⁵

(2) *Abu stone-inscription (i)*.—Contains 14 lines, of which 'lines 7 and 14 are indistinct.' It is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Vernacular. It opens with *Om svasti*, and then gives the date (V.) *Samvat* 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of *M.-Mahāmandaleśvara*-Dhārāvaiṣa. It probably recorded the grant of a *Śāsana* by this prince granting remission of taxes, on (the village of) Phukahālī belonging to *Bhattāraka* Deveśvara, of

¹ *EI*, Vol XX, p 43, No 283

² *EI*, Vol VIII, p 212, V 36, see also *infra*, chapter on the Caulukyās. The name of the lord of Konkan was Mallikārjuna

³ *GOS*, No 4, p 3, also *ibid*, *Introduction*, p 11

⁴ *IA*, 1927, pp 47-48 The discovery is said to have been made by G H Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer

⁵ *ASI*, WC, 1907, p 27, *ibid*, 1911, p 39 In the absence of plates, it is not possible for me to compare it with No 2 but the name of the god makes me suspicious that it may be the same record as the next one See *IA*, 1924, p 51 Bhandarkar seems to agree, see *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 48, No 317

the temple of Kāśīśvara, by Kumhara (Kumāra) Palhaṇadeva Lines 13-14 record the grant of a field by the *amātya* Śivasīmha¹

(3) *Hathal grant* —The plates were discovered at Hathal, Sirohi State, Rajputana. They are dated in V S 1237 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, lord of Arbuda (Abu)²

(4) *Ajahari inscription* —Found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V S 1240 in the time of Dhārāvarṣa-deva reigning at Candrāvati³

(5) *Mungthala inscription* —Found at Mungthala, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V S 1245 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa deva⁴

(6) *Abu stone inscription (ii)* —This is dated in V S 1265 in the time of the Caulukya Bhīma II and his feudatory *Maṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣa-deva. The latter was ruling at Candrāvati with the *Kumārā guru* Prahlādana as the *Yuvarāja*⁵

(7) *Abu stone inscription (iii)* —4 lines only. It opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1271 (c 1214 A D), and grants one *halavāha* (plough-drive) of land at the village of Sāvaḍa Vṛddha by the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣa⁶

(8) *Abu stone inscription (iv)* —Found in a temple of Śiva, contains 19 lines broken in two pieces. It opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1274 (c 1217 A D), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the son of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala). The object is not clear. It probably records the vow of certain persons to

¹ Edited by R. B. Halder *IA* 1927 Vol. LVI pp. 50-51. Now in the Rajputana Museum. Seems to be the same inscription as No. 1. But Halder does not refer to it as previously noticed in *ASI WCO* 1907 under a different name.

² Edited by B. Shastri *IA* Vol. XLIII p. 191

³ Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar *ASI WCO* 1911 p. 38.

⁴ Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar *ibid.* 1907 p. 26.

⁵ Edited by Cartellieri *IA* Vol. XI pp. 220-23. For detailed notice of the record see *infra* *DHNI* Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas (reign of Bhīma II). The inscription is recorded in *EI* Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 65 No. 451 under the name *Kaukkhal inscription*.

⁶ Noticed by G. H. Ojha in *Annual Report Rajputana Museum Ajmer* 1910-11 p. — Edited by R. B. Halder *IA* 1927 pp. 50-57 now in the Rajputana Museum. The inscription is recorded in *EI* Vol. XX Appendix p. 67 No. 463 under the name *Dutri inscription*.

observe the festivity for two days on the day of *Mahānātri*.’ (*Śivanātri*)¹

(9) *Pindwara stone-inscription* —Found at Pindwara, the principal town of the *tahsil* of the same name, about 14 miles east of Sirohi. It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1274 (A D 1217), in the reign of Dhārāvaiṣa, son of Jasadhavala, of the lineage of Śrī-Dhōmarāja²

(10) *Makaval inscription*.—This record is said to be engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village of Makaval in the Sirohi state, Rajputana. It is dated in V S 1276 (c 1219 A D) in the reign of Dhārāvaiṣa of Candīāvati³

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1276 V.S., a period of 56 years (c 1163-1219 A D). The inscription No 2 above gives us the name of *Kumhara Pālhanadeva*, who must be identified with prince *Prahlādana*, who according to the Abu inscription, dated in V S 1287, was a younger brother of Dhārāvaiṣa⁴. Another Abu inscription (6), dated in V S. 1265 describes *Māṇḍalika* Dhārāvaiṣa as a feudatory of Bhīma II.⁵ This inscription, we are told, was composed during Dhārāvaiṣa’s administration when the illustrious *Prahlādana-deva*, ‘an expert in all fine arts and useful sciences, a most worshipful prince, was the hen-apparent’ (*Ṣaḍ-darśana-avalambana-stambha-sakala-kalā-kovida-Kumāra-guru-Śrī-Prahlādana-deva*). These inscriptions therefore show that Dhārāvaiṣa was contemporary with no less than four Caulukya princes, from Kumārāpāla (c 1144-73 A D) to Bhīma II (c 1178-1214 A D). The claim of *Prahlādana* to literary merit is confirmed by his

¹ Edited by Halder, *IA*, Vol LVI, p 51 and pl, now in the Rajputana Museum.

² Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1906, p 48. In the absence of plates I cannot compare it with No 8, but it seems to be the same as No 8, but Halder does not refer to No 8 as previously noticed under a different name. Bhandarkar seems to agree with me, *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 67, No 469.

³ Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, WC, 1917, p 61. See also *IA*, 1927, pp 47-48, Ojha, *HR* I, p 177.

⁴ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 913.

⁵ *IA*, Vol XI, pp 220-23.

Vyayoga, a one-act drama, named *Pārthaparākrama* ¹ I have suggested elsewhere that Dhārāvārṣa is probably to be identified with 'Dārūbars' who with Rai Karan led the Caulukya forces against Quṭb ud-Dīn in A D 1197 ² I have also discussed the question of the identity of the Gurjara prince who according to the Abu inscription of V S 1287 mentioned above, was defended by Prahlādana when the former's power was broken in battle by the (Guhila) Sāmantasimha. He was probably Caulukya King Ajayapāla (c 1173-76 A D) ³ The same inscription when read with another Abu record of the same date shows that in 1287 V S (c 1230 A.D.) Somasimha, the son of Dhārāvārṣa was still ruling at Candrāvati as feudatory of Bhīma II ⁴ Another inscription of Somasimha, stated to have been found in a temple at Devakṣetra in Sirohi State carries his reign down to V S 1293 (c 1236 A D) ⁵ The recently discovered Pāṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription shows that the line of the Abu Paramāras continued for three more generations. This record was found at Pāṭanārāyaṇa temple near Girvar, 4 miles west of Madhusudan in Sirohi. It contains 39 lines and opens with Om namaḥ Puṇṣottamāya. It traces the genealogy from Dhārāvārṣa as follows —

- 1 Dhārāvārṣa
- |
- 2 Somasimha
- |
- 3 Kṛṣṇarāja (III)
- |
- 4 Pratāpasimha

It records that the Brāhman Delhapa, minister of No. 1 above, carried out the repairs of the temple (of Pāṭanārāyaṇa) during

¹ Edited by Datta in GOS No. IV 1917

² See *infra* DHVI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas; see also EI Vol. VI pp. 71-73 I.I 1937 p. 47 The *Hamira* made *mardana* of Jayasimha states that Dhārāvārṣa one of the chiefs of the Maru country helped Viradhavala against the *Mleccha-cakracati* GOS No. V II, 8.

³ *Infra* DHVI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas; also I.I 1937 pp. 100-02.

⁴ EI Vol. VIII p. 203

⁵ Noticed by Ojha, *Annual Report Rajasthan Museum* 1911 p. 7 HR I 170 fo. 3

the years (V) S. 1343-1344 (c. 1286-87 A D). The inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadeva. Line 39 contains the date (V.) S 1344¹ The inscription tells us that Pratāpasimha defeated Jaitrakaina and regained Candīāvati It has been suggested that this Jaitrakaina is probably the Guhila Jaitrasimha, the grandson of Mathanasimha and son of Padmasimha.² The details of the history of Pratāpasimha's successors are not very clear. But Ojha refers to a stone-inscription in the Brahmanāsvāmī (Sun) temple at the village of Varman in Sirohi, dated in V S.1356 (c. 1299 A D.) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Vikramasimha,³ whom he accepts as the successor of Pratāpasimha, and the last of the Paramāras of Abu⁴ An Abu inscription dated in V S. 1377 (A D 1321) informs us that the Cāhamāna *Mahārājakula* Luntigadeva conquered and ruled over Candīāvati and Arbuda⁵ Another Abu inscription, dated in V S. 1387 records repairs of a well by the *Guhilaputra* Mokala when Tejasimha was ruling at Candrāvati⁶ This Tejasimha has been identified as the nephew of Luntiga and one of the ancestors of the Cāhamāna family who still hold Sirohi He appears to be identical with the *Devdā* (Deora) Tejasimha (V. S 1387-93=c 1330-1335 A.D), a descendant of Kītipāla, who founded the *Sonigārā* branch of the Cāhamānas at Jalor Kītipāla, was a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhana (V. S 1221-39=c 1164-1182 A D)⁷ It is therefore certain that between the years V S. 1344 and 1387 (c 1277 and 1320 A D.) the Paramāras were ousted from Abu by the Cāhamānas⁸

¹ Edited by B Sastri, *IA*, 1916, pp 77-80

² *Ibid*, p 77, see *EI*, Vol V, *Appendix*, p 41, No 289 for the two Guhila rulers Also *DHNI*, Vol II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhilaputras*

³ Noticed by Sukthankar, *ASI*, *WC*, 1917, p 72

⁴ *HR*, I, p 180

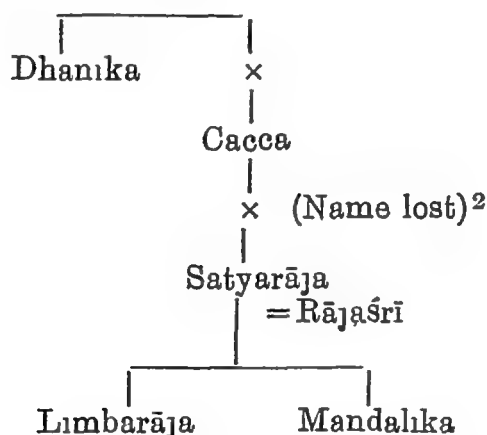
⁵ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 79 ff, see also *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Cāhamānas

⁶ *RMR*, 1926, p 2 *ASWI*, No 2, *App*, p xv, No 58, *ASI*, *WC*, 1907, p 28

⁷ *EI*, Vol XI, pp 73 ff See also *DHNI*, Vol II, *infra*, p 925, also *ibid*, chapter on the Cāhamānas

⁸ On the history of the *Dēvdā* (Deora) Cāhamānas, who trace their descent to the Cāhamānas of Nadol, see *IGI*, 1908, Vol. XXIII, pp 30 ff, Ojha, *HR*, I, p 180.

An earlier inscription of the Paramāras of this branch is the *Panhera stone-inscription* engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Mandaleśvara Mahādeva at Panhera (Pānāherā), in Banswara State, Rajputana. It is broken into 3 pieces, of which the second is missing. The first 5 verses are in praise of Śiva. It then goes on to describe the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit on Mt. Arbuda, and extols the five Paramāra princes of Malwa, viz, Sīyaka,¹ Muñjadeva, Sindhuāja, Bhoja and Jayasimha. Then follows the following genealogy of the local branch —



The last prince, Mandalika, was apparently a feudatory of Jayasimha. Mandalika built at Pāsulākhetaka a temple of the god Śiva known after him as Mandaleśvara. The record is dated in (V) S 1116 (c. A.D. 1059) ³

According to the Arthuna inscription, Kamka (Kakka) died fighting on the side of Śrī-Harṣa of Mālava, against the king of Karnāta on the banks of the Narmadā. This Harṣa has rightly been identified with Harṣa-Sīyaka II (c. 949-70 A.D.) of the Mālava line, who in the Udayapur *prāśasti* is eulogised for

EI, Vol XIV, pp 295-300. In *EI*, Vol XX, Appendix, p 24, No 145, Bhandarkar refers the inscription to the time of Mandanadeva. His son, Cāmundaarāja, according to him, is 'mentioned as merely living when the temple was built by Mandana.'

¹ The name is broken, but it is restored from the latter part of the inscription, *RMR*, 1917, pp 2-3.

² The *RMR*, 1917, pp 2-3, restores it as 'Candapa' from the Arthuna inscription.

³ Noticed in *ASI*, 1916-17, pp 19-20, also in *RMR*, 1917, pp 2-3 and *EI*, Vol XX, Appendix, p. 22, No 133.

taking the wealth of (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) Khoṭṭaga, the successor of Kṛṣṇa III, of Malkhed (c 940-56 A D) I have already suggested the identity of Kakka with Cacca of the Panhera inscription¹ because Cacca is credited in the latter record with the same achievement and a similar death on the banks of the Revā. The contemporaneity of Kakka Cacca with Harṣa Siyaka II makes it seem very probable that Vairisimha who stands at the head of the genealogical table in the Arthuna inscription, is identical with the first prince of that name in the Mālava line.² If this is so the Banswara Paramāras, like the Abu Paramāras, would be a branch of the main line ruling in Lāṭa and Malava. The Banswara section claimed descent from Ḍambarasimha, brother of Vairisimha. But the exact relationship between the former and Kakka Cacca is unknown. The Panhera inscription carries back the genealogy of this branch to Dhanika, the uncle of Cacca who is said to have built the temple of Dhaneśvara 'as white as snow, near Mahākāla (at Ujjain)'.³ Kakka Cacca's son was Candapa who has been placed in c 1000 A D by Dr Barnett.⁴ Nothing but vague praise is assigned to him in the Arthuna inscription. He was succeeded by Satyarāja who probably flourished in c 1025 A D. According to the Panhera inscription he 'received fortune from Bhoja, and fought with the Gurjaras. His wife was Rājāsri of the illustrious family of the Cāhamānas. It would appear from this that he must have fought as a feudatory of Bhoja (c 1010-55 A D), in the latter's struggles with Bhīma I (c 1022-64 A D). According to the Arthuna inscription Satyarāja was succeeded by his son Lamberāja, and the latter by his younger brother Maṇḍalika. This Maṇḍalika appears to be the same as the Maṇḍanadeva of the Arthuna list. The Panhera inscription shows that this Maṇḍalika (Maṇḍana) was a feudatory of the Malwa Paramāra Jayasimha

¹ See *supra* DHNI Vol. II, p. 851; but the ASI 1916-17 pp. 19-20 considers them to be separate.

² EI Vol. XIV p. 296 fn. 1.

³ RMR 1917 pp. 2-3.

⁴ EI Vol. XIV p. 296. This name appears to have been lost in the Panhera record.

(c. 1055-60 A D.) The same record tells us that Mandalika captured in battle the 'Commander Kanha' with his horses and elephants and handed him over to Jayasimha. The identity of this Kanha (Kisna) is however uncertain¹. According to the Arthuna inscription Mandana was succeeded by his son Cāmunda-tāja². He is said to have 'gloriously overcome' one Sindhurāja. Dr. Barnett rightly guessed that this Sindhurāja could not be identified with the Mālava Paramāra of that name who ruled in c. 994-1010 A D. It is not unlikely that Sindhurāja may here mean a king of Sind, and Cāmunda may have undertaken an expedition to the lower Indus valley, in company with some of his more powerful neighbours. Besides the Arthuna inscription noticed above, there are two other records of Cāmunda which were discovered at the same place. These two Arthuna inscriptions bear the dates (V) S 1137 (c. 1080 A D.) and 1159 (c. 1102 A D.)³. Both these records are much damaged. The former seems to mention the name of an officer of Cāmundarāja, one of whose 3 sons, Anantapāla, founded a temple of Śiva, probably the same temple amongst the ruins of which the record is stated to have been discovered. The other is much defaced, and is said to have been found in a Jain temple⁴.

The fortunate discovery of an image of Hanumān at Arthuna in the year 1918 has revealed the name of Cāmunda-tāja's son and successor. The pedestal of this image bears an inscription dated in (V) S 1165 (c. 1108 A D.), in the reign of Vijayarāja,

¹ In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V S 1166) Mandalika is said to have killed Sindhurāja, *EI*, XX, *App*, p. 29, No. 179. I have however tentatively accepted the view of Kielhorn and Barnett.

² See above, fn. 1, on p. 920.

³ Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. See also *ASI*, *WC*, 1909, p. 49, *ibid*, 1915, p. 35.

⁴ In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V S 1166 = c. 1109 A D.) Cāmundarāja (c. 1080-1102 A D.) is said to have destroyed the king of Avantī in the Sthali (Vāgaḍa) country, *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 29, No. 179. This king of Avantī was probably the Caulukya Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A D.) who invaded and conquered Mālava and assumed the title *Avantinātha*. See *JBRAS*, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322 ff., also *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.

the son of Cāmuṇḍarāja and the grandson of Maṇḍana. Another Arthuna stone inscription of this king dated in V S 1166 (c 1109 A D) is preserved in the Rajputana Museum.¹ What happened to this branch after the reign of Vijayarāja is at present unknown. It seems likely that they were gradually ousted from this region by the rising power of the Guhilas of Mewar. The Guhila prince Śāmantasinha (c 1171-79 A D), after being in turn ousted from Mewar is reported to have founded a principality in that portion of Vāgaḍa which is now known as the Dungarpur State.²

(4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālīpura)*

The existence of this branch is known from a stone-inscription dated in V S 1174 (c 1118 A D) which is reported to have been discovered in a temple of Śiva at Jalor, in the State of Jodhpur. It supplies the following list of the princes of this family: (1) Vākpati rāja, his son, (2) Candana, his son, (3) Devarāja, his son, (4) Aparājita, his son, (5) Vijjala, his son, (6) Dhārāvarāṇa, and his son, (7) Viśala. It records that in the year mentioned above Mallāradevi the queen of No 7, placed a golden *Kalasa* on the temple of Sindhurājesvara.³ Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha thinks that this line was an offshoot of the Abu Paramāras, and he refers Vākpatirāja of this inscription and Mahipala Devarāja of the Abu line to the same period. To me however it seems that the Vākpati of the Jalor inscription was possibly Vākpati II (c 974-95 A D) of the Mālava line and thus he may be identical with Utpalarāja to whom the earlier Abu Paramāras trace their genealogy.⁴ In that case we must suppose that after conquering

¹ RMR, 1918 p. 2.

² ASI WC 1909 p. 49; Ojha HR I p. 208.

³ Ibid.; see also *infra* DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Guhila-putras.

⁴ Noticed by Bhandarkar in ASI WC 1909 p. 54; see also HR I 182.

⁵ This conclusion may have to be modified after an examination of the inscription.

But see EI XX Appendix p. 31 fn. 2.

the Sukli valley in the Jodhpur State, Vākpatī II placed another of his sons as his feudatory over this tract. It is possible that after the disastrous defeat of Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) this line became independent of the control of the parent branch. The successors of Udayāditya do not appear to have been strong enough to exercise control over their distant kinsmen in Marwar. There is no record of the history of Vīśala's immediate successors. According to *Mūtā Nensi* Jalor was wrested from the Paramāras by Kīrtipāla, a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhana (c. 1164-79 A.D.).¹ We have seen that a section of the descendants of Kīrtipāla, the *Devda* Cāhamānas subsequently ousted the Paramāras also from Abu.

(5) *Paramāras of Kṛadu (Kṛātākūpa).*

This branch is known from a stone-inscription which is reported to be incised on the pillar of a temple of Śiva at Kṛadu (Kṛātākūpa), in the Jodhpur State. The inscription is damaged, and has not yet been properly edited, though a transcript of the inscription was published as early as 1918.² Recently a summary of the contents of this inscription has been published by Prof. Bhandarkar.³ Rāj Bahadur Ojha⁴ and Dr. Ganguly⁵ have also discussed the contents of this inscription. I have already noticed that there seem to be differences in the readings of the various scholars.⁶ The inscription refers to the origin of the Paramāras from the sacrificial pit on Mount Abu (*Arbuda bhudhara*) and then mentions the name of Mahāyāja Sindhujāja of *Marumandala*. Ganguly suggests his identification with Sindhujāja (c. 995-1010 A.D.) of the main line. The next name is given by Bhandarkar as Usala (Utpala) and by Ganguly as Dūsala. According to

¹ *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 74, see also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 919.

² Nāgar, *Jain Inscriptions (Jaina Lekha Samgraha)*, Part I, pp. 251-53.

³ *EI*, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 313.

⁴ *HR*, I, pp. 182-83.

⁵ *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 40 ff.

⁶ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 842, fn. 3.

the former the next two names are lost. The same scholar refers the next name as Dharaṇivarāha. 'From him Devarāja Dhandhuka¹ who became ruler of *Marumandala* after propitiating Durlabharāja who may have been either the Caulukya (c 1010-22 A D) or the Cāhamāna prince (c 999 A D) of the same name. Next came Kṛṣṇarāja,² Socharāja, Udayarāja, and Someśvara. G S Ojha thinks that the Socharāja was the son of the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II (c 1060-67 A D). This is not impossible but in that case there must have been some mistake in reading and interpreting the names before Dharaṇivarāha. The next prince, Udayarāja, whose might is said to have spread in Coṣa, Gauḍa, Karpāṣa, and Mālava. His son Someśvara appears to have been the feudatory of both the Caulukya princes Jayasīma and Siddharāja (c 1094-1144 A D) and Kumārapāla (c 1144-73 A D). According to Prof. Bhandarkar's reading Someśvara is said to have regained his lost throne in V S 1193 (? c 1141 A D) through the assistance of the first of these two Caulukya princes. It is not unlikely that Someśvara was ousted from his paternal possessions by an invasion of the Cāhamānas under Arporāja (c 1139 A D). The inscription next mentions that in V S 1205 (c 1148 A D) in the time of Kumārapāla Someśvara consecrated a temple. In V S 1218 (c 1161 A D) he claims to have taken 1,700 horses and the forts of Tunakoṭṭa³ and Navasara⁴ from the Sindhurāja Jajjaka and made him a vassal of Kumārapāla. We have a Kiradu stone inscription of the Nadol Cāhamāna Ālhanadeva, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, dated in V S 1209 (c 1153 A D).⁵ This shows that some time after V S 1205 he was temporarily ousted from the Kiradu

¹ Ganguly's suggestion that Dhandhuka is a separate ruler seems plausible.

² Ganguly refers to this prince the two Bhinmal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 and 1123) mentioned above on pp 911-12 as belonging to the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa.

³ According to Ojha, Tachant (probably Tanot of the *IOI* Vol. XVI—Atlas p. 34) in the Jaisalmer State.

⁴ According to Ojha, Nauser in the Jodhpur State.

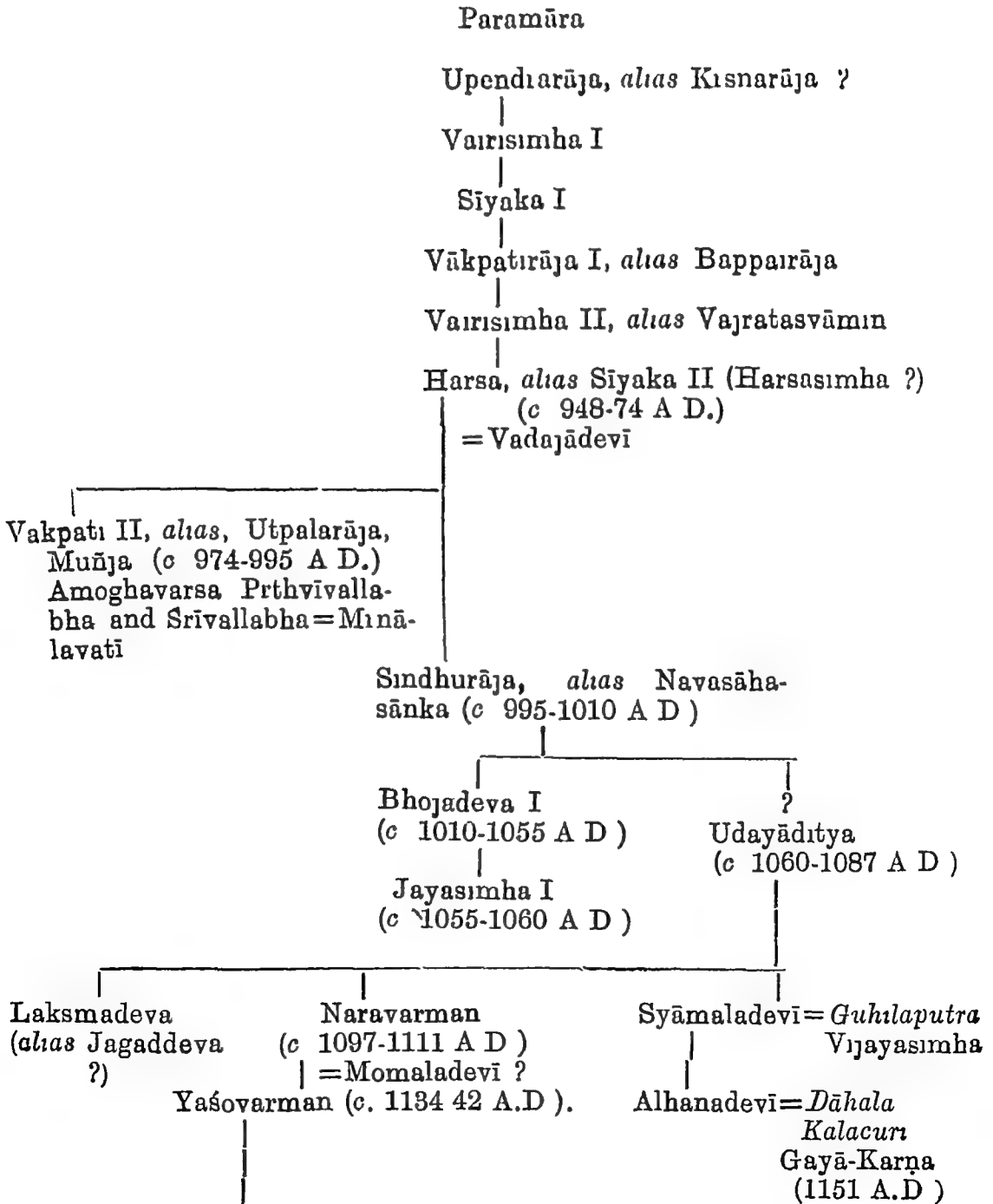
⁵ *BI* pp. 172-73.

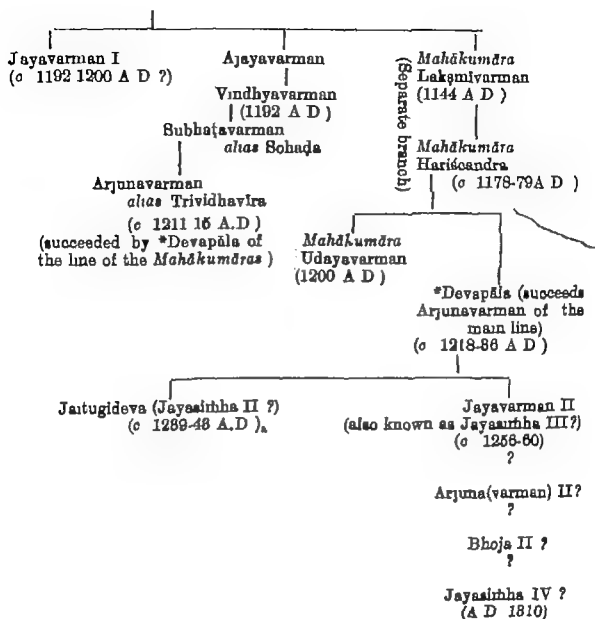
region and was again restored some time before V S. 1218. Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Someśvara or any of his possible successors.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates Approximate.)

(1) Paramāras of Lāta and Mālava (c. 888-1310)





(2) *Paramāras of Candrāvatī and Arbuda* (c 975-1800 A.D.)

Kānhaḍadeva—Dhūmarāja [Possibly the Kṛṣṇarāja of Vākpati II's (c 974-95 A.D.) grants ?]

Utpalarāja (probably the same as Vākpati II of the main line)

Aranyarāja

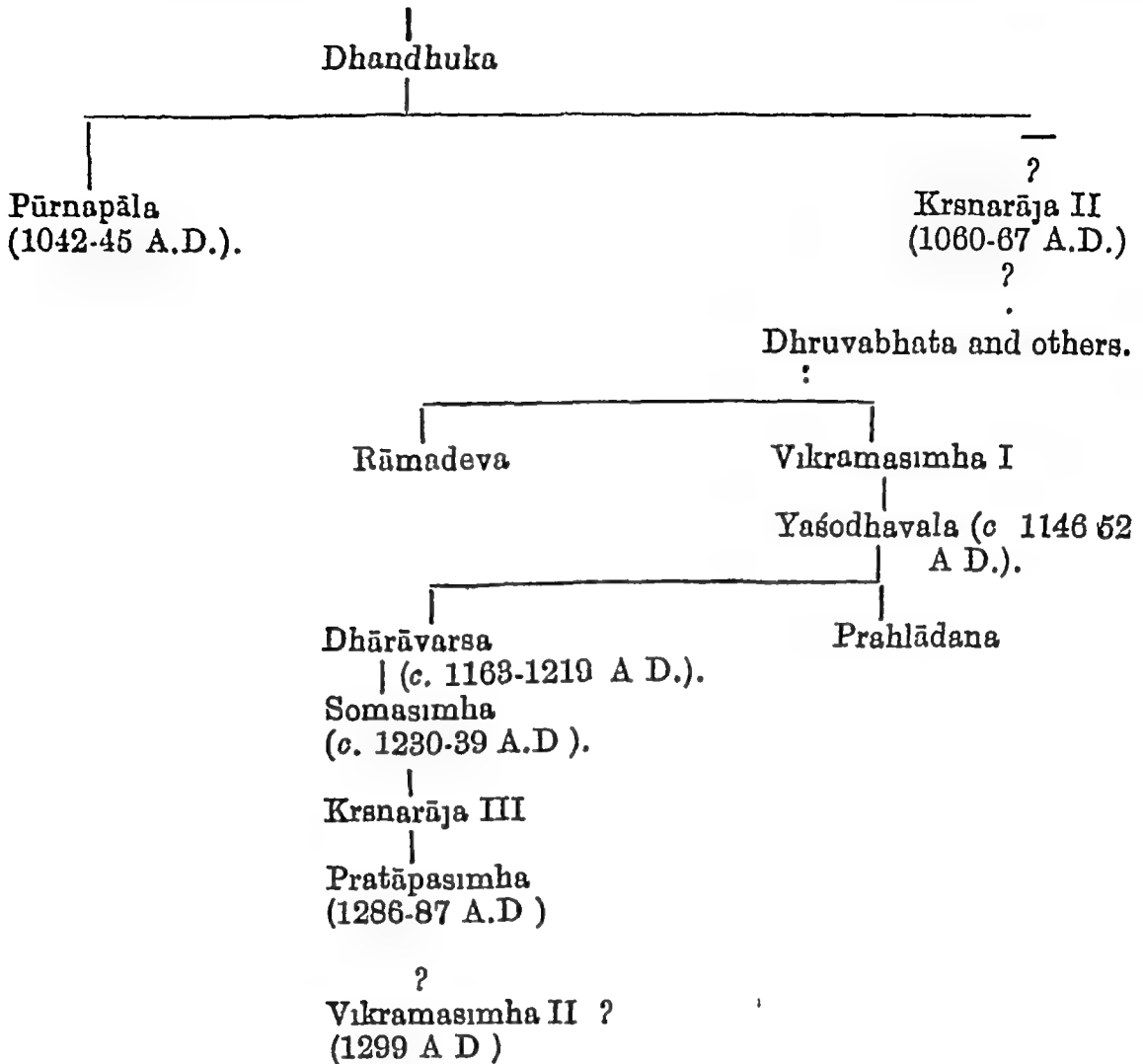
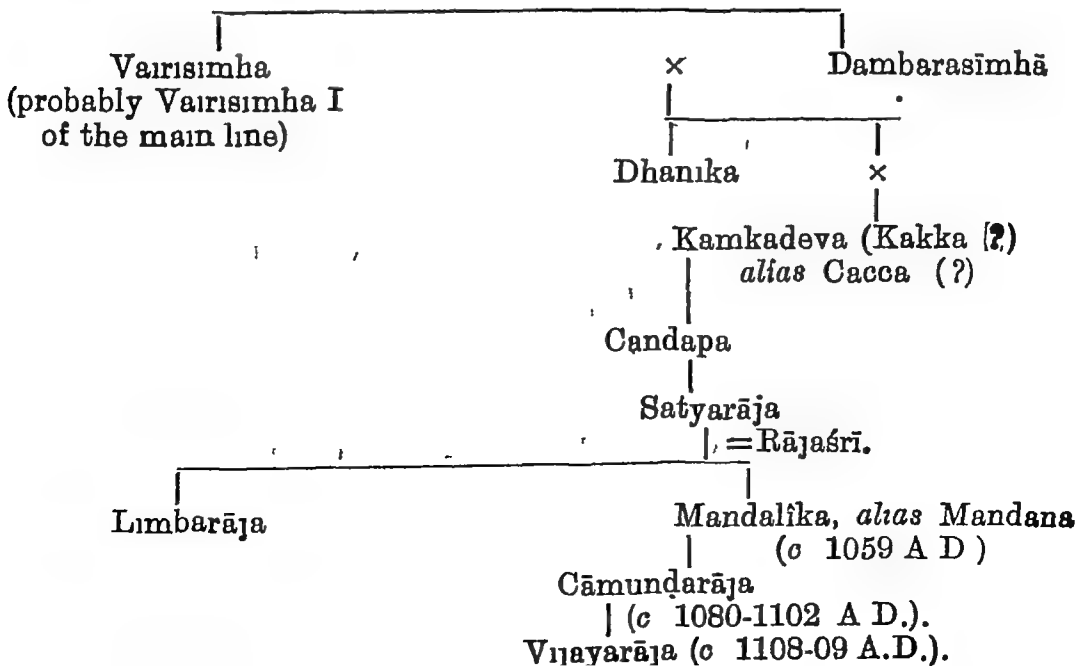
Vāsudeva alias Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja I

Dharaṇīvaraha ?

?

Mahipāla (alias Devarāja ?)

(c 1002 A.D.)

(3) *Paramāras of Banswara (Vāgada)*

(4) *Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvālpura)*

Vakpatirāja (probably the second prince of that
name of the main line)
|
Candana
|
Devarāja
|
Aparājita
|
Vijjala
|
Dhārāvarṣa
|
Viśala = Mallāradevi
(c. 1118 A.D.)

(5) *Paramāras of Kiradu (Kīrātakūpa)*

Sindhurāja
Usala (Utpala) or Dūsala (?)
x
x
(Dharapīvarāha)
|
Devarāja Dhandhuka ¹
|
Kṛṣṇarāja ²
|
Sooharāja ³
|
Udayarāja
|
Somēśvara
(1161 A.D.)

¹ The reading of the Kiradu inscription may possibly be

Devarāja
|
Dhandhuka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja

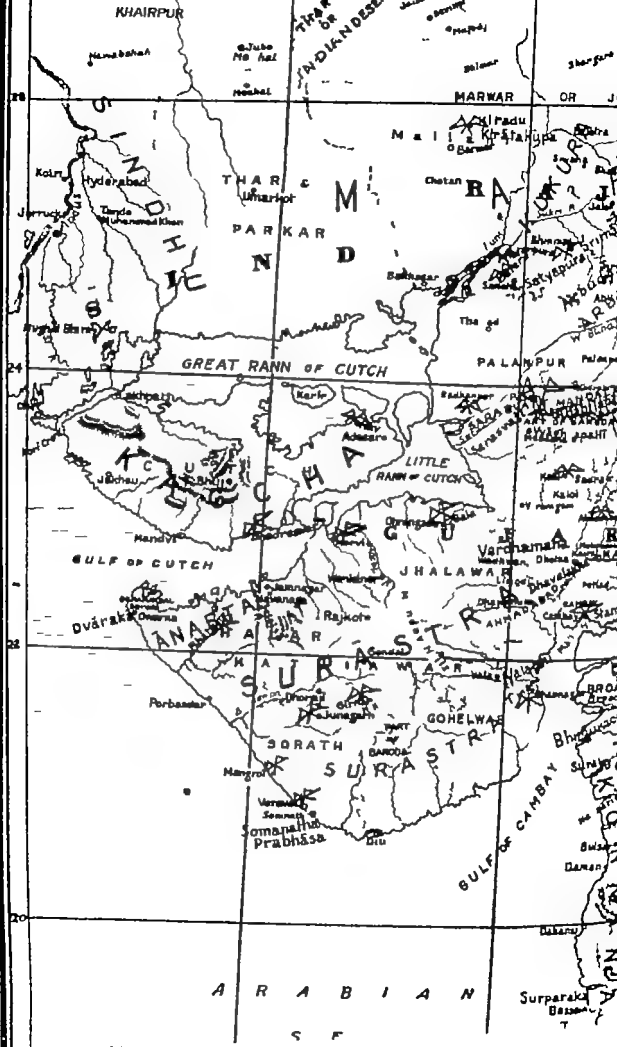
² Identified by some with the Abu Varamāra Kṛṣṇa II.

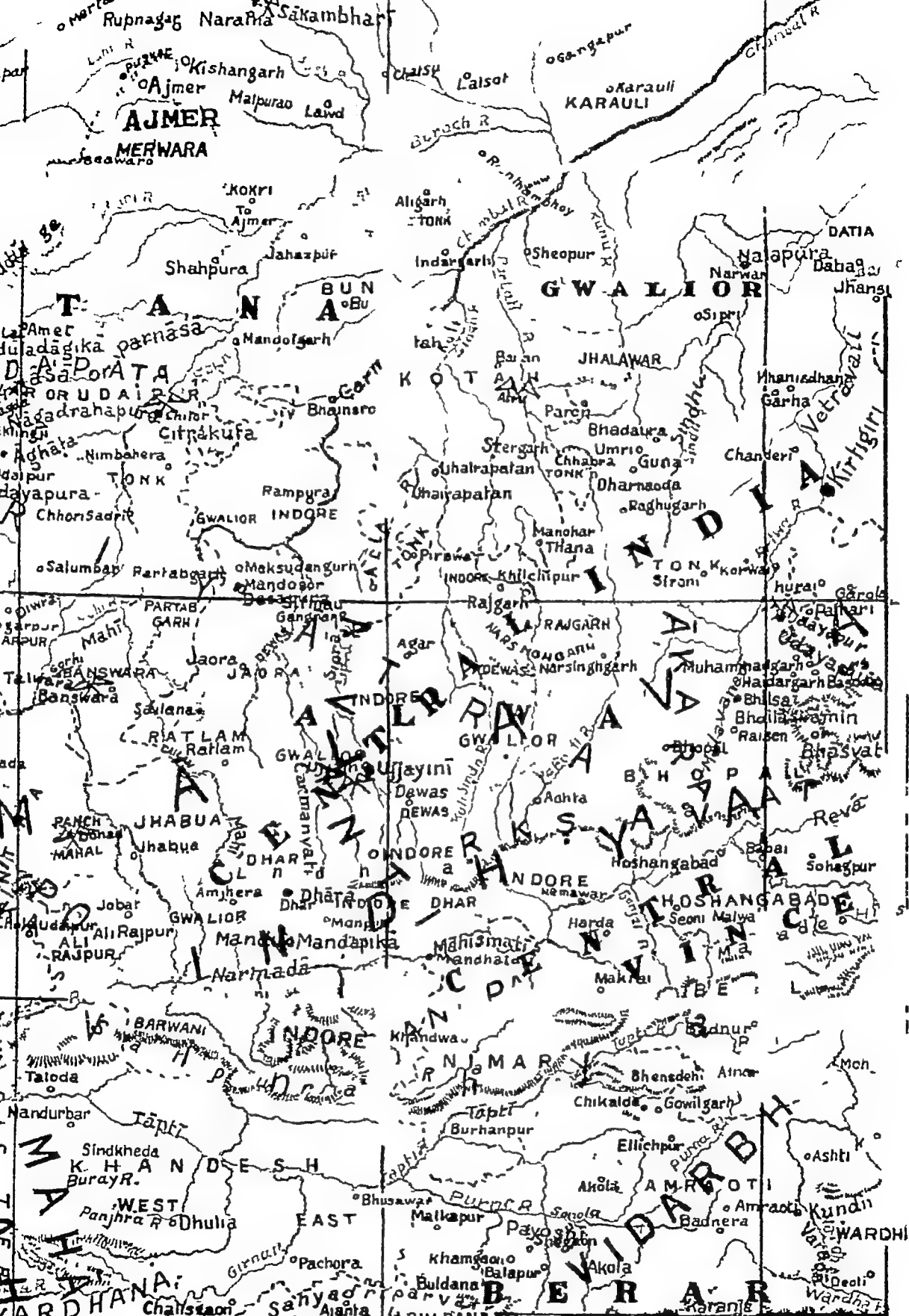
³ Son of Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa (?).

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Parts I and II.
2. *Navasāhasānka-carita* of Padmagupta *alias* Parimala. Ed. by Vāmana Śāstrī, Islāmpūkar, Bombay, Sanskrit Series, No LIII, 1895.
3. Über das Navasāhasānka-carita des Padmagupta oder Parimala : Von G. Buhler und Th. Zachariae, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Sitzungsberichte (Philosophisch-Historische classe), Band CXVI, pp. 583-630
4. *Pāñjātamañjarī* or *Vijayaśrī* of Bālasarasvatī Madana . edited by Hultzsch, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 96-122 (First two acts only). Separately edited by the same, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1906.
5. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 418; Part II, p. 95.
6. *Kūrmaśataka* of Bhoja, edited by Pischel, *EI*, Vol. VIII, pp 241-60.
7. *Samarāngana-Sūtradhāra* of Bhoja, ed. by Ganapati Śāstrī, in *GOS*, Nos XXV & XXXII.
8. *Prabandha-cintāmani* of Merutunga, translated by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901.
9. *Ras Mala* by Forbes, ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924, Vol. I.
10. *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasīma Sūri, edited in *GOS*, No. X.
11. *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*. Extracts in *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp 55-73, by N. J. Kirtane. Text ed. by the same.
12. *Kumārāpāla-carita* of Jayasīma Sūri. Nirṇaya-Sāgara-Press, Bombay, 1926.
13. *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, translated by Raverty, Vol. I
14. *Ta'rīkh-i-Fīrishta*, translated by Briggs, Vol. I.
15. *Tāj-ul Ma'āthir*, of Ḥasan Nizāmī, Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 204 ff.

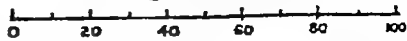
- 16 *Pārtha-parākrāma Vyāyoga*, of Prahlādanadeva, ed by Dalal, in *GOS*, No IV, 1917
- 17 Introduction to the Udaipur *prāśasti*, on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa by Bühler, *EI*, Vol I, pp 223-83
- 18 *Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa* by Captain O E Luard and K K Lole (reprinted from the Dhar State Gazetteer), British India Press, Bombay, 1908 (available in the Bodleian, Oxford)
- 19 *History of Rajputana* (Hindi) by G H Ojha, Fasciculus I, Ajmere, V 8 1982 (A D 1925)
- 20 *Triṣaṣṭi smṛti* of Āśādhara
- 21 *Jinayajña kalpa*, by the same
- 22 *Sāgāra Dharmāmṛta*, by the same. Ed by M Śāstrī, Bombay, 1915 No 2 of Māṇikchānd Digambara-Jaina grantha māla
- 23 *Anagāra Dharmāmṛta*, by the same Ed by M Śāstrī, Bombay, 1919 No 14 of Māṇikchānd Digambara-Jaina grantha māla
- 24 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, Chapters III, V, and XX
- 25 Udaipur Temple of Malwa and its Builder by K P Jayaswal, *Modern Review*, June, 1982, pp 603-06
- 26 Paramāras of Bhinmal by D C Ganguly, *JBORS*, Vol XVII, Part I, March, 1932, pp 40-44
- 27 *History of the Paramāras* by the same author (in the Press)





CAULUKYAS OF ANAHILAPĀṬAKA

English Miles



FINDSPOTS OF INSCRIPTIONS...

CHAPTER XV

THE CAULUKYAS (SOLANKIS) OF ANAHILA-PĀTAKA

Unlike the history of many other dynasties which ruled in India during the period under survey, that of the Caulukyas¹ of Gujarat and Kathiawar, who ruled in those regions for nearly three and a half centuries (c. 950-1304 A.D.), suffer from no dearth of materials. Not only have we numerous epigraphic records of these kings, but—what is more important—we have a number of Jain chronicles carefully registering the dates and incidents of each reign. Indeed, the facts are so plentiful that in a work like the present one we shall only have space to mention briefly the incidents of the reign of these kings, and to indicate as far as possible the sources whence future students may construct a more detailed history, the broad outlines of which have already been fixed by Bühler,² Bhagvanlal Indraji, and Jackson.³

The history of Gujarat and Kathiawar immediately before the rise of the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka (Anhilvad) is mainly connected with the general history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. The Una grants⁴ of the Cālukya feudatory Avanivarman, dated in A.D. 893 and 899 unquestionably show that the

¹ This is supposed by some scholars to be “a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Cālukya, of the old names Oalkya, Cailkya, Cirikya made to harmonise with the Purāṇik-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the *Culuka* of *Brahmā*. The popular variant of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solaṅki.” See BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 156. The eponymous founder of the family is named Culukya, because born in the *Culuka* of the Creator. EI, Vol. I, p. 294. Compare also the forms Śulikas and Śulkis, EI, XIV, pp. 117 and 120. See also DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 348 ff and fn. 2 on p. 438. To Dr. Barnett however ‘the connection of Caulukya and Cālukya seems rather dubious’.

² IA, Vol. VI, pp. 180ff.

³ BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 156ff.

⁴ EI, Vol. IX, pp. 1-10.

whole of this region, up to the southernmost part of the peninsula, was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I (c 893-907 A D). The Haddala grant¹ of the Cāpa feudatory Dharaṇīvarāha, indicates that Mahīpāla held at least Gujarat up to 914 A D. I have already shewn elsewhere that the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (c 915-17 A D) and the defeat of Mahīpāla I (c 914-43 A D) soon after A D 915 had very serious consequences for the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.² Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in 945-46 A D, proves that the Pratihāras recovered their hold for some time in Malwa, there is enough evidence to indicate that their hold on Gujarat and Kathiawar grew precarious. The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c 940-56 A D) seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on these provinces in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c 934-40 A D). The statement contained in them, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced as far as Oṭtrakūṭa,³ seems to be confirmed by the recently discovered Ahmedabad plates (949-70 A D) of the Paramāra Siyaka II, a feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III.⁴ These struggles between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas apparently produced disorder and anarchic conditions in this area, such as are always favourable to the rise of bold adventurers and new dynasties. The Gurjara Pratihāra power had been sinking since its disastrous defeats in the second decade of the tenth century. But the rapid decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the period (c 956-73 A D) which followed the death of Kṛṣṇa III must have indirectly helped the immediate rise of the Caulukyas in Gujarat.

The Gujarat chronicles give us a rather romantic, if unreliable, story of this dynasty's origin. This can be briefly

¹ *IA* Vol. XII pp 190-93; *ibid* Vol. XVIII p. 90.

² See *DHNI* Vol. I chapter on the *Later Gurjara Pratihāras* pp 580 ff.

³ Probably Chitor in Mewar Rajputana, see *DHNI* Vol. I fn. 4 on p. 582.

⁴ *PTOC* Madras 1926 pp 303-08; *RI* Vol. XIX, pp 177-79 236 ff.; also *supra*

summarised as follows. The Cāpotkatas,¹ commonly known as Cāvadās,² ruled in Pañcāsara³ in the period c. 720-956 A.D. During the reign of Sāmantasīmha, *alias* Bhuvata, the last prince of this line, Rāji, Bija, and Dandaka, the 3 sons of Bhuvanāditya, the ruler of Kalyāna-kataka in Kanauj⁴ started incognito in the guise of beggars on a pilgrimage to Somnath. On their way back they attended a cavalry-parade held by Sāmantasīmha. A criticism made by Rāji, on some of the cavalry movements pleased Sāmantasīmha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Līlādevī in marriage. Līlādevī died pregnant, and the child, who was taken alive from his dead mother's womb, was called Mūlarāja, because the operation was performed, when the Mūla constellation was in power. Mūlarāja grew up an able and popular prince, and, having slain his uncle, usurped his throne.⁵

Though it is difficult to disentangle truth from fiction in this story it undoubtedly contains some elements of fact. The existence of the Cāvotakas as a ruling power in Gujarat in the first half of the 8th century A.D. is proved by the Nausari grant of the Cālukya prince Pulakeśi Avanījanāśraya (739 A.D.).⁶ It tells us that sometime before 739 A.D. an army of the Arabs (*Tājikas*) destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāstra, Cāvotaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings, and on their

¹ Also Cāvotaka. According to Bhagvānlāl and Jackson, 'connected with the Cāpas of Bhīnmāl and of Wadhwan, and are therefore of Gurjara race' *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 155.

² Also as Cauda or Caura and Cowra or Cāwara, see *AR*, Vol. I, p. 121, *Ras*, Vol. I, p. 37.

³ Mod. village of that name in Vadhar, between Gujarat and Cutch, *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149 and fn. 3.

⁴ Apart from the city of Kanauj, Kānyakubja also sometimes signified a province. See Barah grant of Bhoja (836 A.D.) for the mention of Kanyakubja-*bhukti*, which included Kālāñjara *mandala*. *EI*, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6. A Veraval inscription, dated in 1169 A.D., mentions Vānārasī (Benares) as included in Kānyakubja-*viśaya*, *WZKM*, Vol. III, p. 7, lines 5-6.

⁵ *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 156-57, *Kumārāpāla-carita*, Nirnayagar Press, Bombay 1926, I, 15 ff. *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 262.

⁶ *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 187-88 and 375.

way to the Deccan advanced as far as the Navasārikā country (situated in Lāṭa) The Haddala grant of Mahipāla shows that the Cāpas as a feudatory power lingered on in Eastern Kathiawar and Central Gujarat, till 914 A.D. The Una grants indicate the existence in Gujarat of the Cālukya feudatories of the Kanaṇj rulers in A.D. 893 and the period preceding it. It is therefore not unlikely that one of these vassals who was connected by blood with the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi and through marriage with the Pratihāras of Kanaṇj, overthrew the small Cāpotkaṭa principality at Pañcāsara¹. This may have been the origin of the distorted tradition of a prince from Kalyāṇa in Kanaṇj. But in the present state of our knowledge of Indian history it is unsafe to assert dogmatically that there could not have existed in the first half of the 10th century a city named Kalyāṇa in the province of Kanaṇj² which was also the seat of a local Cālukya principality. Whatever may be the value of these guesses, we may probably conclude that Mūla rāja, the founder of the Cālukyas of Gujarat, was really the son of a Cāvaḍā princess who destroyed his maternal uncle and seized his principality at Anahilapātaka³. In the inscriptions his father Rājī is designated a *Mahārājādhirāja*⁴. During the period under survey this title often indicated no more than feudatory rank,⁵ and it is not impossible that Rājī's family, as well as that of his wife, were vassals of the great Gurjara Pratihāra empire. As I have already suggested, Mūlarāja

¹ The Haddala grant however gives Vardhamāna (mod. Wadhwan) as the place of residence of the Cāpa prince Dharapīvarāha in 914 A.D.

² Cf. The recent discovery of a Kanāmbli in Puṇḍravardhana-Bhakti in Bengal; see *BI* Vol. XII pp. 37-43. Also *DHNI* Vol. I, pp. 333, 341, 343 etc.

³ Sometimes in late records Anahilapātaka. Popularly known as Anahilavāḍa or Unhilpoor mod. Patan on the Sarasvatī. According to the chronicles it was founded by Vanarāja the first Cāvaḍā king of Pañcāsara (c. 765-80 A.D.) and named after the shepherd Anahila, who pointed out the site of the city; *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 151. See also *AAK* Vol. II, p. 282.

⁴ *IA* Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff. etc.

⁵ Cf. the Rajor stone-inscription (960 A.D.); *BI* Vol. III pp. 263-67. Bühler accepted the statement of the chronicles that Rājī was a son of the king of Kanaṇj who reconquered Gujarat; *IA* Vol. VI, p. 183.

profiting by the decline in the power of the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas in the second half of the 9th century carved out a small independent principality in the Sarasvatī valley. His Kadī grant tells us that he acquired the *Sārasvata-mandala* by the prowess of his own arms.¹ In the *Vadnagar prasasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla, dated in 1151 A.D., we are told that he took captive 'the fortune of the kingdom of the Cāpotkaṭa princes'.² Both these statements tend to support the chronicles according to which Mūlaiāja captured Anahilavāda on the Sarasvatī from the last Cāvadā prince.

According to the chronicles, Mūlaiāja did not rest satisfied with his conquest of the Sarasvatī valley, but tried to extend his power in the north, west, and south. His ambition appears to have brought him into conflict with his neighbours. Of these the two most important were the Sapādalakṣīya³ Rājā of Śākambharī⁴ and Bārappa,⁵ king of Lāta, sometimes described as the general of Tailapa of Telingana.⁶ The Rājā of Śākambharī has been rightly identified with the Cāhamāna prince Vigraharāja, for whom we have the Harsa stone-inscription, dated in 973 A.D.,⁷ while Tailapa was apparently the Western Cālukya

¹ *Nya bhujopārjita-Sārasvata-mandala*, IA, Vol. VI, p. 191, line 7.

² *EI*, Vol. I, pp. 298 and 301, V. 5.

³ According to Bhagvanlāl Indraṇi this is the Sanskrit form of the word Siwalik, a range of hills below Dehra Dun, in the Saharanpur district, U. P. He suggested that the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī who were known as rulers of Sapādalakṣa, may have originally come from the Siwalik Hills. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 157, and fn 1 on p. 158.

⁴ Mod. Sambhar on the east bank of the lake of that name, on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 158, fn 1. The *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 52) describes this prince as 'the Rājā of Nagor, or of Sambhur, the country afterwards known as Ujmeer'.

⁵ In the *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 54) the name is given as 'Barap' while the *PC* (p. 23) gives it as 'Bārava'. According to Bhagvanlal the name 'Dvārappa' of 'Dvāśraya' is the Sanskritised form of 'Bārappa'. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 159, fn 1.

⁶ In the *Ras* (Vol. I, p. 52), the name is given as 'Telip the sovereign of Telingānā'. In the *PC* (p. 23) 'the monarch that ruled over the Telinga country'. The statement of the *Sukṛta saṃskṛtana*, that Tailapa was a general of the king of Kanauj, is apparently a mistake. But see *IA*, Vol. XII, pp. 196 ff.

⁷ *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 119 ff. The inscription is also sometimes known as *Harsa inscription*.

of that name who ruled from c 973 to 997 A D ¹ The existence of a Caulukya prince in Lāṭa named Bārappa is revealed by the Surat grants ² of Kīrtirāja (c 1018 A D) and Trilocanapāla (c 1051 A D) which gives us the following list of their predecessors

Caulukya	married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj
Numbārka	
Bārappa ³	obtained Lāṭa-deśa
Goggirāja ⁴	Maṇḍalika-līlaka
Kīrtirāja (Saka 940)	Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara
Vatsarāja	
Trilocanapāla (Saka 972)	

As Kīrtirāja (1018 A D) is the 2nd in lineal descent from Bārappa, we can safely assign him to the 7th decade of the 10th century A D He was therefore a contemporary of Taila II, and must have been appointed by him as his feudatory to guard the 'Barodī gap, one of the main gateways to the South' We are told by Verutuṅga that Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the ruler of Śākambharī, and that, unable to resist them, he took shelter in the Kanthā-durga ⁵ Bühler found a confirmation of this statement in the Kadī grant, dated in 987 A D, which tells us that Mūlarāja resembled 'Tryambaka (Śiva) since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on the Mount (Kailāsa)' As Anahilapāṭaka, 'the resi

¹ BG Vol I Part II, table facing p. 439.

² IVZKA 1632, Band VII pp 89-89; J4 Vol. XII pp 196-200.

³ Sometimes written Vārappa see also ante DHNI Vol II p. 337 fn. 5

⁴ Sometimes read as Goggirāya. Identified by Dhruva with the Caulukya noble Gogji rāja whose daughter Nāyiyalla was married by the Yādava king Taraka of Chandol; J4 Vol. XII p. 200.

⁵ On its strategic importance see my Notes on War J4 1927 Vol. XIV pp. 12-15.

⁶ PC p. 23. The fort of Kanthā is identified with mod. Kanthkot in the Eastern Vāgaḍ division of Kachh; J4 Vol. VI p. 184

⁷ Tryambaka see *śaikhānāṣṭakā* J4 Vol. VI pp 183-84 and 191-92, lines 3-3

dence of Mūlarāja, was situated in an entirely flat sandy and not even within fifty miles of any hill,' the inference be made that the *prasaṣṭikāna* 'in his anxiety to find a resemblance between his patron and the various gods nothing more to the purpose than Mūlarāja's temporary the hill of Kanthā, which he boldly compared to Śiva's on Kailāsa'

There are some differences in the accounts of the end of the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas about the results of the war. The *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra tells us Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja killed Mūlarāja of Gujarat and took his country.¹ The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* on the other hand while giving Mūlarāja no credit for victory over the Cāhamāna prince, tries to give the impression that the latter was pushed or compelled to retire by the former's bravery and diplo- As Bhagvanlal Indraji concluded long ago, truth may lie between the two statements. As the Gujarat chronicle records Mūlarāja as visiting the Cāhamāna's camp and saying 'you should keep quiet and not give me a side-blow' while he was punishing Bārappa, it seems likely that the Caulukya was really defeated, but on his submission the Cāhamāna did not press his advantage.² In these circumstances the statement of the Gujarat chronicles that Bārappa was defeated and killed by Mūlarāja, seemed improbable to Bhagvanlal Jackson. But the statement of the *Dvyāśraya* that Mūlarāja and his son Cāmunda crossed the river Śabhravatī,³ the boundary of his dominions, and, entering Lāṭa, defeated and killed Bārappa,⁴ seems to gain some support from the Sur inscription of Trilocanapāla mentioned above.⁵ This inscription

¹ *IA*, Vol VII, p 59

² *PC*, pp 24-25, *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 158

³ *Ibid*, p 159

⁴ Modern Sabarmati

⁵ According to this authority the Caulukya army advanced as far as E (Broach), and Bārappa was killed by Cāmunda in single combat, *IA*, Vol IV, p.

⁶ See *ante* *DHNI*, Vol II, p 938

Goggirāja, Bārappa's son and successor, as the 'first home of the family' who relieved his own land like a greater Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons.¹ It may well be that the demon-like enemies of this passage were the Caulukyās, who defeated his father and seized Lāṭa, 'his own land'. The Bijapur stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi seems to contain another reference to Mūlarāja's wars.² We are there told that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (c. 960-80 A.D.) gave shelter to the 'lord of the Gurjaras' when Muñjarāja (c. 974-92 A.D.) had destroyed Āghāṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa.³ It has been already suggested that this prince of the Gurjaras was probably Mūlarāja. If this identification is accepted, this would afford a proof of the struggle of the Caulukyās with the Paramāras, and give us some idea of the extension of Mūlarāja's dominions towards the east.

Amongst the other wars of Mūlarāja referred to by the chronicles, only two deserve our serious attention. One of these was his war with Lakṣarāja,⁴ the king of Kaccha.⁵ Merutuṅga tells us that this prince was the son of Phulaḍa and Kāmalatā, the daughter of a Paramāra king called Kirtirāja.⁶ Lakṣarāja, 'owing to the boon of Yaśorāja,' whom he had propitiated, was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of king Mūlarāja. But in the twelfth encounter Mūlarāja besieged him at Kapilakoṭi, killed him in single combat, and trod on the flowing beard of his

¹ *IA* Vol. XII p. 208 Vs. 10-11.

² *EI* Vol. X, pp. 17-24.

³ See my chapter on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of *N. India DHNI* Vol. I, p. 561; Āghāṭa is mod. Ahar near Udaipur station in Medapāṭa (mod. Mewar).

⁴ Also called Lakṣa, Lāṭhaka and Lākṭhaka; see *PC* pp. 27-28, 150; taken to belong to the Sumra tribe; *BG* Vol. I Part I, p. 160.

⁵ Mod. Cutch.

⁶ Not yet identified. But this supplies additional evidence of the hostilities between Mūlarāja and the Paramāras. Could he be a relative of Muñja?

⁷ Bhagvanlal mentions him as King Yaśovarman of Malwa. *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 160. But Tawney's *Trans. of the PC* does not connect Yaśorāja with Malwa. Yaśovarman of Malwa ruled c. 1134-42 A.D.

foe.¹ If there is any foundation of fact in this story, these hostilities may have begun long before the joint invasion of the Lāṭa and Śākambharī kings. For Mūlarāja's retirement on that occasion to Kanthkot shows that he was already master of Eastern Cutch.

The *Dvyāśraya* gives a somewhat different description of the death of this ruler of Cutch. In this work Hemacandra connects Mūlarāja's struggles against the ruler of Cutch and the Ābhīra² chieftain of Saurāstra³ into one episode. He gives us the following account of Grāharipu, the ruler of Sorath. He lived at Vāmanasthalī,⁴ a city resplendent with the flags of Hanumān and Garuda, and at Durgapalī.⁵ He ate the flesh of animals and drank spirituous liquor. The 'Mleccha' hunted in Revatācala and slew deer at Prabhāsa⁶ which should not be slain. He took the flesh of cows, despised the Brāhmins, and killed the pilgrims going to Prabhāsa. He was rich and powerful, and once compelled the Rājā of Sindhu-deśa to pay him tribute. He was in close alliance with the powerful Lākhā of Kaccha-deśa and also with the Turks and other *Mlecchas*. We are then told that, being asked by Somanātha (Śiva) in a dream to destroy Grāharipu, Mūlarāja, though on good terms with the Ābhīra ruler, marched against him. In the struggle that followed Grāharipu

¹ PC, 27-28. The *Vastupāla-Tejapāla Prasasti* of Jayasimha (GOS, No. X, Appendix I, p. 58 ff., Vs. 5-6) also tells us that Mūlarāja humbled the chief of Kaccha.

² This family, according to Bhagvanlal Indraji and Jackson, belonged to the Cūdāsamā tribe, who settled in Sind and Kathiawar between c. 920 and 940 A.D. 'The Cūdāsamās are still commonly called *Ahera-rānās*' (BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 137, 139, etc.). This identification is supported by the fact that we have a number of inscriptions of the Cūdāsamās in Vanthali in Junagarh, which was the capital of the Ābhīra chieftain, see ARB, pp. 176, 178-79, 816-17 and 803-05, ASWI, Vol. II, pp. 159-64. For the close connection of the Ābhīras with the Sammas of Sind, see BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 138, also Elliot, Vol. I, p. 266. Both the Ābhīras and Sammas were beef-eaters, see also DHNI, Vol. I, p. 38.

³ Sometimes 'Sorath,' IA, Vol. IV, p. 73. Mod. Sorath in the south of Kathiawar.

⁴ Mod. Vanthali, 9 miles west of Junagarh, IA, Vol. IV, p. 73, fn., BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 160.

⁵ Identified by Bhagvanlal with mod. Junagarh.

⁶ Mod. Somnath Patan, also called Veraval.

was taken prisoner, and Lākhā was killed. Mūlarāja then went to Prabhāsa and worshipped the *liṅga* at Somanātha.¹

There is no epigraphic support for Hemacandra's account of this war of Mūlarāja. The latter's pilgrimage to Somanātha however is supported by Merutuṅga who tells us that Mūlarāja went "every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someśvarapattana," out of devotion to the god Śiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍali. The king caused there to be built the Mūlesvara temple. Bühler has pointed out that this Mūlesvara is evidently to be identified with Mūlanāthadeva to which Mūlarāja assigned the village of Kamboikā by his Kadī grant, dated V S 1048.²

Jayasīma's *Vastupāla Tejapāla Prastāva* supplies us with a fact which may indicate that Mūlarāja waged war with yet another power. He tells us that the Caulukya prince was always waited upon by 36 *Rāja kulas*, and that he 'put to agitation the Sindhurāja'.³ It is difficult to identify this ruler of Sind, but he may have been one of the later members of the Habbārī dynasty of Maṇṣūra (c. 912-76 A.D.).⁴

Of the time of Mūlarāja we have the following published records

(1) *Baroda grant* — Found in the possession of a man at Patan (Anahilavada). It records a grant of 'a plough of land' to Vacchakācārya in Pāladjya *grāma* in the Gambhūtā *viṣaya*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in V S 1030 (c. 974 A.D.). The donor was Mūlarāja, the *Dātaka* the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Śrī Jaya.⁵

(2) *Kadī grant* — Found lying in the Gaikvādī *Kacheri* at Kadī, the chief town of the Uttara Mahals. It contains 22 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with a description

¹ *IA* Vol. IV 72-77

² This is also found in Bālacandra's *Vasanta vilāsa* (*GOS* No. VII 1917) III, 6.

³ *IA* Vol. VI pp. 191 ff.; *ibid* p. 184. ⁴ *GOS* No. 2 *Appendix* pp. 58 ff. Vol. 3-7

⁵ See *DHNI* Vol. I, p. 23. ⁶ Noticed by H. H. Dhruva, *WZKM* Vol. V p. 300.

of the donor's pedigree. Then we are told that *M.-Rājī-sutah-Caulukikānvayo M -Mūlarāja*, while residing at Anahilapātaka, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) *Samvat* 1043 (c 987 A.D.), granted *Ardhāṣṭama* of Modhera in the village of Kamboikā to the illustrious Mūlanāthadeva, established at Mandalī, in the *Vaiddhī-viṣaya*. Before making the grant the king worshipped Rudramahālaya. At the end of the first plate there is a figure of a sitting bull.¹

(3) *Balera grant* —Found in the possession of a Brāhman at Balera, in Sanchol district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1051 (c 995 A.D.) We are then told that on that date *Pb -M -P -Mūlarājadeva*, from Anahilapātaka, granted the *Varanaka-gṛāma* in the *Satyapura-maṇḍala* to the illustrious Dīghācārya, son of Duṣṭabhācārya, who had come from Kanyakubja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor worships the *Ambikā-patī* (Śiva). The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* Kāñcana. The *Dūtaka* was the *mahattama* Śivarāja.²

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from 974 to 995 A.D., a period of 21 years. According to Merutunga, however, Mūlarāja ruled for 55 years. This author gives V.S. 993 as the date of Mūlarāja's accession, and V.S. 1050 for that of his son Cāmunda.³ This would actually give the former a reign of about 57 years (c 937-994 A.D.)⁴ The *Vicāraśīem* of the same author however gives the reign-period of this prince as 35 years extending from 1017 to 1052 V.S.

¹ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, pp 191-93. Note the form *Caulukikānvaya*.

² First noticed in 1891 by Dhruva, *WZKM*, Vol V, pp 300-01, and then by Devī Prasad in *JASB*, 1898, p 168. Finally edited by Sten Konow, *EI*, Vol X, pp 76-79. The editor in his introductory remarks accepts the evidence of the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 940-56) as proof of Mūlarāja's war with the Kalachuris. For a different interpretation see my chapter on the *Later Gujara Pratihāras*, *DHNI*, Vol I, pp 588-89.

³ *PC*, pp 23 and 29. The text of the different MSS of Merutuṅga's work must be corrupt. For the *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 162, gives the dates from Merutuṅga as V.S. 998 (A.D. 942) to 1053 (A.D. 907). I follow Tawney's English version of the text.

⁴ The *AAK* (Vol II, p 260) gives the reign period as 56 years. The *MA* (Trans. by Bird, London, 1835, p 143) also gives 56.

(A D 961 96) ¹ As we have no dated record of the reign of the next king, we cannot verify the statement of this chronicle, but its moderate estimate of the reign period seems to be more consistent with the fact that Mūlarāja could scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle's power. But the recently discovered Sambhar inscription of Jayasīṃha which gives V S 998 (c 941 A D) as the date of Mūlarāja seems to indicate that he really reigned for more than half a century ²

The period of about 25 years (c 996-1022 A D) which intervened between Mūlarāja's death ³ and the accession of Bhīma I was inglorious. No epigraphic record has so far been discovered for the reign of any of the princes that ruled during this period, and we depend mainly on the chronicles for the incidents of their reigns. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Mūlarāja was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍa in 1050 V S. He reigned for about 13 years and was succeeded by Vallabhārāja in 1065 V S ⁴. This king after investing the fortress of Dhārā in the country of Mālava, died of small pox ⁵. He acquired the titles "subduer of kings, as Śiva subdued the god of Love" (*Rāja madana Saṅkara*) and "Shaker of the world (*Jagajjhampana*)". He reigned only for five months and twenty nine days ⁶. Then Durlabharāja was crowned king in 1065 V S.

¹ JBRAS Vol. IX p. 185. I have a suspicion that what Bhanu Dāsi calls *Merutunga's Theravall* (*Śthaviravall*) and Bhagvanlal *Vicāraśreṇī* may be the same work. Or is the former a separate chapter of the *Vicāraśreṇī*? BG Vol. I Part I p. 162.

² IA 1922 pp. 234-36 V 9

³ *Ibid* The *Dryāśraya* says Mūlarāja mounted the funeral pile on the banks of the Sarasvatī. Does it mean that he committed suicide, like some other Indian princes of this period?

⁴ PG p. 90 gives V S 1055 as the date which marked the end of the reign of Cāmuṇḍa, and then gives 1065 as the date when Vallabhārāja assumed the sovereignty. I think 1055 is a mistake for 1065. See the Text (Sanskrit) of the work (Ed. by Rāmacandra Dinanātha Bombay 1888 p. 48) where also the same dates are repeated.

⁵ *Sūti-roga*. The *Dryāśraya* has the disease called *Sitala*. IA Vol. IV p. 112. His fight with Mālava is also found in the *Kīrti kausandī* (II 11) and *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*. (II 13). See EI Vol. I p. 294.

⁶ The BG Vol. I Part I p. 162 says that the PG gives Cāmuṇḍa a reign of 6 months. This must be a mistake: see IA Vol. VI p. 184 where Bühler rightly assigns 6 months to Vallabhārāja.

He built a palace of seven storeys and a clock tower at Pattana and a temple of Madana-śankara for the welfare of his brother Vallabharāja. He reigned 12 years, and then in V. S. 1077¹ established on the throne his brother's son, Bhīma.² The *Vicāraśīleni*³ by the same author gives the list of Mūlarāja's successors as follows: his son Vallabharāja 14 years, V.S. 1052-66. his brother Durlabha, 12 years, V. S. 1066-78. According to the *Dvyāśraya*, Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmunda, who had 3 sons, viz., Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, and Nāgarāja "Once on a time Cāmundarāja, inflamed by sensual passion did wrong to his sister Cācinīdevī; to expiate this sin he placed Vallabharāja on the throne and went on a pilgrimage to Vārāṇasī. By the way the Rāja of Mālava plundered his umbrella and other insignia of royalty.⁴ Cāmunda having accomplished his pilgrimage, returned to Pattana" and asked his son to punish the Malava prince. Vallabha started on his expedition to Malava but died on the way (A. D. 1010). Cāmunda thereupon seated Durlabha on the throne and retired to Śukla-tīrtha, on the Narmadā, where he died. Durlabha married his sister to Mahendra, the king of Maru-deśa.⁵ He and his brother also married respectively Durlabhadevī and another princess, the two sisters of Mahendrarāja. According to Hemacandra, Durlabhadevī was won by Durlabha in a *Svayamvara*, but to retain possession of the princess he had to fight a number of other claimants, amongst whom were the

¹ PC, pp 29-30 Bühler however gives the date as Ś 1058 wrongly for 1078, see IA, Vol VI, p 185

² The BG, Vol I, Part I, p 163 says that the text of this work mentions Bhīma as the son of Durlabha But Tawney's version gives the relationship as nephew

³ Or *Therāvalī* ?

⁴ The BG (Vol I, Part I, p 162) mentions the name of the Malava kings as Muñja But this does not occur in the text Bhagvanlal probably has taken the name from the very similar story given in the PC (p 38) in connection with the pilgrimage of Durlabha to Benares

⁵ Also called king of Nadvla deśa (i e , Naddūla-deśa) He is certainly the Naddūla (Nadol) Cāhamāna Mahendra (c 1020 A D) See *infra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Cāhamānas Also EI, Vol IX, p. 63 ff , Vol. XI, p 68 ff.

kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Avanti, Cedi-deśa,¹ Kuru-deśa, Hūṇa-deśa, Mathurā, and Vindhya.² At last Durlabha abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew, Bhīma, the son of Nāgarāja, and with Nāgarāja 'made *Svargavāsa* at Pattan'.³

To this account we may add the following details found in the inscriptions of their successors, and Muslim sources. The Vadnagar *prasaśti* of the reign of Kumārāpāla (V S 1208)⁴ tells us that Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍarāja. "Inhal-ing even from afar the breeze, perfumed with the ichor of his (Cāmuṇḍa's) excellent elephants, the illustrious Sindhu rāja fled together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of (their opponent's) rut, and vanished in such wise that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost".⁵ This statement is not incredible in view of the fact that Sind formed the western border of the Caulukya kingdom. If there is any truth in this statement, we must assume that Cāmuṇḍa by his hostility to the Sind rulers merely carried on the policy laid down by his father.⁶ It is however difficult to identify this ruler of Sind. I can only suggest that he was probably one of the local rulers of Maṇṣūra who may have ruled there between the Habbārī dynasty and the Sumras.⁷ Abu l-

¹ Wrongly given in *IA* IV p. 112 as Vaidī-deśa.

² Wrongly given in *IA* IV p. 112, as Andhra-deśa.

³ Text (ed. by A. V. Kāthavate) pp. 443ff. see also *IA* Vol. IV pp. 111-14. Bhagvanīal sees in this story of the voluntary joint death of the two brothers the hidden hand of Bhīma; see *BQ* Vol. I Part I p. 163.

⁴ *BI* Vol. I pp. 293ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 297 and 302 V. 6. Kielborn at first took Sindhurāja to mean king of Sind, but later on in the *Errata and Corrigenda* (*ibid.* p. 481) said (possibly the king of Sind but more probably Sindhurāja of Mālava. As Mūlāja seems to have died some time between 994 and 997 A. D. (*ibid.*, p. 228) there is no inherent impossibility in Sindhurāja of Mālava being a contemporary of Cāmuṇḍa. But in view of the fact that Mūlarāja also fought with a Sindhurāja I prefer his former view. See also the Arthuna stone inscription of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (A. D. 1080) where Sindhurāja must be taken to mean 'prince of Sind'. See *BI* Vol. XIV. The Kumārāpāla-carita says that Cāmuṇḍa killed Sindhurāja in battle; see I 31.

⁶ See above, p. 947.

⁷ See *DHNI* Vol. I p. 23.

Fazl assigns to Cāmunda a reign of 13 years, but the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* gives the figure as 12 years and four months and 2 days.¹ In view of this approximate agreement of the Hindu and Muslim chronicles we may assign to Cāmunda a reign of 12 or 13 years and place him c 996-1009 A.D.

According to the *Vadnagar praśasti* Cāmunda was succeeded by his son Vallabharāja. He 'astonished the circle of earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mālava king (*Mālava-bhūpa-cakra*) who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger.'² According to Abu'l-Faḥl 'Balabha' reigned for 6 months,³ while 'Alī Muhammad Khān assigns him a reign of 7 months.⁴ As his war with Mālava is confirmed by both literary and epigraphic tradition we may accept it as real. The ruler of Mālava is probably to be identified with Sindhurāja (c 997-1010), the brother of the Paramāra Muñja. The support of the Muslim tradition seems to indicate that the Hindu chroniclers were right in assigning a short reign to Vallabha.⁵ The fact that he died so soon and was succeeded in the course of the same year by his brother Durlabha, seems to explain the omission of his name in some of the later Caulukya inscriptions.⁶

We shall not therefore be far from the truth if we assume that Durlabha ascended the throne c 1009-10 A.D. The only

¹ *AAK*, Vol II, p 260, *BHG*, p. 27. *MA*, Trans. by Bird, p 143. Text edited by Nawal Ali, Baroda, 1928, Vol I, p 29. Abu'l-Faḥl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān make Cāmaṇḍ (چامند), or Jāmaṇḍ (جامند) the contemporary of Maḥmūd of Ghazni when he invaded Somnath. This is evidently a mistake; for epigraphic records and the *Kāmil Elliot*, Vol II, p 249) show that the Caulukya ruler at that time was Bhīma (I).

² *EI*, Vol. I, pp 297 and 302, V. 7.

³ *AAK*, Vol II, p 260.

⁴ *MA*, Text, p 29, Trans., p. 143, also *BHG*, p 27. This text spells the name as Balyā (بلیا).

⁵ The *Vicāra-śrenti* is obviously wrong when it omits Cāmunda and assigns Vallabha 14 years adding the 13 years of his predecessor to the 6 months of his reign.

⁶ Of Bhīma II (c 1178-1241 A.D.), see *IA*, Vol VI, pp 194-96. Another reason of the omission may be due to the fact that his father Cāmunda may have been living when he died.

interesting fact mentioned about this king is contained in the statement of the Vadnagar *prasaṅgi* that he caused 'the destruction of the Lāṭa country'.¹ The chronicles of Gujarat generally credit Mūlarāja I with a conquest of the Lāṭa country. But the existence of the Lāṭa princes even after the death of Mūlarāja has been revealed by the Surat grant of Kīrtirāja (dated in A D 1018),² who must have been ruling in Lāṭa when it was invaded by Durlabha. That Durlabha did not succeed in completely destroying the Oaulukya principality of Lāṭa is proved by the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla (A D 1051), the grandson of Kīrtirāja.³ The *Ā'in-i Akbarī* assigns to Durlabha a reign of 11 years and 6 months, while the *Mīrāt-i Aḥmadi* gives him only 8 years.⁴ As Hemacandra and Abu'l-Faḍl nearly agree in assigning him a period of about 12 years we may refer him to the period c 1010-22 A D.⁵

According to all our sources, literary and epigraphic, Durlabha was succeeded by his nephew Bhīmadeva, the son of Nāgarāja. The following epigraphic records are known for his reign.

(1) *Radhanpur grant* — Procured from the Radhanpur Durbar in North Gujarat. Its find spot is unknown. It contains 23 lines incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date Vikrama *Saṁvat* 1086 (A D 1029). It then records that M-Bhīmadeva, from his residence at Anahilapāṭaka after

¹ *Lar(?)a-vaṇḍha-bhaṅga* *HI* Vol I, pp 297 and 302 V 8. Note also the statement in the same verse, that he was not easily accessible to the wives of other men and compare it with *Kaṇḍrapāla-carita* I 23-34 which seems to show he really took another's wife by force.

² See above *DHNI* Vol. II, p. 938.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *AAK* Vol. II p. 280; *MA* Trans. p. 143; *ibid* text, p. 20 BHG p 27 In the Muslim account he is wrongly stated to be the nephew of Vallabha. The *MA* spells the name as DEḷa (𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀸), perhaps representing the Prakrit Dūḷa (𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀸)

⁵ As Muṣṣa was certainly dead by the year 907 A.D the story of *PG* (pp. 29-30) which makes Durlabha a contemporary of Muṣṣa is wrong. His date for the accession of Bhīma, V B 1077 (s. 1021 A.D) may also be inaccurate. The *Theravāḍi* give a this date as V B. 1078.

worshipping *Bhavānī-pati* (*Śiva*), granted the village of Mansūra, situated in the *Ghadahadikā-dvādaśa* in the *Kaccha-mandala*, to the *Bhattāraka* Ajapāla. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Caṇḍa Śarman, and it was written by the *Kāyastha* Vateśvara.¹

(2) *Mundaka grant*.—Found together with five other grants in the possession of the widow of the late Dr Gelson Da Cunha. Its find-spot is unknown. It is incised on two plates of copper held together by a ring of the same metal. It records the grant of eleven plough-measures of land in the village of Mundaka which was included in the *Viśaya* of Vaidhi, to the Brāhman Vāsudeva, son of Balabhadra, by *M*-Bhīmadeva, at Anahila-pātaka, in V. S. 1086 (A.D. 1030).²

(3) *Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant*—Deposited in the Library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. There is no information as to where it was originally found. It contains 16 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V.) *Samvat* (10)93 (A.D. 1036),³ and then records that the donor of No. 2, from Anahilapātaka, having worshipped (*Śiva*) the lord of *Bhavānī*, granted one plough of land in the village of *Sahasacānā* in *Kaccha-mandala* to the Brāhman Govinda. The writer and the *Dūtaka* of the grant are the same as in No. 1.⁴

(4) *Abu stone-inscription*.—Incised in the *Vimala* temple on Mount Abu, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is 'a short inscription of a minister of the Caulukya Bhīmadeva I,' dated in V. S. 1119 (A.D. 1062).⁵

¹ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 193-94, see also *BI*, p. 194. Cf. *Manṣūrah* in *Sind*.

² Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1920, p. 54. For text and translation see *JBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 49.

³ The date is given as 93. Fleet took it to be *Simha-Samvat* 93 (A.D. 1207), and referred it to Bhīma II, *IA*, XVIII, pp. 108-09. Bühler first (*IA*, Vol. VI, p. 185) took it to be a case of *omitted hundreds*. But see Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 853-54.

⁴ First noticed in a *Gujarati History of Cutch* (p. 17), see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 185 fn. It was edited by Fleet in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 108-10. But he took it to be a grant of Bhīma II. I think Hultzsch, Bühler, Bhagvanlal Indraji, and Jackson were right in taking the grant to belong to Bhīma I. The fact that the names of the *Mandala*, the *Dūtaka* and the writer are the same as in No. (1) seems to be conclusive.

⁵ Noticed by Kielhorn in *HI*, Vol. IX, p. 148.

The dates in these four inscriptions range from c 1029 to 1062 A D ¹ According to Merutuṅga, Bhīma I ascended the throne of Anahilapātaka in V S 1077 ² or 1078 ³ As both the Hindu and Muslim chronicles allot to him a reign of 42 years ⁴ we may with some certainty assign him to the period c 1022-64 A D The *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* supplies us with some details of the relationship between him and his contemporaries, the Paramāra Bhoja (c 1010-1055 A D) and the Kalacuri (Lakṣmī) Karna (c 1041-70 A D) We are told that at first 'a league of friendship subsisted between Bhīma and Bhoja But the peace was broken through the hostile activities of Bhoja The first invasion of Gujarat by Bhoja was diverted to the south against Tailapa by the intrigues of Dāmara, Bhīma's minister of peace and war' But the second time, when Bhīma had marched to conquer the 'country of Sindh,' Kulacandra, ⁵ Bhoja's commander-in-chief, swooped down upon his capital Anahilapātaka 'sacked the august city, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory (*Jaya patra*) In retaliation Bhīma sent soldiers into the country of his enemy and once very nearly caught him when the latter was worshipping his family goddess in a temple in a suburb of the city of Dhārā Bhīma however could not achieve any material success against Bhoja, till the latter incurred the hostility of the Dāhala king Karna The latter attacked Bhoja, in company with 136 princes, 'and at the same time he invited Bhīma to attack the country of Mālava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom Then king Bhoja, being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome

¹ Mt. Abu Vimala temple inscription of V S. 1378 contains a date for Bhīma I. We are told that the temple of Rṣabha was founded in V S. 1088 (c. 1031 A.D.) by a certain Vimala who had been appointed *Dayāpati* at Arbuda by Bhīmadeva (I) see *RI* Vol. IX p. 149

² *PC* p. 30.

³ *Theravāli*, *JBRAS* Vol. IX p. 153

⁴ *JBRAS* Vol. IX p. 157 *AAK* p. 260 *MA Trans.* p. 143. *BHG* p. 27

⁵ *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 161, fn. 2. Tawney translates diplomatic agent, *PC* p. 41

⁶ He was a Digambara Jain.

with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden corporeal malady took hold of Bhoja,' of which he died. After this Karna 'broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja' But owing to the intrigues of Dāmaia, Karna while sleeping after the sack of Dhānā, was taken prisoner by the former and had to give Bhīma 'a golden shrine, and the lord Śiva associated with Gaṇeśa.'¹

The *Dvyāśraya* seems to confirm this story of Bhīma's war with Karna. We are told that Bhīma's fame spread to distant countries. 'The Rāja of Puṇḍra-deśa sent presents; the Rāja of Andhra-deśa sent him a necklace; Bhīma's fame spread into Magadha-deśa' Then some one said to Bhīma, "O Rāja! on the earth the Sindhu prince, and the king of Cedi in their pride alone regard not your fame" Hearing this report of his 'spy' Bhīma with his army went to the Punjab 'near to Sindh,' where 'five rivers flow together.' The Sind king Hammuka, having conquered his enemies, 'slept in peace.' But Bhīma, having crossed the mighty stream of the five rivers by building a bridge, defeated and conquered the prince of Sind. Then 'Bhīma went to Cedi-deśa conquering the princes as he went When he heard of Bhīma's approach, the Rāja of Cedi collected an army of Bhīllas and Mlecchas' But after long considerations he at last decided to make peace with Bhīma This he purchased by handing over to Dāmodara, the Vakīl of Bhīma, a 'gold Meru.' 'Bhīma having thus conquered returned to Pattan'²

It is difficult to know the proportion of truth and fables in these stories. But no doubt they contain some elements of fact. We have seen that both Iūlarāja and Cāmunda fought with the rulers of Sind It is therefore quite possible that Bhīma also carried on the policy laid down by the founder of his dynasty

¹ PC, pp 36-77 Among the other romantic stories in this work may be mentioned the visit of Bhīma to the court of Bhoja in the disguise of a Brāhman (*ibid*, pp 47 ff) The story of the birth of Karna (*ibid*, p 72) has a similarity with the Muslim story of the birth of Lakṣmaṇasena (TN, Vol I, pp 554-55), see also DHNI, Vol I, p 372 The defeat of Bhoja by Bhīma is also referred to by the *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra (GOS, No VII, 1917), iii, 15

² Text, pp. 615 ff., IA, Vol. IV, pp. 114 and 282.

Bhoja's struggle against the Gurjaras, Cedis, and other enemies among whom Bhīma was prominent, is referred to by the Udaipur *prasaṅga* of the Paramāras of Mālava.¹ The Vadnagar *prasaṅga* distinctly says that Bhīma's horses, which were "supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called *dhārā*), quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava."² Though the Udaipur³ and the Nagpur⁴ *prasaṅgas* do not definitely associate the names of Karṇa and Bhīma with Bhoja's death, they clearly indicate that Bhoja was "submerged" by "floods" which for a time overwhelmed Dhārā and its rulers. There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Karṇa was defeated by Bhīma. But it is not unlikely, in view of the fact that he, like Bhoja, also had a meteoric fall and Bhīma may have had a share in bringing about the downfall of the Kalacuri empire. Though the chronicles are silent on Bhīma's relations with the Cāhamānas, epigraphic evidence shows that he had reversed his predecessor's friendly policy towards the Naddūla Cāhamānas. The Sundha Hill inscription of Cācuṅga (V S 1319)⁵ tells us that the Naddūla prince Abhila and his paternal uncle Apabhila defeated the Gurjara king Bhīma I. In the same inscription, the latter's son Bāla-prasāda⁶ is said to have compelled Bhīma to liberate from prison a king named Kṛṣṇarāja. Kielhorn has rightly identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with the Paramāra of that name, who ruled in Abu c 1060-67 A D.⁷ An inscription in the Vimala temple on Mt

¹ *RI* Vol. I, pp. 235 and 238, V 19. See also *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II p. 866.

² *RI* Vol. I, pp. 297 and 302, V 9.

³ *Ibid* pp. 236 and 238, V 21.

⁴ *Ibid* Vol. II pp. 186 and 192, V 32.

⁵ *RI* Vol. IX pp. 70 ff. See *infra* *DHNI* Vol. II chapter on the Cāhamānas.



⁶ For his Bhīmāla inscriptions, dated in V S 1117 and 1123 see *RI* Vol. I Part I pp. 473-74. See also *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II pp. 911-13.

Abu shows that Abu was ruled by Vimala, the *Dandapati* of Bhīma I, in V.S. 1088 (c 1031 A.D.).¹

But the most important incident in the history of Bhīma which has been omitted by the chroniclers and the inscriptions, is the famous raid of Mahmūd of Ghazni on the temple of Somanātha (mod Somnath) in 1025 A.D. Our earliest Persian source for this expedition, the recently published *Kitāb Zain ul Akhbār*² gives the following account of this expedition. "In Hindūstān, on the shores of the sea, there is a big city called Sūmnāt, which is as sacred to the Hindus as Mecca to the Muslims. In it there are a large number of idols made of gold and silver and the idol *Manāt*, which in the days of the Prophet was taken out of Ka'ba and despatched to India,³ through 'Adan.The way to it was very perilous and dangerous and full of hardships.When Mahmūd arrived near the city and the Samans and the Brāhmans saw him, they began to pray round the idols, and the commander⁴ of that city came out and sitting in a boat with his family and relatives went into the sea and alighted on an island, and he remained there as long as the Muslim army remained in that country. When the Muslim army arrived near the city, its inhabitants closed the gates and began fighting; but after only a few days they opened the gates, and the army of Amīr Mahmūd went in and killed many infidelsMahmūd then ordered the Mu'azzin to go on the top of the *derā* and call the faithful to prayer.... All the idols were broken, burnt and destroyed, and the *Manāt* stone⁵ was

¹ *EI*, Vol IX, p 149 See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 950, fn 1

² According to the editor it was written c 440 A H (1048 A D) Ed. by Muḥammad Nazim, Iranshahr, Berlin, 1928 Muslim historians generally spell 'Somanātha' as Sūmnāt (سومناٹ)

³ This story is also found in *TA* (Trans, p 15) Nizām-ud-Dīn after giving the story says "But it appears from the ancient books of the Brāhmans that this was not so This idol has been the object of adoration of the Brāhmans from the time of Kishan (Krishna) which was four thousand years ago"

⁴ Sālār (سالر).

⁵ Sāng (سنگ)

taken out of its roots and broken to pieces part of it was placed on camels and brought to Ghazni and placed outside the mosque there. There was a treasure under¹ the idols. He carried away that treasure and got a huge amount of wealth, consisting of silver idols and their jewels. From that place Mahmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo,² who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and the Amīr Mahmūd feared lest this great victory might be spoiled. He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and, marching by the way of Mansūra and the bank of the Sindh, went towards Multān. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jatts of Sind. Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multān.³

The next important source in order of time for this expedition is the Arabic *Ta'rikh ul Kāmil*⁴ of Ibn Athīr. This historian tells us that Mahmūd started from Multān with 30,000 horse, besides volunteers "on the 10th Sha'bān (416 A.H., 1025 A.D.) He carried with him provisions (water and corn) on 30,000 camels, as the way from Multān to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. After crossing the desert he captured a fort⁵ full of people, in which place there were wells, and reached Anahilwāra at the beginning of Zu'lqā'da. The chief of Anahilwāra fled hastily, and, abandoning his city, went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Mahmūd pushed on for Sumnāt. After passing through a waterless desert and capturing several forts on his way, he reached Dabalwārah,⁶ two days' journey from Sumnāt. Arriving at Sumnāt on

¹ Zir (زیر)

² (پرویز)

³ Pp. 66-67 of the text. I am indebted for this translation to Dr. Mirza Haidar Ali, Department of Arabic, Lucknow University.

⁴ Written in c. 633 A.H. (1230 A.D.)

⁵ According to BG Vol. I Part I, p. 166 fn. 2, apparently Delwāda near Unā.

Thursday in the middle of Zu'lqa'da, he was desperately resisted by the Hindus for one day, but on the second it was captured with great slaughter, over 50,000 being slain. "After the capture of Sūmnāt, Mahmūd received intelligence that Bhīm, the chief of Anhilwāra, had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Sūmnāt between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place, he questioned some men who were hunting as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little, he might be submerged. Mahmūd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. Thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mansūra." ¹

Neither the *Zam ul-Akhhbā* nor the *Kāmūl* gives details of the route taken by Mahmūd from Multan to reach Somnath. The latter only tells us that he came by way of Anhilvada. The accounts of Nizām ud-Dīn and Khond Amīr,² though interesting in other matters, throw no additional light on the question. The former tells us that Mahmūd after passing the winter of the year 415 A H (1024 A D) at Ghazni, advanced towards Somnath. "When the Sultān reached the city of Naharwāla Patan,³ he found it empty. He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Sūmnāt. When he reached Sūmnāt, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face. After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner. The temples were pulled down and destroyed from their very foundations. The idol Sūmnāt was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghazni, and was placed at the gate of the Jāme' Masjid, and for years it remained there. The Sultān raised his standard

¹ BG, Vol I, Part I, pp 165-68; Elliot, Vol II, p 249. *Kāmūl*, Vol IX, pp 240 ff

² Sometimes spelt as *Khawānd-Amīr*

³ Mod Patan

with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo¹ one of the most powerful of the Rājas of Hindūstān, had to be met on the way, he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned towards Multān by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations *en route*, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship he reached Ghaznīn in the year 417 A H (1026 A D) ²

The *Habīb us-Siyar* of Khond Amīr, however gives us the following account of Mahmūd's march from Multan to Naharwāla ³. We are told that Mahmūd's army which mainly consisted of about 80,000 cavalry, travelled from Multan "by way of the desert". The soldiers were obliged to carry water and forage for many days and in addition the Sultān loaded 20,000 camels with water and provisions. "Having passed that blood thirsty desert they saw on the edge of it several forts filled with fighting men, and abounding with instruments of war but the omnipotent God struck fear into the hearts of the infidels, so that they delivered the forts over without striking a blow. Sultān Mahmūd went from that place towards Naharwāla and he killed and plundered the inhabitants of every city on the road at which he arrived ⁴.

The only authorities who supply us with the names of important stages of Mahmūd's advance from Multan to Anhilvada are the *Ta rikh i Firishta* and *Ta rikh i Alf*. The former relates that "having passed the desert the army reached the city of Ajmeer. The Rāja and the inhabitants abandoned the place. Conceiving the reduction of the fort of Ajmeer would occupy too much time he left it unmolested, and proceeding on

¹ T.A. Trans. p. 15. In the text the name is *پرم دیو*

² A.D. 1026 T.A. Trans. pp. 15-16.

³ Elliot has pointed out that Mir Khond hkhond Amīr sometimes spelt Mir Khāwānd and *Ta rikh i Alf* wrongly read *Bahwāra* Elliot Vol. IV p. 160, fn. 2.

⁴ Elliot Vol. IV pp. 180-81.

his expedition took by assault some smaller forts on the road till at length he arrived at Nehīwāla''¹ It is clear that by the 'Raja of Ajmeer' Firishta meant the Cāhamāna ruler of Śākambhārī. It seems a little strange that Maḥmūd, whose main object was to plunder the treasure of Somnāth, should by his attack on the powerful Cāhamānas' capital unnecessarily incur their hostility. It may be therefore that Firishta was wrong in holding that Maḥmūd followed the Ajmeer route.² It seems to me that the *Ta'rikh-i-Ālfī* is perhaps more correct in representing him as passing through Jaisalmer.³ It is not unlikely that he went through Bahawalpur, crossed the dry bed of the Hakra, passed through Jaisalmer and Mallani, and suddenly appeared before Anhilvada. An attack on the Cāhamānas would have certainly given a warning to the Caulukyas, which would have led to some fighting before the walls of that city before Māhmūd was allowed to pass on his way to Somnath. The fact that all the Muslim authorities are unanimous in asserting that he fought no engagement at or near Anhilvada shows that his strategy was brilliantly successful. By carrying ample water and provisions from Multan to last him for months he was able to cross the *Thar* by its western and less frequented routes, and take the Caulukya king

¹ *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 69

² See Bühler in *IA*, 1897, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff. He also disbelieves Firishta's account. He shows good grounds for believing that Ajmer was not founded till c. 1103-1125 A.D. The *Prithvīrāja-vijaya*, one of the most reliable chronicles on the Cāhamānas' history, distinctly states that it was Ajayarāja the father of Arjorāja (1139 A.D.) who built the *Ajaya-meru* (Ajmer). See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas.

³ *Elliot*, Vol. IV, p. 180, fn. 2. Since the above was written my attention has been drawn to the summary of a paper by Muḥammad Nāzīm on the Somnath expedition of Maḥmūd. He refers to a *qaṣīda* of Farrūkhī (one of the court poets of Maḥmūd) which tells us that Maḥmūd on his way to Somnath passed by Ludrava, Chikdūr (?), Naharwāla and Dewalwāra. Nāzīm identifies 'Ludrava' with modern Ludorva, about 10 miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmer, Chikdūr with Chiklodar Mata's Hill, 17 miles north of Pālanpur, Mundher is about 8 miles south of Patan, and Dewalwāra is mod. Delwada between Una and the island of Diu, *JRAS*, 1928, pp. 235-36. Nāzīm also rejects Firishta and appears to have formed conclusions similar to mine on Maḥmūd's route. See also Nāzīm's recently published *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 1' 1' pp. 215 ff.

completely by surprise. Finding resistance hopeless, the king must have evacuated the city, but once Mahmūd had passed on his way, he found time not only to organise measures for the defence of the city, but took steps which greatly increased the difficulties of the Yamīni raider.

The next difficulty that presents itself about this invasion is the name of the king of Anhilvada at the time of this invasion. According to Abu'l Faḥl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, the contemporary ruler was Camuṇḍa. According to Gardīzi and Niḡām ud Dīn it was 'Param Deo'. The published lithographed editions of *Ta'rikh-i-Firishṭa* also supply the same name.¹ But in his translation of this work Briggs gives the name as 'Brahma Dew'.² Ibn Athīr however supplies the name 'Bhīm', and there is no doubt that as usual,³ he has preserved the king's correct name. We have already seen that it was Bhīma (I) who was on the throne of Anhilvada from c. 1022-64 A.D.

According to the *Zain ul Akhbār*, when Mahmūd appeared before the gates of Somnath, the local commander left the city and took shelter in a boat on the sea. The defence was mainly organised by the priests.⁴ The Muslim accounts leave no doubt that the temple priests resisted the invader with the courage of despair. Thus Khond Amir tells us: "The army of Ghaznī full of bravery, having gone to the foot of the fort brought down the Hindus from the tops of the ramparts with points of eye-destroying arrows, and having placed scaling ladders, they began to ascend with loud cries of *Allāh-u Akbar*. The Hindus offered resistance, and on that day, from the time that the sun entered upon the fort of the turquoise-coloured sky, until the time that the stars of the bedchambers of heaven were

¹ See Lucknow Ed. 1864 p. 33; Bombay Ed. 1831 Vol. I p. 57.

² Vol. I p. 74. See also *ibid.* p. 170. The prince Bhīm Dew (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Gujerat, who opposed Mahmūd Ghiznevi).

See *supra* DHNI Vol. I chapter on the *Later Gujara-Pratihāras* pp. 603-606; *ibid.* Vol. II chapter on the *Candellāras* (Candellas) — Nandā and Biddā pp. 683 ff.

Senans and Brāhmans see above p. 983.

conspicuous, did the battle rage between the two parties. When the darkness of night prevented the light of the eye from seeing the bodies of men, the army of the faithful returned to their quarters. The next day having returned to the strife, and having finished bringing into play the weapons of warfare, they vanquished the Hindus. Those ignorant men ran in crowds to the idol temple, embraced Sūmnāt, and came out again to fight until they were killed. Fifty thousand infidels were killed round about the temple, and the rest who escaped from the sword embarked in ships and fled away.”¹

According to Firishta, the struggle for the fortified temple went on for 3 days. “The labours of the second day proved even more unsuccessful than those of the first. . . As fast as the besiegers scaled the walls, so fast were they hurled down headlong by the besieged who now seemed resolved to defend the place to the last. On the third day an army of idolators having arrived to reinforce the garrison, presented itself in order of battle in sight of the Ghizny camp. Mahmood determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege and having ordered a party to keep the garrison in check, himself engaged the enemy in the field. The battle raged with great fury; victory was long doubtful, till two Indian princes, Brahma Dew and Dabishleem, with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action, and inspired them with fresh courage. Mahmood at this moment perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself before God, implored his assistance. Then mounting again, he took Abool Hussun, the Circassian² by the hand, by way of encouragement, and advanced on the enemy. At the same time he cheered his troops with such energy, that ashamed to abandon their king with whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord gave a loud shout and rushed forward. In this charge the Moslems broke through the

¹ *Elliot*, Vol IV, p 182.

² One of his generals.

enemy's line and laid 5,000 Hindus dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Sūmnāt, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4,000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Serendeeep or Ceylon.¹

According to all accounts Mahmūd gained much treasure,² by plundering the temple. According to the *Zainul Akhbār* the treasure was found *under* (zīr) the idols. Probably it was buried in the raised platform (*vedi*) on which the images were set up. The romantic story first found in the *Ta'rikh*: *Alfi* and later repeated by Firishta, in which Mahmud is said to have refused the offer of gold by the Brāhmins to spare the idol of Somnath, and breaking open with a single blow of his mace 'the belly of Sūmnāt which was hollow was rewarded by the discovery of "diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brāhmins had offered, has been rightly rejected as impossible." It seems very likely that the idol of Somnath was a 'solid unsculptured *linga*, and not a statue. This is supported by the fact that Abu Sa'īd 'Abd ul Ḥayy b. aḍ Ḍaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd al Gardīzī our earliest authority on the invasion described the god as a stone (سنگ). Ibn Athīr also distinctly says that the idol 'had no appearance of being sculptured.' It is significant that we have no trace of

¹ *TF Briggs Trans.* Vol. I pp 70-71

² According to Ibn Athīr the treasure found in the temple was more than twenty million (twenty thousand thousand) *dīnārs*. *Kāmil* IX, p. 243. But *BG* (Vol. I Part I, p. 167) gives the figure as two millions. Mir Khond (*Rawdat us-Sajdah* Nawal Kishor Ed. Vol. IV p. 43) gives the figure as 20,000 gold *dirhams*. Nāḡim has calculated the value of the total spoils as £10,500,000. According to Khond Amīr Maḥmūd obtained more than 20,000 (thousand ?) *dīnārs* from the idol temple of Somnāth. He adds that this big sum was obtained because the 56 pillars which supported the roof of the temple were all adorned with precious jewels. *Elliot*, Vol. IV pp 182-83. see also *ibid* fn. 3 on p. 183.

³ *MG* p. 53; see also fn. 37 *CHI* Vol. III p. 25.

⁴ Khond Amīr says that the name of the idol of Somnāt was *Lāt*. (*Elliot*, Vol. IV p. 181.) It was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards of which three yards were visible and two yards were concealed in the ground.

⁵ *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 167. Its height was 5 cubits and its girth 3 cubits; 2 cubits were hidden in the basement.

this dramatic story in any authority till about 600 years after Maḥmūd.

According to Ibn Athīr Maḥmūd after plundering the temple drove away Bhīma, the chief of Anhilwāra, from the fort of Kandahat,¹ and then proceeded on his way to Mansūra. But the *Zam ul-Ākhbār*, our earliest authority on the subject, tells us that from Somnath Maḥmūd took a guide and marched direct by way of Mansūra. The reason for this course was that Param (Bhīma?)² Deo, the king of the Hindus was 'in the way.' This statement is also found in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Ākhbārī*. According to these authorities, therefore, Maḥmūd did not return by way Anhilwāda, because he wanted to avoid a conflict with Bhīma, 'the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindūstān.' It is therefore doubtful whether Ibn Athīr was right in making Bhīma the opponent of Maḥmūd at Kandahat. Our suspicion seems to be confirmed by the statement of Khond Amīr, who tells us that after the glorious victory at Somnath, Maḥmūd 'reduced a fort in which the governor of Naharwāla had taken refuge'³. Firishta states that the relieving force which nearly snatched the fruits of victory from Maḥmūd in the battle of the temple was sent by Param⁴ (Bhīma) Deo, the Rāja of Naharwāla. This king, we are told, "had cut off above 3,000 of the faithful," and "after the taking of Somnāth, instead of proceeding to Nehrwāla shut himself in the fort of Gundaba."⁵ It is clear that Firishta means that Bhīma was

¹ Identified by Sir Wolseley Haig with the mod. island of Beyt Shankhodhar, an islet at the N W corner of Kathiawar, see *CHI*, Vol III, p 25 and fn 1. Firishta gives the name of the fort as 'Gundaba'. Briggs' Trans, Vol I, p 74. Bühler identified it with Kanthkot in East Outch, Col Watson preferred Gāndhvi on "Kathiavādā coast a few miles N E of Miāni" while Dr Weil favoured Gandhār in Broach, in the mouth of the Dhādhar river, Elliot preferred Khandadār at the N W angle of Kathiawar. None of these suggestions are free from difficulties. See *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 167, fn. 4. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp 185-86. But I prefer Bühler's identification, see *DHNI*, Vol II, p 938 and fn 6.

² It is almost certain that *Param* is a mistake for *Bhīm*. The stages of corruption in MSS may have been as follows

بیم - بيم - پيم

³ *Elliot*, Vol IV, p 183

⁴ In Briggs' Trans. 'Brahma,' Vol I, p 74

⁵ Certainly the 'Kandahat' of Ibn Athīr

enemy's line and laid 5,000 Hindus dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Sāmnāt, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4,000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Serendeeep or Ceylon.¹

According to all accounts Mahmūd gained much treasure,² by plundering the temple. According to the *Zainul Akhbār* the treasure was found *under* (zīr) the idols. Probably it was buried in the raised platform (*vedi*) on which the images were set up. The romantic story first found in the *Ta rīkh-i Alfi* and later repeated by Firishta, in which Mahmūd is said to have refused the offer of gold by the Brāhmins to spare the idol of Somnath, and breaking open with a single blow of his mace 'the belly of Sāmnāt which was hollow' was rewarded by the discovery of "diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brāhmins had offered, has been rightly rejected as impossible." It seems very likely that the idol of Somnath was a 'solid unsculptured *linga* and not a statue. This is supported by the fact that Abu Sa'īd Abd ul Ḥayy b aḍ Ḍaḥḥāk b Mahmūd al Gardīzī our earliest authority on the invasion described the god as a stone (سنگ). Ibn Athīr also distinctly says that the idol 'had no appearance of being sculptured.' It is significant that we have no trace of

¹ *TF Briggs Trans.* Vol I, pp. 70-71.

² According to Ibn Athīr the treasure found in the temple was more than twenty million (twenty thousand thousand) *dirhams*. *Kāmil* IX p. 213. But *BO* (Vol I Part I p. 167) gives the figure as two millions. Mir Khond (*Resalat us-Safā* Nawal Kishor Ed. Vol IV p. 13) gives the figure as 20,000 gold *dirhams*. Nāṣim has calculated the value of the total spoils as £10,500,000. According to Khond Amīr Mahmūd obtained more than 20,000 (thousand ?) *dirhams* from the idol temple of Somnāth. He adds that this big sum was obtained because the 85 pillars which supported the roof of the temple were all adorned with precious jewels. *Elliot* Vol IV pp 182-83 see also *ibid* fn. 3 on p. 182.

³ *MO* p 53; see also fn. 37; *CHI* Vol. III p. 25.

⁴ Khond Amīr says that the name of the idol of Somnāt was *Lāt*. (*Elliot* Vol IV p. 181) It was an idol cut out of stone whose height was five yards of which three yards were visible and two yards were concealed in the ground.

⁵ *BO* Vol. I Part I p. 167 Its height was 5 cubits and its girth 3 cubits; 2 cubits were hidden in the basement.

this dramatic story in any authority till about 600 years after Maḥmūd.

According to Ibn Athīr Maḥmūd after plundering the temple drove away Bhīma, the chief of Anhilwāra, from the fort of Kandahat,¹ and then proceeded on his way to Mansūra. But the *Zam ul-Akhbār*, our earliest authority on the subject, tells us that from Somnath Maḥmūd took a guide and marched direct by way of Mansūra. The reason for this course was that Param (Bhīma?)² Deo, the king of the Hindus was 'in the way'. This statement is also found in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. According to these authorities, therefore, Maḥmūd did not return by way Anhilwāda, because he wanted to avoid a conflict with Bhīma, 'the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindūstān.' It is therefore doubtful whether Ibn Athīr was right in making Bhīma the opponent of Maḥmūd at Kandahat. Our suspicion seems to be confirmed by the statement of Khond Amīn, who tells us that after the glorious victory at Somnath, Maḥmūd 'reduced a fort in which the governor of Naharwāla had taken refuge.'³ Firishta states that the relieving force which nearly snatched the fruits of victory from Maḥmūd in the battle of the temple was sent by Param⁴ (Bhīma) Deo, the Rāja of Naharwāla. This king, we are told, "had cut off above 3,000 of the faithful," and "after the taking of Somnāth, instead of proceeding to Nehrwāla shut himself in the fort of Gundaba"⁵. It is clear that Firishta means that Bhīma was

¹ Identified by Sir Wolsley Haig with the mod. island of Beyt Shankhodhar, an islet at the N W corner of Kathiawar, see *CHI*, Vol III, p 25 and fn 1. Firishta gives the name of the fort as 'Gundaba'. Briggs' Trans., Vol I, p 74. Bühler identified it with Kanthkot in East Outch, Col. Watson preferred Gāndhvi on "Kathavādā coast a few miles N E of Mīāni" while Dr. Weil favoured Gandhār in Broach, in the mouth of the Dhādhar river. Elliot preferred Khandadār at the N W angle of Kathiawar. None of these suggestions are free from difficulties. See *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p. 167, fn. 4. *IA*, Vol. VI, pp 185-86. But I prefer Bühler's identification, see *DHNI*, Vol II, p 938 and fn 6.

² It is almost certain that *Param* is a mistake for *Bhīm*. The stages of corruption in MSS. may have been as follows

भृ - भृ - भृ

³ Elliot, Vol IV, p 183

⁴ In Briggs' Trans. 'Brahma,' Vol I, p 74.

⁵ Certainly the 'Kandahat' of Ibn Athīr.

present in the battle, in which he is said to have caused such havoc on the Muslims. This is confirmed by his statement that when the battle was raging "two Indian princes Param¹ (Bhīma) Deo and Dabishleem with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action." The statement of Firishta that Bhīma personally fought at Somnath does not find support from any existing authority. Evidently there is a confusion in the Muslim tradition about the details of this episode. I am however disposed to believe that Mahmūd, in his anxiety to avoid Bhīma's armies in the neighbourhood of Anhilvada, avoided that route, and with the assistance of guides tried to find out a shorter and less frequented road to Sind.² During these movements he defeated, as Khond Amīr says, a section of Bhīma's army, which may have been sent from Anhilvada to Cutch to block that line of retreat.

Mahmūd's invasion had no permanent effect on the history of Gujarat.³ The Mundaka and Radhanpur grants show that Bhīma was in safe possession of his capital Anhilvada. He had at least 3 queens, viz., Udayamatī, Cakulādevī,⁴ and another. By the first he had a son named Karṇa, while the second, who was probably of low origin, was the mother of Kṣemarāja.⁵ He had another son named Mūlarāja. Of these Karṇa appears to have been the youngest. According to the *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* Mūlarāja died in the lifetime of his father

¹ In Briggs Trans. *Brahma*, *ibid* p. 70.

² Bühler suggested that Mahmūd marched through the northern part of the Rann and Thar Parkar; *JA* Vol. VI p. 186.

³ I omit here the fantastic stories about the two Dabihillins who figure in later Muslim chronicles in connection with Mahmūd's arrangements for the government of Somnath. For these see Elliot Vol. II pp. 500-04; Vol. IV pp. 183-86; *TF* Briggs Trans. Vol. I pp. 76-80. All the earlier authorities are agreed that Mahmūd after plundering Somnath beat a hasty retreat with his spoils. See also *BG* Vol. I Pt. I p. 108.

⁴ Or Cakulādevī *PO* p. 116. The *Ras* (Vol. I p. 96) and the *BG* (Vol. I Part I p. 109) gives the name as Bakulādevī.

⁵ This name is given by the *Kumārāpāla-carita* (I. 35-36). But the *PO* (p. 116) gives the name as Haripāla. According to Marutsūga, Cakulādevī the mother of Haripāla was once a beautiful actress; *ibid*

and the latter built a 'temple called Tripuruṣaprasāda, for the welfare of the prince.'¹ According to the *Dvyāśīya*, the throne was then offered to Kṣemarāja. But the latter refused to accept it, and induced his father to crown Karna. After Bhīma's death, Kṣemarāja retired to Muṇḍikeśvara, near the village of Dahīsthala (or Dadhīsthala), on the banks of the Sarasvatī, to perform penances. This village of Dahīsthala was granted 'to Kumāra Devaprasāda that he might attend upon his father Kṣemarāja in his penances there.'² It is extremely doubtful whether Karna's succession to the throne was really effected in this peaceful way. The sudden death of Mūlarāja, and the strange tendency of the young prince Kṣemarāja for penances may have been due to more forcible reasons. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* the coronation of Karna took place in V.S. 1120 (c. 1064 A.D.) in the month of Caitra, and he ruled till the year 1150 V.S. (c. 1094 A.D.) covering a period of 29 years 8 months and 21 days.³ The *Theiāvalī* of Merutuṅga assigns him 30 years, from V.S. 1120 to 1150.⁴ Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muhammad Khān assign to him a reign of 31 years.⁵ As there is an approximate agreement amongst all these authorities, we may accept the detailed statement of Merutunga and place Karna in the period c. 1164-94 A.D. His long reign of 30 years appears to have been comparatively uneventful. The only inscription so far discovered for it is his *Sunak grant*. This was discovered at Sunak, 'a village 15 miles east-south-east from Pattan, N. Gujarat, and about 5 miles west of Uñjha railway station.' It contains 23 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date V.S. 1148 (A.D. 1091), and records that *M - Trailokyamalla-Karṇadeva* from Anahilapāṭaka, after worshipping (Śiva), the lord of Bhavānī on the occasion of a

¹ *PG*, pp 77-78.

² *IA*, Vol. IV, p 233

³ *PG*, pp 78-81

⁴ *JBRAS*, Vol IX, p 155

⁵ *MA*, Trans, p 143, *BHG*, p 27, *AAK*, Vol. II, p 260.

lunar eclipse, granted four ploughs of land requiring 12 *pālām*¹ of seed corn in Laghu Dābhī,² situated in 'a division of 126 villages the chief of which was Ānandapura.'³ From the income of this grant a tank which the Rasovika (?) *Thakkura Mahā deva* caused to be constructed in the village of Sūnaka⁴ was to be maintained. The grant was written by *Akṣapātālīka Kekkaka*, son of the *Kāyastha Vateśvara*. The *Dātaka* was *Mahāsandhivigraha* *Oahila*.⁵

According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Karna undertook a successful expedition against a Bhilla named Āśā dwelling at Āśāpallī,⁶ who was king of over six lakhs.⁷ Having captured Āśāpallī he built there a temple to the goddess called Kocharaba. He also erected a temple to the goddess Jayantī, and the temple of Karṇeśvara which was adorned with a lake called Karṇa sāgara. He founded the city of Karṇāvati in which he reigned and in Pattana he built the temple of Karṇameru.⁸ A Chitorgadh inscription of the time of Kumārapāla credits him with a victory over the Mālavas at the Sudakūpa mountain pass.⁹ In spite of these accounts of his wars and his temple-building activities, the chronicles do not give us the impression that Karna was a very powerful prince, and the tradition preserved in the *Hamnira Mahākāvya* of Nayaacandra that he was killed by the Cāhamūna Duśśala may therefore have some foundation in fact.¹⁰ If the

¹ One *pālām* = 4 seers.

² Little Dābhī. Mod. Dabhi about 1 mile SW of Sunak. *EI* Vol. I p. 816. The village of Sarpāra which lay to the south west of Dābhī is mod. Sanderā, 8 miles SW by W of Dabhi.

³ Mod. Vadnagar in N. Gujarat. *Ibid*.

⁴ Identical with the find-spot of the grant.

⁵ Edited by Hultzsch. *EI* Vol. I, pp. 316-18. Another date V S. 1145 (A.D. 1099) for his reign is recorded in a MS. See Kielhorn's *Rep. on Sans. MSS. for 1881* p. 22; *BG* Vol. I, Part I p. 171.

⁶ Identified with mod. Asval near Ahmedabad. *Res.* Vol. I p. 103.

⁷ Of men or villages?

⁸ *PG* p. 80.

⁹ *EI* Vol. XA p. 209 No. 16-22.

¹⁰ *IA* Vol. VIII p. 59. Duśśala was 6th in descent from Vighraharāja the enemy of Mularāja, from whom Karna was 6th in descent; *BG* Vol. I Part I p. 171 fn. 1.

Sundha Hill inscription of Cācigadeva, dated in V.S. 1319 is to be believed he was also defeated by the Naddūla Cāhamāna Prthvīpāla.¹

According to the chronicles Karna was succeeded in V S 1150 (A D. 1094) by Jayasimha Siddharāja, his son by Mayanalladevī,² the daughter of the Goa Kadamba Jayakeśin (A D. 1052).³

The following records have so far been discovered for Jayasimha's reign .

(1) *Atru stone pillar inscription* —Found in the Gadgaccha temple at Atru about 14 miles from Sirod and in the same *tahsil*, in Kotah State, Rajputana It contains only 6 lines opening with the name of M -Jayasimhadeva, and then recording the grant of Mhaisadā-gṛāma to Mahākavi-Cakravartī-*Thak-lua-Nārāyana* It ends with the date (Simha) *Sam.* 14 (c. 1127-28 A D)⁴

(2) *Bhinmal inscription*.—Found in Bhinmal, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in (V.) *Sam.* 1186 in the reign of (Jayasimha) Siddharāja.⁵

(3) *Gala stone-inscription (v)* —Found in a temple on the west bank of the rivulet named Candra-bhāgā, equidistant from the villages of Gala and Duadpu which are about 8 miles from Dhrangadra, in Jhalawar, NE Kathiawar. The inscription, which is damaged, contains 5 lines. It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1193 (c. A D. 1136), in the reign of Mahā.. (Si)ddha-Cakravartī Avantīnātha-Jayasimhadeva. The object is to record the erection of a temple to the goddess *Bhattārikā* with a shrine

¹ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 72 and 76, V 22

² For the stories of her marriage, see *PC*, pp 79 80, *IA*, Vol IV, pp 233-34 According to Merutunga she was ugly, and according to Hemacandra extremely beautiful

³ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 170, fn 5

⁴ The text is given in *ASI*, WC, 1905-06, pp 56-57 I accept the suggestion made (*ibid*, p 67), that the record probably belongs to Jayasimha of Anahilvad and that the era therefore is the (Simha) era instituted by him For the location of Atru, see *ibid*, 1904-05, pp 47-48

⁵ Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, *ASI*, WC, 1907-08, p 38

of *Ganeśa* by certain persons (apparently related to the *Vyaya-karaṇe Mahāmātya* (treasury officer?) *Ambaprasāda* ¹

(4) *Gala inscription* (u) —Dated in (V) S 1193 in the time of *Siddharāja Jayasimha* ²

(5) *Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription* —This was 'but a fragment and was lying in the compound of the local Municipality' It opens with the date Thursday, the 14th of the dark half of Jyestha of V S 1195 (c 1138 A.D.) and refers itself to the reign of *Tribhuvana-gaṇḍa Siddha-Cakravartī Avantinātha Varvaraka ṛṣṇu-Jayasimhadeva*, who resided at *Anahilapātaka*. The inscription then tells us that *Jayasimha* was holding *Avanti-maṇḍala* after vanquishing the *Mālava* king *Yaśovarman*. *Mālava* was ruled at this time by *Mahādeva*, son of *Dāḍāka* of the *Nāgara* race. The *Mahattama Dāḍāka* was the keeper of the seal at *Anahilapātaka* ³

(4) *Bhadreswar inscription* —This fragmentary inscription was found at 'Ohokanda Mahādeva, near Bhadrēśvar, Kachh'. It is dated in V S 1195 (A D 1138) in the reign of *M P Siddha-Ohakravartī-Trailokyamalla Jayasimhadeva* ⁴

(5) *Dohad stone pillar inscription* —Contains 13 lines, carved on a stone pillar, lying close to the sluice of a tank at *Dohad* in the *Panch Mahāls*. The inscription opens with *Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya*. Then comes the name of *Jayasimhadeva* the ruler of *Gūrjara maṇḍala*, who threw into prison the lords of *Surāṣṭra* and *Mālava*, he who destroyed other kings, as *Sindhurāja* and others, and made the kings of the North bear his commands (respectfully) on their heads like *Seṣa*, he whose *rājadhānī* was *Anahila pātaka*. Then we are told that from him the *Vāhinī pati* *Keśava* obtained a commission as *Senāpati*.

¹ Edited by B V Acharya, *JBRAS* Vol. XXV 1917 21, pp. 322-24.

² Referred to by *Diakalkar Annual Report Watson Museum Rajkot* 1922-23, p. 7; *EI* Vol XIX Appendix p 37 No. 237

³ Noticed in *ASI* WO 1921, pp. 54-55

⁴ Noticed by *Burgess, Archaeological Survey of W India* No. 2 Appendix pp. xiii

over Dadhīpadra and other *mandālas*. 'The...*mantri* appointed by him at Dadhīpadra established the temple of Goga-Nārāyana, for the good of his mother,' in V.S 1196 (c. 1140 A.D.).¹

(6) *Taluara image-inscription*—Found in Talwara in the Banswara State in South Rajputana; incised on the pedestal of an image of Ganapati. It traces the genealogy of Siddharāja-Jayasimha from Bhīma. We are told that Jayasimha 'humbled the pride of Naravarman, crushed Paramardi and founded a temple of Gaṇanātha.' The date is defaced.²

(7) *Udayapur stone-inscription*.—Contains 12 lines, incised outside the entrance of the great temple in the town of Udayapur, in Gwalior State. It is dated in the victorious reign of Jayasimha.³

(8) *Bali stone-inscription*.—Found at Bali, in Jodhpur State. It contains 6 lines. It opens with the date (V.) *Samvat* 1200 in the reign of M.-Jayasimhadeva, and then mentions the (Marwar Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja Āśvaka* as his feudatory. It records the grant of four *dharmas* by Bopaṇava-Stambhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahugr̥nā.⁴

(9) *Sambhar stone-inscription*.—'Found fixed in a well known as Umar shāh-kā-kuan at Sambhar in Jaipur State in Rajputana. It is engraved on two blank stone slabs and contains 28 lines of which the last 14 lines are more or less damaged. The record opens with an invocation to the goddess Sarasvatī and some other gods and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Jayasimha. It states that after

¹ Edited by H. H. Dhruva, *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 158-60. In the opinion of some scholars (*EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 89, No. 250), a Kirāḍi inscription of Kumārāpāla supplies the date V.S. 1198 (?) for this reign. On this date the local Paramāra prince of Kirāṭakūpa is said to have recovered his lost kingdom through the help of the (Caulukya) Jayasimha Siddharāja. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 926.

² Noticed in *RMR*, 1915, p. 2. The date, though defaced, 'falls between *Samvat* 1161 and 1195' (A.D. 1104-1139).

³ Noticed by Kielhorn from an imperfect paper-rubbing in *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 341.

⁴ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33. *Āśvaka* is the same as *Āśvārāja* and *Aśvarāja*.

the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the crest of the earth in this dynasty. From the provenance of the inscription as well as the fact that 'Sambhar' is actually mentioned in the inscription, it is possible to conclude that Jayasinha actually held Sambhar for some time.¹

* These inscriptions range from c. 1127 to 1143 A.D. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, Jayasinha's reign extended over a period of 49 years, V.S. 1150-1199 (c. 1094-1143 A.D.).² This agrees with the period assigned in the *Therāvāḍi* of the same author.³ The *Ā'in-i-Akbari* and the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* allot him a period of 50 years.⁴ The Balī stone-inscription, dated in V.S. 1200 seems to support the Muslim tradition. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, he ascended the throne when he was still very young, and the power in the state appears to have fallen into the hands of his mother, the dowager queen Mayapalladevi.⁵ It is not therefore unlikely, as Bhagvanlal has suggested, that the circumstances that led to the coronation of Jayasinha were attended with violence and court intrigue.⁶ The unusual sorrow of Devaprasāda which led him to burn himself alive to follow Karṇa⁷ and the violent death of Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamatī, Karṇa's mother,⁸ may be connected with intrigues and struggles for the succession. Merutuṅga seems to indicate that one of the most important acts of the queen mother Mayapalladevi was the abolition of the tax at Bāhuloḍa,⁹ on the pilgrims going to

¹ Edited by Bhaṣaswar Nath Rao, *JA* 1929 pp. 234-36. The inscription is now in the Sardar Museum Jodhpur.

² *PC* pp. 80 and 115.

³ *JBRAS* Vol. IX, p. 155.

⁴ *AAK* Vol. II, p. 200; *MA Trans.* p. 143 *BHO* p. 27.

⁵ *PC* pp. 80 ff.

⁶ *BO* Vol. I Part I pp. 171-72.

⁷ *Dryāśraya JA* Vol. IV p. 235.

⁸ *PC* pp. 81-82.

⁹ 'Apparently mod. Bholade on the Gujarat-Kathiawad frontier about 23 miles SW of Dholka, in the Ahmedabad District: *BO* Vol. I Part I p. 172.

Somnath According to him the tax yielded seventy-two lakhs to the royal treasury.¹

Jayasimha was a great warrior. The provenance of the inscriptions, which come from the States of Kotah, Banswara, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Dhrangadra, Cutch, the Panch Mahals, and Ujjain show that his dominions must have extended over large portions of Central India and Rajputana, besides Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.² According to the chroniclers, one of his earliest wars was against the Ābhīra rulers of Saurāṣṭra. According to Merutuṅga, the Ābhīra ruler Navaghana³ had advanced from Girnar, and having defeated the Caulukya armies eleven times, 'had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna⁴ and other cities.' Jayasimha personally marched against him and after killing Navaghana appointed Sajjana as his *Dandādhipati* 'to superintend the affairs of Saurāṣṭra.'⁵ Merutunga's account of the conquest of Saurāṣṭra is confirmed by the Dohad inscription, noticed above, which tells us that Jayasimha imprisoned the prince of that country. Bhagvanlal Indraji drew attention to an inscription of Sajjana in the temple of Neminātha at Girnar, dated in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120)⁶

Jayasimha's next war was against his western neighbours, the rulers of Mālava. According to Merutuṅga Yaśovarman, king of Mālava, invaded and overran Gujarat, when Jayasimha was absent from his capital, on a pilgrimage to Someśvara. The minister Sāntu, who was left in charge, was compelled to wash the feet of the Paramāra king and throw 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water' as a sign of the transference

¹ PC, p 84.

² A Kīradu inscription states that Udayarāja, the local Paramāra chief fought for Jayasimha in Coda, Gauda, Karnāta and Mālava; see *ante*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Paramāras, p 926

³ Alias Khengāra, PC, p 95 See DHNI, Vol II, *supra*, fn 2 on p. 941. Navaghana was certainly connected with Grāharipu, the enemy of Mūlarāja

⁴ Mod Wadhwan in Jhalawar

⁵ PC, 95-96

⁶ BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp 176-77.

of the spiritual merit which his master had gained by his pilgrimage to Somnath. The angry Caulukya king, when he returned, waged incessant wars for 12 years and in the end stormed Dhārā, imprisoned Yaśovarman and led him in triumph to Pattana.¹ According to the *Dryāśraya* Jayasimha advanced on Ujjain 'by daily stages of eight *kos*, entered it, and 'seizing Yaśovarman, imprisoned him and brought all Avantideśa with Dhārā under subjection to himself. Afterwards Jayasimha seized and imprisoned a raja of that country near to Ujjain named Sim and several other Rajas. Some of them he caged like birds, some he chained by the neck like cattle, or by legs like horses'.² The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that Jayasimha destroyed Dhārā and killed Naravarman.³ The *Vasanta vilāsa* contains the statement that Jayasimha brought from Ujjayinī *Yogmī pīṭha*⁴ and defeated and imprisoned the lord of Dhārā 'like a *suka* bird in a cage'.⁵ The substantial accuracy of these statements of the chroniclers seems to be proved by epigraphic evidence. The epithet *Avantinātha*, which first appears in the Gala inscription (A D 1137), seems to have been accepted as a regular title by Jayasimha. The Talwara inscription informs us that Jayasimha humbled the pride of Naravarman while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava. The statement of the Dohad inscription is supported by the Vadnagar *prastāva* of Kumārapāla which also states that Jayasimha "fettered the proud king of Mālava".⁶ The Talwara the Udaipur, and above all the fragmentary Ujjain inscriptions testify to the accuracy

¹ *PC* pp. 85 ff.

² *IA* Vol. IV p. 260. Before the declaration of war Jayasimha vowed to 'engage Yaśovarman like a parrot.

³ *Nirṇayaśagar* Press Ed. Bombay 1926 V. 41.

⁴ For stories about Jayasimha's relations with Kālīkā and other *logas* of Ujjain see *Dryāśraya*, *IA* p. 266. The *logas* are said to have fought against the Caulukya ruler when he attacked Ujjain.

⁵ *Gackwad Oriental Series* No. VII, 1917 III 23-23

⁶ *EI* Vol. I pp. 293 ff. V 11.

of the epigraphic and literary tradition. As both Naravarman (c 1097-1111 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (c 1134-42 A D) were contemporaries of Jayasimha (c. 1094-1143 A D) it seems quite probable that both of them lost their lives in the protracted struggle which lasted for about 12 years.¹ Buhler has already pointed out that in the 12th century, as now, one of the great routes from Gujarat into Malwa passed through the Panch Mahals. The appointment of *Senāpati* Keśava in Dohad shows that Jayasimha was well aware of the strategic importance of this route in his wars with the Paramāras, and was determined to hold this high-road to Dhārā and Mandu for the free movement of his own troops.² According to Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga, Jayasimha was assisted in the campaigns in Mālava by the Naddūla Cāhamāna Āśārāja.³

The virtual annexation of the Paramāra territories in Mālwa and Southern Rajputana brought Jayasimha into touch with the Candellas, the Kalacuris, and probably the Gaharwais. The *Kumārāpāla-carita* claims that Jayasimha defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka⁴ (c 1129-63 A D) According to the *Kṛtīkaumudī*, he went from Dhārā to Kālāñjara⁵ As I have already suggested elsewhere, it appears from the chronicles that Jayasimha did not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas.⁶ But the authenticity of the statements of these chronicles about this war seems to be proved by a Kālāñjar stone-inscription which refers to a victory of Madanavarman over the Gurjara king.⁷ The *Prabandha-cintāmani*

¹ See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp 883 ff

² *IA*, Vol X, pp 161-62

³ *EI*, Vol. IX, pp 72 and 76, V 26 ff, see above, p 967, inscription No 8 A reference to Jayasimha's conflict with the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa is possibly contained in the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V S 1166) His father Cāmuṇḍarāja (c 1080-1102 A D) is said to have defeated a king of Avanti in the Sthālī (Vāgaḍa) country, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 923, fn 4

⁴ *I*, 42

⁵ See above, *DHNI*, Vol II, pp 710-11, see also *BG*, Vol I, Part I, pp 178-79

⁶ See above, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp 710, also p 710, fn 4

⁷ *Ibid*; a similar statement also occurs in *Prthvīrāja-Raso* See *IA*, 1098, p 144

informs us that the 'king of the country of Dāhala' wrote to Jayasinha 'a letter of alliance, and that the latter maintained diplomatic relations with 'Jayacandra, 'king of Benares'.¹ This king of Dāhala was probably the Kalacuri Yaśah Karṇa (c 1078-1125 A D). But the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king 'Jayacandra' (c 1170-93 A D) given by Merutuṅga appears to be a mistake for Govindacandra (c 1114-55 A D).²

The Dohad and the Talwara inscriptions seem to contain references to two other wars of Jayasinha. The former tells us that he 'destroyed Sindhurāja and others and made the kings of the north bear his commands on their heads like Śeṣa'.³ Though it is difficult to find the name of this ruler of Sind, he is without doubt one of the Sumra chiefs who ruled at Maṇṣūra from c 1025 to 1362 A D.⁴ In fighting with the rulers of Sind, Jayasinha was merely following a policy which was laid down by the founder of his dynasty nearly a century before his time.⁵ His other war appears to have been against a ruler named Paramardī. The Talwara epigraph states that he 'crushed Paramardī'. This Paramardī must be differentiated from the Candella Paramardī, who ruled c 1167 to 1202 A D.⁶ I would suggest the identity of this prince with the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇi (c 1055 to 1126 A D), who was also known as Paramardideva.⁷

According to the chronicles there was yet another struggle in which Jayasinha was involved. This was waged against a prince named Barbaraka.⁸ According to the *Doyātraya*

¹ PC pp. 94 and 112. Jayacandra is apparently Jayacandra of the inscriptions. See DHNI Vol. I, pp. 536 ff.

² See above DHNI Vol. I pp. 515 ff.

³ The *Kirtikāśavardī* also mentions the bunding of the lord of Sindhu. BG Vol. I Part I, p. 179.

⁴ See above, DHNI Vol. I pp. 29 ff.

⁵ See above DHNI Vol. II, p. 942.

⁶ This identification is suggested in RMR 1915 p. 2. For the Candella Paramardī see DHNI Vol. II pp. 713 ff.

⁷ See BG Vol. I Part II p. 515. The inscription (No. 9) may indicate that Jayasinha also defeated the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari and for some time at least occupied their capital.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Part I pp. 174-75 and fn. 1 on p. 174.

this chief was assisted by the younger brother of 'the Rāja of Aṇṭardhanadeśa.' As the followers of Barbaraka are described by Hemacandra as *Rāksasas*,¹ who troubled the Brāhman sages at Śrīsthala-tīrtha (Siddhapur) he may have been a leader of some non-Aryan tribe. According to Bhagvanlal, the modern representatives of this tribe 'are the Bābarias, settled in South Kathiawar, in the province still known as Bābariāvāda.'² Hemacandra tells us that Jayasimha led an army against this chief and defeated and imprisoned him. But on the assurance given by his wife Piṅgalikā that he would leave the Brāhman in peace, he was released; and henceforth became a faithful servant of the Caulukya king. That this account of Hemacandra is based on fact is shown by the title *Varvaraka-Jisnu* first founded in the Ujjain epigraph dated V S.1195 (c. 1139-40 A.D.)³

The chronicles represent Jayasimha as a great builder. Amongst the numerous structures ascribed to him may be mentioned the temple of Rudra-mahākāla at Siddhapur and the great artificial lake Sahasralinga at Pattan.⁴ Both these works show Jayasimha to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. Bhagvanlal Indrajī has shown that the attempts of Hemacandra and other Jain chroniclers to represent him as leaning toward Jainism have little foundation. The facts at our disposal rather point the

¹ But he also calls Barbaraka a *Kṣatriya*, see *IA*, Vol IV, p 265 Jayasimha Sūri calls him *duṣṭam Barbarakam śūram*. See *Kumārapāla-carita*, I, 44

² *Ibid*, Vol I, Part I, pp 174-75, and fn 1 on p 174.

³ The *Kīrtikaumudī* of Someśvara tells us that, like Viṣṇu, Jayasimha conquered (the Cāhamāna) Arṇorāja (ocean), but, unlike him, married his daughter (Lakṣmī) to the Śākambharī prince. Bhagvanlal Indrajī thought that this was a mistake and that the war and peace really took place in the reign of Kumārapāla. *JRAS*, 1913, p 274. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p 179. But see *Dvyāśraya* (*IA*, Vol IV, p 261), which also says that Ana of Sapādalaksa bent his head before Jayasimha. It is possible that the Kirāḍa Paramāra Udayarāja (see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 926), whose might is said to have spread "as far as Coda, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Mālava" was a feudatory of Jayasimha.

⁴ *PC*, pp 90 ff, see for a reference to the list of buildings ascribed to him *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p 180, fn 2.

other way¹ Jayasinhha, however, honoured Hemacandra and other Jain monks for their learning, and there are stories that he used to hold discussions between the rival sections of that religious fraternity² According to the *Dvyāśraya* he established schools for the study of the *Jyotiṣa śāstras*, *Nyāya-śāstras*, and *Purāṇas*, and he built a hundred and eight temples of Candikādeva and others at the Sahasraliṅga tank³ The same authority tells us that Kumārapāla the successor of Jayasinhha started an era during his reign This must refer to the era known as the Simha era the epoch of which is A D 1118 14 We have a Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32nd year of this era But the Atru stone-inscription, dated in the year 14 shows that the era was already in use during Jayasinhha's reign We must therefore conclude that Abhayatilaka, who completed the *Dvyāśraya*, committed a mistake in giving the credit for establishing this era to Kumārapāla The institution of this new era is another evidence of Jayasinhha's successful administration

In spite of all these victories in peace and war, one sorrow constantly gnawed at Jayasinhha's heart He had no son The chronicles tell us that all his prayers to the gods proved in vain The god Mahādeva himself told him that 'his brother' Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapāla should sit on his throne⁴ The relationship of Kumārapāla with Jayasinhha may be shown by the following table —

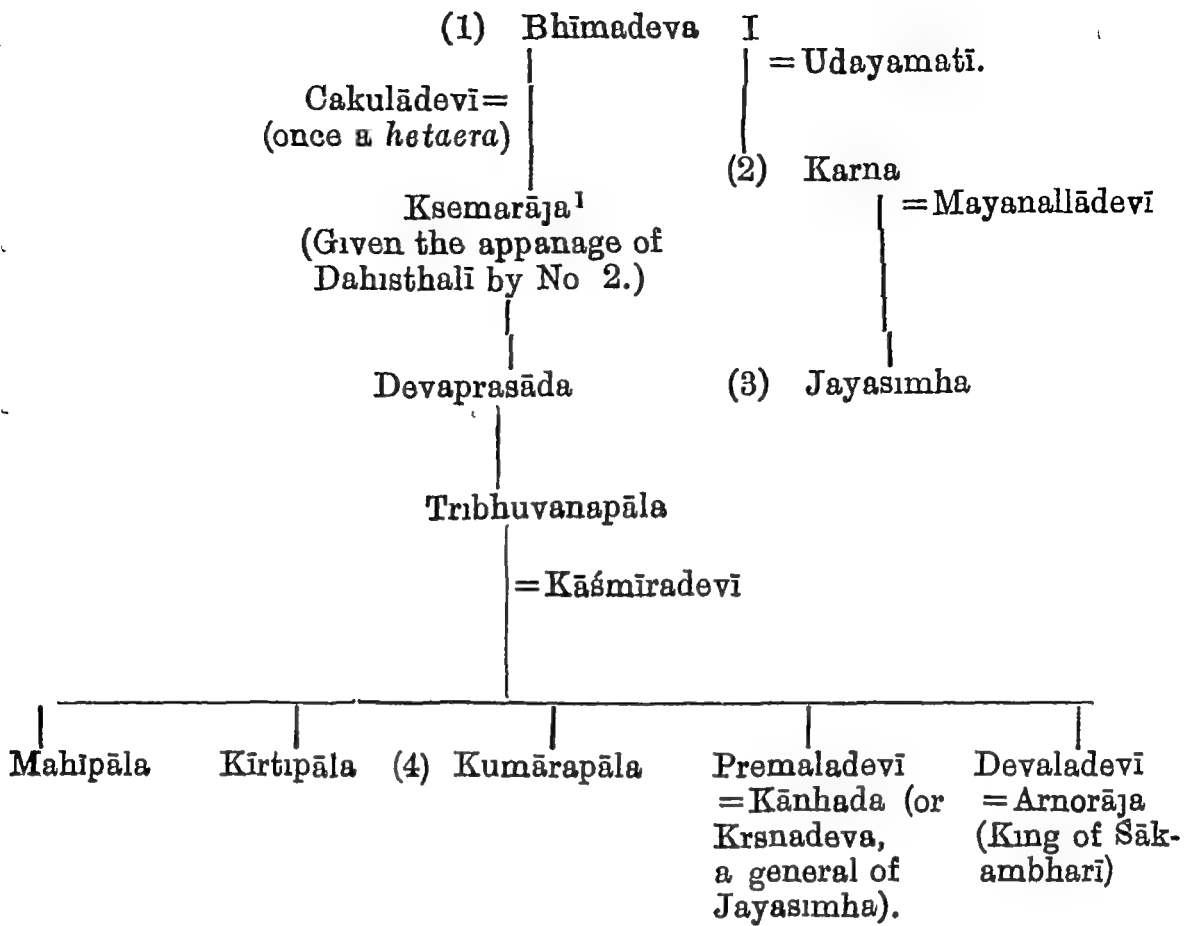
¹ BG Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. See also PO (p. 90) which in recording the ceremony of setting up the flag on the temple of Rudra mahākṣiṭa says On this occasion he had the flags of all the Jain temples lowered as in the country of Mālava when the banner of Mahākṣiṭa is displayed no flag is hoisted on any Jain temple.

² See for example PC pp. 97 ff. The story of the Digambara Kumāracandra and the Śvetāmbara Śrīdeva.

³ IA Vol. IV p. 267

⁴ Brother is probably a mistake. Authorities differ as to the ancestry of Kumārapāla. In another place the *Dvyāśraya* (IA Vol. IV p. 267) describes Jayasinhha as Kumārapāla's "uncle."

⁵ *Dvyāśraya* IA Vol. IV p. 267 ; see also *Kumārapāla-carita*, III, 1 50. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* p. 5



Merutuṅga tells us that 'as Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction.'² The same authority adds that Siddharāja had adopted as his son 'the prince named Bāhada, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva'³ The chronicles make it quite clear that during the later years of Jayasimha's reign his court was divided into two factions. The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that owing to his hatred of Kumārapāla⁴ Jayasimha killed the latter's father Tribhuvanapāla, and drove Kumārapāla

¹ Merutunga's *Theravali* (JBRAS, Vol IX, p 155) has 'Devapāla' in the place of 'Devaprasāda'. The contemporary *Dvyāśraya*, gives Kṣemarāja and Karna as the names of the two sons of Bhīma. Kṣemarāja's son was Devaprasāda. PC, p 116, gives Bhīma, his son Haripāla, his son Tribhuvanapāla, his son Kumārapāla. BG, Vol I, Part I, p 181, gives Bhīma, his son Kṣemarāja, his son Haripāla, his son Tribhuvanapāla, his son Kumārapāla.

² PC, p 116

³ *Ibid*, p. 120

⁴ Abu'l-Faẓl also says that 'Kumārapāla Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement' till Jayasimha's death. AAK, Vol II, p 263.

into exile After long wanderings in distant countries¹ he at last came back to Anahilla pattana and took shelter in the house of his brother-in law Kṛṣṇadeva Though there is no definite evidence, yet the sudden death of Jayasīṃha within 7 days of the arrival of Kumārapāla at Anhilvad looks rather suspicious² The *Prabandha cintāmaṇi* tells us that Kumārapāla was so closely pursued that he was at last compelled to take shelter with the 'great minister' Udayana at Cambay The latter was persuaded to help Kumārapāla to escape by the emphatic statement of the Jain monk Hemacandra that Kumārapāla would be installed as king "in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramāditya," on the second day of Kārttika, on a Sunday, in the *naḥṣatra* of Hasta³ This prognosis of Hemacandra was attended by the practical admonition of the monk to Kumārapāla that he "must be grateful and "always devoted to the law of the Jina"⁴ We are told that Kumārapāla⁵ reverently accepted this admonition Jayasīṃha did not long survive this compact, and it seems certain that even if Jayasīṃha's death was natural,⁶ Kumārapāla's elevation to the throne was to some extent aided by the powerful Jain party in Gujarat According to Merutuṅga, after Jayasīṃha's death Kānhaḍadeva 'made his forces ready for battle, and played the part of a king maker It appears that, including Kumārapāla, there were three candidates for the throne Kānhaḍadeva found the other two unfit for kingship, and ordered Kumārapāla to ascend the throne Kumārapāla was at this time 50 years of age⁷ Once in power, he proved to be a vigorous and effective ruler The disaffected ministers were 'all dismissed

¹ Vaiṣṇadra, Bhṛṅgukaścha Ujjayini Kāśī and Oitrakūṭa; see *Kumārapāla-carita* III 67 ff. also *PC* pp. 116 ff

² *Kumārapāla-carita* III 443-49.

³ But see above p. 967 inscription No. 8 of Jayasīṃha which is dated in V B. 1200.

⁴ *PC* pp. 117-18.

⁵ The Mangrol inscription of the time of Kumārapāla significantly says: When king Siddharāja... died accidentally..... Kumārapāla took possession of his kingdom.

See *BI* p. 169

⁶ *PC* pp. 118-19

to the city of Yama,' and even his sister's husband, who had become haughty and contemptuous, was blinded and had his limbs paralysed by royal orders. After this most of the officers submitted, but Bāhaḍa, Jayasimha's adopted son, escaped and with a section of the royal army took service under the king of Sapādalaksa.¹ According to the *Kumārapāla-carita*, Kumārapāla after his coronation made Bhopalladevi, his *Pattarājñī* and Udayana his chief minister.² This Udayana was no doubt the same man who had helped him to escape from the fury of Jayasimha at Cambay.

Of the time of Kumārapāla we have the following published records :

(1) *Mangrol stone-inscription*.—Found incised on a piece of hard black stone, "built up in the wall to the right in descending into a Vāo (Vāpi) near the Gadis' gate at Mangrol in Junagarh," South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, and opens with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and an invocation to Hara. It then praises Kumārapāla, who succeeded Siddharāja. Next follows the genealogy of a family of Guhila chiefs.³ Amongst these Sahajiga became a commander of the Caulukya forces. His sons grew so powerful that they were able to protect the Saurāṣṭra country. One of these, named Samarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara; and another named *Ṭha(kkura)* Mūluka made some grants for the service of the god. In lines 23-25 the record is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and Simha *Samvat* 32. It was composed by the *Parama-Pāśupatācārya-mahā-pandita* Prasadvadnya.⁴

(2) *Dohad stone-pillar inscription*.—This short inscription is incised at the end of No. 5 of Jayasimha. It records that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120

² III, 474 ff. The *Kumārapāla-carita* gives the name Padmāvatī as that of another queen of Kumārapāla (*BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 188). The *Ras* (Vol. I, pp. 192-93) gives the tragic story of a Sesodia queen of Kumārapāla, of the House of Mewar

³ For details see *DHNI*, Vol. II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*,

⁴ *BI*, pp. 158-60, *ARB*, pp. 179-80

in V S 1202 (c 1145-46 A D) * *Rāja* Sāmkarasīha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the *Mahāmāṇḍa* leśvara Vāpanadeva, residing at Godrahaka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Āśvilyā Kūdā in the *pathaka* of Ubhloḍa, for (the expenses of) the worship of the god (Goga Nārāyaṇa) ¹

(3) *Kiradu inscription (i)* —It belongs to the time of the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara, a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It is dated in V S 1205 ²

(4) *Chitorgadh stone inscription (i)* —Incised on a slab of black marble preserved in the temple of Mokeljī at Chitorgadh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. It contains 28 lines, and is much damaged. It opens with *Om namah Sarvajāya* and 4 verses invoking Śiva (Sarva Mrḍa, and Samiddheśvara) and Sarasvatī, and then eulogises the family of the Caulukyas. In that family was born Mularāja. After many other kings of this line came Siddharāja, who was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva. The proper object of the inscription is to record that in the course of his campaigns against the rulers of Śākambharī he came to the Oitrakūṭa mountain, and having worshipped the god Samiddheśvara and his consort granted a village (name lost) and made some donations to his temple. The *prāśasti* was written by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakīrti. The date (V) *Saṃvat* 1207 (c 1150 A D) comes at the end ³

(5) *Chitorgadh stone-inscription (ii)* —The record is fragmentary and highly weather worn. It contains the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mularāja to Kumārapāla. The former was born in the race of Caulukya who was in his turn born from the hollow of the palm of Brahmā. Then follows the usual genealogy from Mularāja to Jayasīṃha. After him,

¹ Edited by Dhruva, *Id* Vol X, pp. 159-60. He took this inscription to be a part of Jayasīṃha's (5) and wrongly referred it to the reign of Jayasīṃha. Though the name of the reigning king is not mentioned in it, inscription No. 1 shows that it must belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

² See *supra* DHNI Vol. II pp. 925 ff.

³ Edited by Kielhorn *Et* Vol II pp. 421-24. The place Śālipura mentioned in this inscription where Kumārapāla pitched his camp has not yet been identified.

Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla who was son of Devaprasāda, son of Ksemarāja, who was son of Bhīmadeva (I) ¹

(6) *Vadnagar praśasti*—Incised on a stone slab in the Arjun-Bāī near the Sāmelā tank at Vadnagar in Gujarat. It contains 46 lines, opening with *Om namah Śivāya* and a *mangala* addressed to Brahman. The next 17 verses give an account of the origin of the Caulukyas, and traces their genealogy down to Kumārapāla. Verses 19 to 29 praise the ancient Brāhmanic settlement of Nagara or Ānandapura,² and the rampart which Kumārapāla raised round it. V 30 gives us the name of the author of the *praśasti*, Śrīpāla, who, we are told, was adopted as a brother by Siddharāja and bore the title *Kavi-cakravartin* ³. The record was written in (V) *Samvat* 1208 (c 1151 A D) by the Nāgara Brāhman, *Pandit Vālhana* ⁴.

(7) *Knadu stone pillar-inscription (v)*.—Found incised on a white stone pillar at Kiradu, 'a small village near Hāthamo under Bādmera, in Marwar in Rajputana. It contains 21 lines of very damaged and fragmentary writing. It opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1209 (c 1153 A D.), in the victorious reign of *Rājādhirāja*-Kumārapāla, 'who has conquered all kings,' by the grace of Śankara, the lord of Pārvatī,' and then records that when Mahādeva was 'in charge of the signet and the seal, etc' ⁵ (the Naddula Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja* Ālhanadeva on the Śivalātri Caturdaśī, and certain other specified days gave security for the lives of animals. No life was to be taken under penalty of a fine for persons belonging to the royal family and of

¹ Originally found at Ohitorgadh; now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. *ASI, WC*, 1905-06, p 61, No 2220, *EI*, Vol XX, p 209, No 1522.

² Mod Vādnagar (Sanskrit Vṛddha-nagara), in the Kheralu sub-division of the Kad district, Baroda State. For the antiquity of this place see *EI*, Vol I, p 295.

³ He was the poet-laureate of Jayasimha, see Kielhorn, *ibid*.

⁴ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol I, pp 293-305. First noticed by Dhruva, *IA*, Vol X, p 160.

⁵ *Śrīkaranādaḥ samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṇḥ* (lost). According to Dr Barnett this seems to mean 'being in charge (?) of all the functions of the Seal in the Treasury (Śrī Karaṇa)

capital punishment for others. The record was written by *Mahārājaputra-Sāndhivigrahika Thakkura Khelāditya*.¹

(8) *Pālī inscription* —It is engraved on a pilaster close by the sanctum in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Somanātha at Pālī (*Pallikā-grāma*), in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1209 in the reign of Kumārāpāla.²

(9) *Ratanpur stone inscription*.—Contains 11 lines, incised on a stone in the dome of an old Saiva temple outside the town of Ratanpur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is damaged, the 1st and the 7th lines being almost illegible. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and is then dated in the victorious reign of *M -Pb P Kumārāpāla*.³ The inscription then records the publication of an order of Girijādevī, the *Mahārājā* of Pūnapākṣadeva, successor of (the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna) *Mahārāja Rāyapāla*, prohibiting slaughter of animals on some specified dates. The violation of the order was to be punished with fines. On the *Amāvāsyā* day even the potters were ordered not to burn their pots. The edict was made public through Pūtiga and Sālga, the two sons of the *Śrāvaka* Subhankara belonging to the *Prāgvaṭa* varṇa and Naḍḍula pura. It was written by *Thakkura Asapāla*.⁴

(10) *Bhatund stone pillar inscription* —Incised on one of the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of a dilapidated temple in the village of Bhatund about a mile to the south of Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. The record is 'highly weather worn' and its object is not clear. It is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1210 (A D 1154) in the reign of 'the Oaulukya sovereign Kumārāpāla and mentions

¹ *BI* pp. 172-73. For Alhapaddeva's other inscriptions (V B. 1218-36) see *BI* Vol. IX, pp. 63-65; Vol. XI pp. 43-46.

² Noticed by M. R. Bhandarkar *ASI WC* 1907-08 pp. 11-15 see also *BI* Vol. XI p. 70.

³ As in No. 5... .. illustrated by the favour of Pārvalī-pati (line 2)

⁴ *BI* pp. 205-207. See also *BI* Vol. XX, *Appendix* p. 209 No. 1523. The record is not dated in any era.

the *Dandanāyaka* Vaijāka.¹ who was apparently in charge of the Naddūla district.²

(11) *Nadol grant* —The plate was found 'in the possession of the *Panchāyat* of the village of Nādol, in the Desuri district, Jodhpur State. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit prose ; there is a benedictory verse towards the end. It opens with the date (V.) *Sam.* 1213 (A D. 1156) when *Pb.-M.-P - Umāpativara-labdha-piasāda-pīaudhapīatāpa-nījabhuja - vikrama-īaṇāmgana-vinujita-Śākambharī-bhūpāla-Kumārapāla* was reigning at Anahilapātaka and when the *Mahāmātya* Bāhadadeva was transacting the business of the Seal, etc. It then records a grant made by his feudatory, the *Mahāmandalika* Pīatāpasimha of the Vadānā clan (*anvaya*). The grant consists of one *ṛūpaka* per day from the custom-house (*mandapikā*) of Badarī to some Jaina temples at Nadūladāgikā (mod. Nadlai) and Lavaṇdadī. The inscription was written by the *Gaudānvaya-Kāyastha-Pandita* Mahīpāla.³

(12) *Bali Inscription*.—Incised on a lintel in the temple of Bahuguṇa Mātā at Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1216 (A.D. 1159) in the reign of Kumārapāla. On that date his *Dandanāyaka* at Naddūla was Vayaṇaladeva and 'Jahāgirdār' of Vālahī (mod. Bali) was Anupameśvara. The inscription

¹ Also known as Vaijā, Vaijalladeva, and Vayaṇaladeva. The following inscriptions also mention him.

(a) A stone inscription in the Mahāvīra temple at Sevadī (Jodhpur State) dated in V S 1213 speaks of *Damḍa* Vaijā as ruling in Naddūla.

(b) A stone inscription in a Jaina temple at Ghanerav in the Desuri district (Jodhpur State) is dated in V S 1213 in the reign of *Damḍanāyaka* Vaijalladeva.

(c) A stone inscription in a lintel of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahuguṇa Mātā at Bali, dated in V S 1216, in the reign of Kumārapāla, speaks of *Damḍa* Vayaṇaladeva as ruling in Naddrūla.

(d) Inscription No. 2 of the Caulukya Ajayapāla, dated in V S 1231 mentions *Mahāmandaleśvara* Vaijalladeva of the Cāhuyāna (Cāhamāna) family.

See *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 70 and fn. 4.

² Noticed in *ASI*, WC 1908, pp. 51-52. The town of Bhātūṭṭapadra-nagara is identified with mod. Bātunl, the final-spell of the record.

³ Edited by D. R. Bhāndarkar, *IA*, 1912, Vol. XLI, pp. 202-203.

records that a plot of land belonging to Bali which could be traversed by one ploughshare in a single day was granted by Vayajaladeva for the worship of the goddess Bahughṛṇā¹

(13) *Kiradu inscription (iii)* —Incised in the Śiva temple at Kiradu, Jodhpur State. It belongs to the time of Kumārapāla and his feudatory, the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara. It is dated in V S 1218 (A D 1161)²

(14) *Udayapur stone inscription (i)* —Said to have been found 'inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town of Udayapur (Lat 23°54 N, Long 78°7 E) in the State of Gwalior. It contains 20 lines of incomplete writing, for in its present condition 'at the beginning of each line we miss from about 8 to 10 akṣaras'. The inscription records donations to the temple of the god Ūdaleśvara in the town of Udayapura by Mahārājaputra Vasantapāla. It was apparently dated in the first 8 lines, in the reign of Ku(mārapāla) of Apa(hilapāṭaka), 'the vanquisher of the lords of Śākambharī and Avantī,'³ while the Mahāmātya Yaśodhava(la) was managing the affairs of the state⁴ and when the Mahāsādhanaśa Rājya(pāla) was governing at Udayapura. Of the date of the record which was contained in the beginning of the first line only *ṣa-sudī 16 Gurau* remains. As the endowments were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the editor has calculated that the lost portion must have been (V) *Samvat 1220 var* (A D) 1169⁵

(15) *Jalor stone inscription* —Incised on a lintel in the second storey of an old mosque now used as a *tōpkhānā* at Jalor, in Jodhpur State. It records the construction of a Jain *vihāra* containing an image of Pārśvanātha on the fort of Kāñcanagiri, belonging to Jābūlpura (mod Jalor) in V S 1221, by the Gūrjara-dharādhiśvara Paramārṣhata-Ḍaullakya M -Kumārapāla

¹ ASI no. 1907-08, pp 51-53.

² EI Vol XX *Appendix* p. 47 No. 312.

³ This is the interpretation of Kliehörn; but to me it seems that *Acantindika* was a title of the king; see above inscription No. 3 of Jayasinha.

⁴ (*Samāsta-mudrā-nyāpārā-paripāṭikayāt ity etā..* See above inscription No. III.

⁵ Edited by Kliehörn *IA* Vol. XVIII pp. 311-13.

being requested by *Prabhu* Hema Sūri. The temple was known as Kuvara (Kumāra) *vihāra* ¹

(16) *Udayapur stone pillar-inscription (n)* —Said to be incised on a pillar ; in the south of the east entrance of the same temple as No. 14. It contains only 5 lines. It opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1222 (A.D. 1166), and records that the *Ṭha(kkura)* Cāhada ² gave half the village of Samgavattā in the Bhr̥ngārī-catuḥṣaṣṭi (group of 64 villages called Bhr̥ngārī), probably to the temple where the epigraph was found at Udayapura.³

(17) *Veraval prasasti of Bhāva-Brhaspati*.—Contains 54 lines, incised on a stone slab fixed in the porch of the temple of Bhadiakālī at Veraval (Somnath) in S Kathiawar. The record opens with *Om namah Śivāya* and invocations to Bhavānīpati (Śiva), Gaṇeśa, and Soma (Moon). It then gives an account of the birth and career of Bhāva-Brhaspati. He was born in the city of Vāṇārasī in the Kānyakubja-*Visaya* in a Brāhman family, and took the vow of the Pāśupatas. When he reached Dhārā and Avantī in the Mālava country he was highly honoured, and the Paramāra lords became his pupils. Next he bound to himself Jayasimha in a close bond of brotherhood. After his death, when Kumārapāla, 'who was a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants-Ballāla, king of Dhārā and the illustrious ruler of Jāṅgala,' 'quickly mounted the throne of his kingdom,' the *Gaṇḍa* ⁴ Bhāva ⁵-Brhaspati, 'seeing the temple of the Foe of Cupid (Somanath) ruined,' exhorted him ² to restore the house of the god. We are told that the temple of Somnath was first

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar. *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55. The record really belongs to the Naddula (Cāhamāna) Samarasimha, who effected some repairs to the temple in V S 1242. Note the form *Caullakya*, see above *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 943, fn. 1.

² Kielhorn has suggested that this Cāhada may be identical with Kumārapāla's general of the same name mentioned by the *Dvyāśraya*, see *IA*, Vol. IV, p. 267, Vol. XVIII, p. 343, fn. 22.

³ Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 343-44.

⁴ Temple priest, see *WZKM*, Vol. III, p. 2 and fn. 1.

⁵ A common honorific title of religious teachers, *ibid*, fn. 1.

erected in stone by Bhīma I¹ Kumārapāla agreed, made Brhaspati the lord of all the *gandās*, and appointed him governor of Somanātha pattana. When the temple of Somnath was finally rebuilt the king made his office of chief temple-priest hereditary and granted him the village of Brahmapurī, near Maṇḍali.² When Bhoja, the son of the king's sister Premaladevi, worshipped Somanātha under the guidance of Brhaspati, Kumārapāla, characterised as *Māheśvara nṛpāgranīh* gave another village to the priest. The record was written by Rudra Sūri, and is dated in the last line in Valabhī *Samvat* 850 (A.D. 1169).³

(18) *Junagarh stone inscription*—Incised on a piece of hard black stone and found in a Śaiva temple at Junagarh. It contains 84 lines of very much damaged writing. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyās of Anahilapāṭaka from Mūlarāja, followed by the names of Bhīma, Karṇa, Jayasīrha and Kumārapāla. It seems to record the building of a Śaiva temple by the last prince of Ānandanagara⁴ and his minister Dhavala. The date is Valabhī *Samvat* 850 and Śīrha *Samvat* 60 (A.D. 1169).⁵

(19) *Nadlai stone-inscription*—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about one mile SW of Nadlai.⁶ It contains 3 lines and records the construction of the *mandapa*, etc., of the temple of Bhivaḍeśvara by one Pāhūpi at the cost of 880 *drāminas*, in V S 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.), during the victorious reign of

¹ Must have been damaged during the invasion of Mahmūd in the reign of this prince. See *supra*, DHNI Vol. II pp. 953 ff.

² Mod. Brahmapur near mod. Maṇḍal in the Viramgam Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.

³ Col. Tod first noticed this record (*Travels in Western India*, p. 504). Then Forbes published an abstract in JBRAS Vol. VIII pp. 59 ff. Finally edited by V. G. Ojha with an introduction by Bühler in IFERN Vol. III pp. 119 see also BI pp. 186-83.

⁴ Mod. Vadnagar.

⁵ BI pp. 181-83. Kielhorn seemed to doubt the reading of the dates, see BI Vol. XV Appendix, p. 189 No. 1391 and p. 200, No. 1463.

⁶ Nadlai is situated 8 miles to the NW of Desuri the principal town of the district of the same name Golwar division Jodhpur State; BI, Vol. XI p. 54.

Kum'vara(Kumāra)pāla, while Kelhana was ruling in Nādūla and the Rāṇā Lakhamāṇa at Voripadyaka.¹

These inscriptions cover a period of about 26 years, c. 1145 to 1171. According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* Kumārapāla reigned for 31 years from V.S. 1199 to 1230.² The *Theiāvalī*, gives the reign-period as 1199 to 1229 V.S.³ The *Muāti-Ahmadī*⁴ assigns him a reign of 30 years and 6 months, while the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* gives him only 23 years.⁵ As the Bali stone-inscription of his predecessor is dated in V.S. 1200 and the Udaipur stone-inscription of his successor is dated in V. S. 1229 Kumārapāla's reign must fall between these two limits. As Merutunga tells us that Kumārapāla ascended the throne when he was fifty years old, it would seem at first sight that the tradition recorded by Abu'l-Faḍl of a shorter reign of 23 years is the more correct. But the Nadlai stone-inscription of V.S. 1228 shows that the *Theiāvalī* represent the true tradition regarding the lower limit of the reign.

According to the Gujarat chronicles Kumārapāla, like his predecessors, was also a great warrior. The most elaborate description of his *digvijaya* is found in the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasīma Sūri. The whole of the fourth *Sarga* of this work is devoted to the king's victorious campaigns. We are told that he first reached Jāvālapura⁶ (mod. Jalor). After being entertained by its *nāyaka*, he proceeded to attack the Sapāda-lakṣa country. Arṇorāja, the king of this place who was also his brother-in-law, worshipped him; then he proceeded to the Kuru-maṇḍala and halted on the banks of the Mandākinī (Ganges). Then the Gurjara king marched against Mālava. On the way the lord of Citrakūta 'showed his gratitude to him.' After reaching Avantī-deśa he captured its ruler. He then

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48

² *PC*, p. 151

³ *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155, see also p. 157

⁴ *MA*, Trans., p. 143

⁵ *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260

⁶ Sometimes spelt 'Jāvālipura,' see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 982

followed the banks of the Narmadā, and rested for some time in the Revā tīra. Next he crossed the river, and entering Ābhīra viṣaya, compelled the lord of Prakāśa nagarī to become his servant. Further south his advance was obstructed by the Vindhyas, and after exacting tribute from the petty village chiefs in that area he appears to have turned west and subdued the lord of Lāṭa. Proceeding northwards from Lāṭa he turned towards the west, and defeated the chief of the Śūrāṣṭra-viṣaya. From Śūrāṣṭra he entered Kaccha, defeated its chief, and went on to fight with the Pañcanadādhīpa, who is described as *nausādhana-samuddhata*. After defeating him he proceeded to fight against Mūlarāja the lord of Mūlsthāna (mod Multan). After a terrific contest Mūlarāja was vanquished, and the Caulukya king returned victorious from the Saka country, by way of Jālandhara and Marusthāna. After describing his triumphant tour of victory, Jayasīma thus indicates the limits of Kumārapāla's *digvijaya*¹ *Ā Gamgam Andrīm ā Vindhyaṁ Yāmyām ā Sindhu paścimām, Ā Turuṣkaṁ ca Kauberīm Caulukyāḥ Sādhayisyati*.

[Up to the Ganges on the east, Vindhyas on the south, Sindhu on the west and up to the Turuṣka (land) on the north did the Caulukya (king) conquer²]

Further on Jayasīma gives a detailed account of Kumārapāla's war with Arjorāja, the lord of Śākambharī. According to him, the war was caused by Arjorāja having insulted Devallā devī, the sister of Kumārapāla. She is said to have left the Cahamāna kingdom and complained to her brother. Kumārapāla thereupon invaded the Cahamāna territories and defeated

¹ IV 117; the Kumārapāla-prabandha also gives the same limits of his sway. See DG Vol. I Part I, p. 180 fn. 1

² The Śākya kīrti-kallola of Udayaprabha contains the following verse on Kumārapāla's conquest:

*Agre Hammitra-vīraś cīram ajīra-maht-pādapaḥ pāda-padmā
Kṛtā-bhṛṅgaḥ Kalikgaḥ sadanavad anago Medapāḥ kṛpāḥ
Andhraḥ Karpāḥ-Luṣa Kura Maru Murala Vahga Gauḍīga Gauḍāḥ
Kṛtā-stambhāḥ sabhāgām itī nṛpaś kulaś ululāś dṛṣṭo gaḥ*

Arnorāja, but in the end reinstated him on his throne.¹ The *Dvyāśīraya* however says that the hostilities were first commenced by Ānna of Sapādalakṣa, who, 'supposing the government to be new and Kumārapāla to be weak quarrelled with him,' and invaded Gujarat. But Ānna was defeated and wounded in the fight, and bought peace by marrying his daughter Jalhanā to Kumārapāla.² Merutunga agrees with Hemacandra in stating that it was the king of Sapādalakṣa who first made the attack. According to him the Cāhamāna king was induced to attack the frontiers of Gujarata by Bāhada, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva and the adopted son of Siddharāja. Bāhada, 'desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapādalakṣa country, surrounded with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarāt.'³ For a time the position of the Caulukya king was serious. A large section of the army, including Caūlinga, the driver of the royal elephant, refused to follow him to battle. But in the end, thanks to Kumārapāla's personal bravery, the enemy forces were completely routed, Bāhada was captured, while Ānna the Sapādalakṣa king was wounded with an iron dart. This victory over Arnorāja is also mentioned by the *Vasanta-vilāsa*,⁴ the *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti*,⁵ and the *Sukṛtakṛti-kallolnī*.⁶

There is ample epigraphic evidence to show that this literary tradition of war between Kumārapāla and Arnorāja is based on fact. The Kīradu (V. S. 1209) and Ratanpur stone inscriptions show that the principality of the Naddūla Cāhamānas was

¹ IV, 170 ff.

² IA, IV, pp 267 ff

³ PC, p 120.

⁴ GOS, No VII, iii, 29. The Cāhamāna king is referred to as 'King of Jāṅgala' in this work. Also in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati, see WZKM, Vol III pp. 1 ff.

⁵ Appendix I, in GOS, No X, pp 58 ff, V 25

⁶ Ibid, Appendix II, pp 67 ff, V 61

included within his dominions. The inscription of Bhatund and a number of others¹ indicate that during the years V S 1210-16 one of his *Danḍa nāyakas* was actually posted in the Naḍḍūla area. The Cāhamāna principality of Naḍḍūla served as a buffer state between the kingdoms of Aṇahilapāṭaka and Śākambharī, and its inclusion within the Caulukya dominions must have been effected by successful war. This guess seems to be supported by one of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadhi inscriptions (V S 1220) which actually states that he defeated the ruler of Śākambharī, and, after devastating the Sapādalakṣa country pitched his great camp at Sālipura, not far from modern Chitor in Udaipur State, Rajputana. There is however no evidence to show that the Cāhamāna ruler was completely crushed. The Vadnagar *prasaṣti* (V S 1208), which also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Arṇorāja when read with the Chitorgadhi inscription mentioned above indicates that the war on this frontier raged for at least 8 years. Kumārapāla's victory over the Jāṅgala king is also referred to in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva Brhaspati (A D 1169).²

The war with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī seems to have involved Kumārapāla in two other struggles on his eastern frontier. The *Dvyāśraya* says that after his victory over Anna he was advised to win fame by subduing Ballāla. The reason why his ministers counselled him to attack Ballāla is given by Hamacandra in another passage, where he writes that before Anna advanced upon the frontiers of Gujarat he formed an alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti, and it was arranged that both the powers should simultaneously attack the Caulukya kingdom from the north and the east.³ After the Caulukya king had returned to Pattana, "News was brought to Kumārapāla that Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two

¹ See above *DHNI* Vol. II, p. 980 ff.

² The *PG* (p. 141) seems to give Vigharāja alias Vīrāla, the king of Sapādalakṣa, as also contemporary with Kumārapāla.

³ *IA*, Vol IV p. 268.

Sāmantas whom he had sent to oppose Ballāla, when he himself advanced against Āṇa, had gone over to the king of Ujjain, and that monarch was already in his territory and was advancing on Anahillapura. Kumārapāla, assembling his troops, went against Ballāla, who was defeated and struck from his elephant.”¹ The *Vasantavilāsa*² also refers to Kumārapāla’s victory over Ballāla while the *Kṛti-Kaumudī* informs us that the latter was beheaded by Kumārapāla.³ The authenticity of this literary tradition seems to be borne out by epigraphic evidence. The stone pillar at Dohad, which contains an inscription dated in the reign of Jayasīma in V. S. 1196 (A.D. 1140) also contains a postscript dated in V. S. 1202 (A.D. 1145-46). But, significantly enough, it fails to mention the name of the sovereign lord of the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Vāpanadeva. We have already noticed the strategic importance of the Dohad region. It is not unlikely that sometime between 1140 and 1146 A.D. the Caulukyas lost their hold over this region. But there is no doubt that whatever reason may have induced the composer of the inscription to omit the name of Kumārapāla, the Caulukyas had recovered their hold on Mālava some time before 1163 A.D. The two Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1220 (A. D. 1163) and 1222 (A. D. 1166), which were discovered not far from Bhilsa, show that, like his predecessor he was again the lord of Mālava. The Veraval inscription of Bhāva-Brhaspati (A. D. 1169) refers to Kumārapāla’s victory over Ballāla, the king of Dhārā, while the Vadnagar *prasaṣti* states that the Caulukya king charmed the goddess Candī, “when she was desirous of taking a toy-lotus with the lotus-head of the Mālava lord, that was suspended at his gate”⁴. This last inscription indicates that Ballāla

¹ *Ibid*

² *III*, 29

³ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p. 185

⁴ *EI*, Vol I, p. 302, V. 15. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 886 ff

was killed sometime before c 1151 A D ¹ It is however difficult to identify the Mālava king Ballāla The genealogical lists in the published records of the Paramāras do not contain this name as Lüders has suggested, he may have been a usurper who seized the throne of Mālava some time between 1185 to 1144 A D ² and taking advantage of Kumārapāla's difficulties when he first ascended the throne of Anahilapātaka, declared his independence, and allied himself with the Cāhamānas of Sākambhari, and advanced against Gujarat to try conclusions with the traditional enemies of his country ³

The second war that was waged by Kumārapāla in connection with his struggle with the Cāhamāna Arjorāja was against the Paramāra principality of Candrāvati in Abu The *Kumārapāla-carita* tells us that when he was fighting with Arjorāja, Vikramasimha, the lord of Candrāvati, rebelled against him So after his victory against the northern ruler, he advanced towards Candrāvati and after capturing the city imprisoned its ruler ⁴ According to this authority, the throne of Candrāvati was given to Vikramasimha's nephew Yaśodhavalā ⁵ The authenticity of this tradition is shown by the Mount Abu *prāśasti* of Tejapāla (V S 1287), which tells us that the Arbuda Paramāra Yaśodhavalā 'quickly killed Ballāla the lord of Mālava, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla ⁶ From the wording of this

¹ Lüders suggested on the authority of the Veraval inscription that Ballāla must have died before 1169 A D *EI* Vol. VIII, p. 201. But the Mālava lord in the Vadnagar inscription is certainly the Ballāla of the later record, and so we can shorten the period of his death by about 18 years.

² *EI* Vol. VII pp. 201-03. The last date of Yaśovarman and the first date of Lakṣmīvarman. *IAI* Vol. XIX pp. 348-49 *ibid* pp. 352 ff. Recently a suggestion has been made that Ballāla was a Hoyasala ruler from Dorasamudra.

³ See inscription No 14 above and fn 3 on p 983.

⁴ *IV* 421-52. The *Dagdārāja* (*IAI* Vol. IV p. 267) says that Vikramasimha the Paramāra ruler of Abu entertained Kumārapāla when the latter reached his capital on his way to waging against Anna of Sapādalakpa.

⁵ *BC* Vol I Part I p. 185

⁶ *EI* Vol. VIII p 210 V 35 See also *supra* *DHVI* Vol. II pp. 836 ff. and 914 ff

passage we may conclude that Yaśodhavala was a feudatory of Kumārapāla.

Apart from these three wars, Kumārapāla seems to have engaged in at least two others. One of these was waged against Mallikārjuna, the ruler of Kaunkana (Konkan). The Aibuda Paramāra Yaśodhavala, who claims to have materially assisted Kumārapāla against Ballāla, seems to have also shared in his campaign against this prince. We are told by the Mount Abu *prāśasti* of Tejahpāla (V. S. 1287) that when Yaśodhavala, "inflamed with anger, held his ground in the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kaunkana shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes" ¹. The chronicles however do not mention Yaśodhavala's name in this connection. Merutuṅga gives the following story about this war. Once when the Caulukya king was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard bestowing on the king of the country of Kaunkana, the *biruda* of *Rāja-pitāmaha*. Deeply indignant, he looked around the assembly, and, finding Āmrabhata (also known as Āmbada), a son of the prime-minister Udayana, willing to lead an army 'to destroy that semblance of a king,' Kumārapāla despatched him with all his chieftains. But when Āmbada had reached the Kaunkana country and was encamped on the further bank of the river Kalaviṇī, he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallikārjuna. Kumārapāla seeing him deeply humiliated but yet determined to try his luck again, invested him with the command for the second time. Āmbada now crossed the river by throwing a bridge across it, and carefully transporting his army to the other bank, attacked, defeated and killed Mallikārjuna ². Then "he had Mallikārjuna's head set in gold, and after establishing the authority of the Caulukya sovereign" ² presented it to his lord at Anahillapura. Kumārapāla thereupon

¹ *EI*, Vol VIII, p 216, V 36

² According to the *PB*, Mallikārjuna was killed by the Cāhamāna Someśvara, who was at that time living at Kumārapāla's court. See *JRAS*, 1913, pp 274-75

conferred the title *Rāja pitāmaha* on Āmbaḍa.¹ This Mallik-ārjuna has been rightly identified with the Śilāhāra prince of that name, for whom we have inscriptions dated in Śaka 1078 (A D 1156) and 1082 (A D 1160). As the earliest inscription, so far known, of his successor Aparāditya is dated in Śaka 1084 (A D 1162), Bhagvanlal suggested that he must have lost his life between A D 1160 and 1162.²

Another war mentioned by Merutuṅga was waged against Surūvara,³ the chief of Surāṣṭra. The expedition against this prince was led by the prime-minister Udayana. But in the struggle that followed the Caulukya forces were defeated, and Udayana himself was carried to his quarters mortally wounded. Bhagvanlal has calculated that this war must have taken place sometime c 1149 A. D (V S 1205), as the repairs to the temple of Ādinātha at Pālitāna, which he promised to carry out just before his death, were finished in A D 1156-57 A D (V S 1211).⁴ The same scholar has suggested that the Surāṣṭra chieftain was possibly some Gohilvad Mehr chief. He may however have belonged to the family of the Ābhīra-Cūḍāsamā chiefs of Junagadh who had been giving trouble to the Caulukyās since the days of Mūlarāja I. The *Kumārāpāla carita* tells us that Samara (Sausara) was in the end defeated and his son placed on the throne. As the Sundha Hill inscription⁵ tells us that the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna Ālhādana⁶ helped the Gurjara king in suppressing disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (*gīrau saurāṣṭre*), the victory over Samara may have been won through the assistance of this feudatory.⁷

¹ PC pp 122-23

² BG Vol. I Part I p 186 *Ibid* Part II p 544. On Kumārāpāla's conquest of the Konkana see also *Sulṅga-Vīrti-Lalitāḥṇā* GOS Vol. X, Appendix pp. 67 ff V 63 ff

³ Also known as Barhusara. According to others the name is Samara. See BG Vol. I, Part I p. 186 and fn. 1.

⁴ BG Vol I Part I p 186

⁵ EI Vol. IX pp 70 ff.

⁶ Same as Ālhanadeva of inscription No. 7 above, p 979

⁷ EI Vol XI p. 71.

I shall conclude the list of Kumārapāla's wars by referring to a very curious story about a Dāhala king named Karna. The *Prabandha-cintāmanī*¹ tells us that this king once marched against the Caulukya kingdom. The report of this invasion took Kumārapāla by surprise, and he was in a state of bewilderment knowing not what to do. But as Karna was marching by night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, his eyes closed in sleep and 'a gold chain that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan-tree and hanged him, and so he died.' If there is any truth in this story Karna must be the Dāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karna, who ruled about 1151 A. D.

Kumārapāla's reign is extremely interesting in the religious history of India. The Jain chroniclers unanimously assert that as he advanced in years he gradually came under the influence of Hemacandra and at last embraced Jainism. The *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasimha (A. D. 1365) devotes six *saṅgas* (V-X) to describing the circumstances that led to his final conversion and the steps which he took for the advancement of that religion. We are told that on the advice of Hemacandra he first gave up eating flesh and drinking wine.² Then on the instruction of the monk the king went to Somnāth, accompanied by the sage, and worshipped Śiva. Hemacandra then caused Śiva to appear and praise the Jain religion. As a result of this Kumārapāla accepted the *Abhaksa-niyama* and fixed his mind on Jainism (*Jana-dharṃe-manasthāpana*). Jayasimha devotes the next chapter to a religious discourse between the king and the sage, and then in the 7th *saṅga* we are told that the king finally accepted *Śrāddha-dharma* from Hemacandra and prohibited the killing of animals in his kingdom.³ The author informs us that the order became effective in Suiāstra, Lāta, Mālava, Ābhīra, Medapāṭa, Maru, and even Sāpādalakṣa-deśa.⁴ The decree was enforced with such rigour that a merchant of Sāpādalakṣa, for killing a louse that

¹ PC, p. 146, see also DHNI, Vol. II, *supra*, p. 792

² V, 24 ff

³ VII, 577 ff

⁴ VII, 581 ff.

was sucking his blood like a *rākṣasa*, was arrested like a thief and compelled to give up all his property for the foundation of a sanctuary for lice (*Yaka vihāra*)¹ The slaughter of goats on *Nava rātras* was abolished and the king even sent ministers to Kāśī to suppress injury to animals The next two *sargas* are devoted to the description of Kumārapāla's pilgrimage to various Jain sacred places, and the establishment of *cāityas* and temples and various donations In the tenth section we are told that the king conferred upon his *guru* the title of *Kalikāla-sarvaṣṭha*² and after selecting Ajayapāla as his successor died soon after Hemacandra's death The *Kumārapāla pratibodha* of Somaprabha³ generally describes the Jain teachings given to the king by Hemacandra, and sets forth Kumārapāla's edict prohibiting slaughter of animals meat-eating, gambling, and prostitution The most interesting effect of Jain teaching on the king was his withdrawal of the right of the state to confiscate the property of those who died childless (*mṛta dhanapaharana mṛsedha*)⁴ Another interesting fact supplied by this author is a description of the king's daily time-table (*dina-carya*) We are told that the king left his bed very early in the morning and recited the sacred Jain *mantra* *Pañca namaskāra* (five salutations), and meditated on the adorable gods and gurus Thereupon he finished his bath, etc., worshipped the Jain images in the household temple, and, if time permitted, proceeded on an elephant to the *Kumāra vihāra* in the company of his ministers After performing eightfold worship there he used to go to Hemacandra, and, having worshipped him, listened to his religious teachings He returned at mid day to his palace, and after giving food and alms to mendicants

¹ VII 588 ff.

² X 106. He had before this conferred the title *Paramārkata* on his preceptor on being cured of leprosy by him ; see VII 609 ff.

³ GOS No. XIV The date of the MS. is given as 1103 A. D. but according to the editor it was probably composed c. A. D. 1179 and its author was a contemporary of Kumārapāla.

⁴ Found also in the *Vasantarilāsa* III 29.

and sent food-offerings to the Jain idols, took his meal. Then he attended an assembly of learned men, and discoursed with them on religious and philosophical topics. In the 4th *prahara* of the day (about 3 P.M.) he took his seat on the throne in the royal court and attended to the business of state, heard appeals from the people, and passed judgment on them. Sometimes purely as a part of royal duty he attended wrestling matches, elephant-fights, and other such pastimes. He took his evening meal 48 minutes before sunset, but ate only once on the 8th and 14th days of every fortnight. After dinner he worshipped with flowers the household temples and made dancing girls wave lights before the deities. Worship over, he listened to musical concerts and recitations, sung by *cārianas*. Having thus passed the day, he then retired to rest.¹ Another interesting work on Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism is the allegorical drama *Moha-vijaya-pariājaya* of Yaśahpāla (c. 1174-77 A.D.)² which resembles the *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (c. 1065 A.D.). This work also specially emphasises Kumārapāla's prohibition of the four *vyasanas*³ and the abolition of the rule by which the property of those who died heirless was confiscated to the state.⁴ The king, we are told, ordered his *Dandapāśikas* to suppress gambling, meat-eating, wine-drinking, butchery, robbery and adultery. But it is interesting to know that *Veśyā-vyasana* was not considered to be a very great sin, and was apparently allowed to continue. Gambling, it appears, was very common amongst the nobles, princes, and general public. Yaśahpāla describes five kinds of gambling, viz., (1) *Āmdhriya*, (2) *Nālaya*, (3) *Caturanga*, (4) *Āksa* and (5) *Varāda*. We are told that amongst habitual gamblers, some have hands, feet, and ears chopped off; of others the eyes are removed, some are without

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 428 ff.

² *GOS*, Vol. IX, 1918. The author was a Modah Bania, and certainly a Jain.

³ IV, 3.

⁴ See the story of the merchant Kuvera, III, 55 ff. The wealthy Bania caste, who were mostly Jains, suffered most by this rule. It is interesting to remember that Hemachandra was also a Bania.

nose and lips, and of some all the limbs are cut off while others go naked¹. But apart from these disreputable fellows, there were amongst the habitual gamblers men of the highest families. The author gives us the following names from this class (1) *Mevāḍa Kumāra*, (2) *Suratṭhāhiva sahodara* (brother of the king of Suratṭha), (3) *Caṁdrāvādī-pati*, (4) *Naḍūla narinda nattu* (nephew of the Naḍūla king), (5) *Guharāja bhaya namdano*, (6) *Dhārāhivāya bhāginijjo* (sister's son of the Dhārā king), (7) *Sāyambharī bhuvāla mādulago* (maternal uncle of the Sākambharī king), (8) *Kumkānāhiva vemdugo* (step-brother of the king of Konkan), (9) *Kaccha bhumibhuyaniga-salao* (brother-in-law of the king of Kaccha), (10) *Maru maṇḍala khaṇḍa duhidā-namdano* (sister's son of the king of the Maru country), (11) *Calukya niva jaṇassa mādugo* (maternal uncle of the Calukya king). We are told that these were so much addicted to gambling that they did not stop even if their father, mother, or any other relatives died. The next interesting information in this work is the names of the various sects who were wedded to the principle of slaughter². These were the (1) *Kaula*, (2) *Kāpālīka*, (3) *Rahamāṇa*, (4) *Ghaṭacataka*, and (5) *Māri* (?). There is general agreement amongst the other Jain authors about the facts detailed above, and there is some epigraphic evidence to show that the statements, though exaggerated, are at least partially based on fact. The Kīradu and Ratanpur inscriptions, for instance, actually record edicts for the prohibition of animal slaughter on certain specified days, while the Jalor stone inscription calls Kumārapāla *Paramārṣhata*. But there is also evidence to show that though influenced by Jainism he never formally gave up his traditional Śaiva faith. Even the Jain writers admit that he worshipped Someśvara and rebuilt the temple of that god at Somnath³. In the Veraval

¹ IV 11.² IV 22 ff.³ The *Dvyāśraya* also records the building of the Śaiva temple of Mahādeva Kumāra *pāṇḍarava* at Anahillapura. *IA* Vol IV p 269 also the repair of the temple of Kedāresvara Mahādeva *ibid*. For the repair of temples see also *Vasanta vilāsa* III 26.

stone-inscription, which records this fact, he is called *Māheśvara-nrpāgranīh*,¹ in A. D. 1169, only a few years before his death (c. 1174 A. D.) Most of his inscriptions begin with invocations to Śiva; and it is significant that not a single inscription has yet been discovered where he invokes any Jain deity. The Jain chronicles record stories of Brāhman hostility to the influence of Hemacandra at his court. In these quarrels, the Brāhmins, we are told, always came off second best, and were often saved from the wrath of the king by the merciful intervention of Hemacandra. But there is reason to suspect these stories of the king's partiality to Jainism. The *Rās-mālā* for instance records a story in which the Śaiva saint Śankara Svāmī brings about the death of Hemacandra and induces Kumārapāla to massacre the Jain monks and become his disciple. It is evident that Kumārapāla accepted some of the principles of Jainism. But it is doubtful whether he was really sincere in his acceptance of its tenets. It is not unlikely that his leanings towards Jainism had a material object in view, the winning of the support of the powerful and wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jain. The king's numerous wars must have drained his treasury, and may have made him increasingly dependent for financial assistance on the Jain community, who appeared to have formed, then as now, the backbone of industry, commerce, and banking in Gujarat. It may not be without significance that Hemacandra himself was a Modha Bania by caste, while Udayana, the prime minister was also a rich merchant of the Śrīmāla-vamśa.²

According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasimha, the Caulukya monarch before his death discussed with Hemacandra

¹ In the Bombay (Secretariat) grant of his successor Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla is called 'Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82, line 4.

² *PC*, p. 82. See also p. 976 above for the connection of Kumārapāla's accession with the Jain Bania community.

the question of succession and seems to have selected Ajayapāla¹ The *Kumārapāla prabandha* however tells us that Kumārapāla desired to give the throne to his daughter's son Pratāpamalla, but Ajayapāla raised a revolt and got rid of Kumārapāla by poison² It is significant that this tradition that Ajayapāla 'wickedly poisoned his sovereign' is also recorded by Abu l Faḍl and 'Alī Muhammad Khān³ The dramatic forecast of Hemacandra that the royal pupil would only survive him for six months,⁴ was probably made to come true by more violent means than the Jaina chroniclers would have us believe The suspicion of foul play increases when we see that there was a violent reaction in the religious policy of Kumārapāla's successor It is not unlikely therefore that soon after the death of the powerful Jaina teacher all the elements of dissatisfied Brahmanical forces combined to bring about a change of royal policy by violent means The appointment of Kapardin, an avowed devotee of the goddess *Durgā*, as the prime minister of Ajayapāla, the violent deaths of Āmrabhaṭa, the son of the Jain prime minister Udayana after a short civil war and of the Jaina monk Ramacandra⁵ all seem to point to the same conclusion

The relationship between Kumārapāla and his successors is usually left uncertain in the chronicles and inscriptions But the *Doyāśraya* of Hemacandra and the *Therāvāda* of Merutuṅga tell us that Ajayapāla was the son of Mahipāla,⁶ a brother of Kumārapāla⁷ This statement is supported by a Patan inscription at Veraval, which calls Ajayapāla the brother's son of

¹ X, 118.

² BG Vol I Part I p. 104. See also PO p. 149 which seems to refer to the birth of a son to Kumārapāla: A son has been born to your majesty The king is reported to have answered that this child would be a king in Gujarat but not in that city (Aṇahilla-pājaka)

³ IAK Vol. II, p. 263; MA Trans. p. 148.

⁴ PO p. 150.

⁵ Ibid pp. 152-53.

⁶ According to Forbes one of the candidates for the throne on the death of Jayasiddha
RAS Vol. I p. 10

⁷ BG Vol. I, Part I, p. 104 and fn. 3; JBRAS Vol. IX p. 155

Kumārapāla ¹ The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* also calls Ajayapāla the nephew of Kumārapāla.²

The following inscriptions are so far known for Ajayapāla's reign :

(1) *Udayapur stone-inscription* —Found ' in Udayāditya's magnificent temple to Śiva at Udayapur, in the State of Gwalior, C I It contains 23 lines, and opens with *Om namah Śivāya* Then follows the date (V.) *Samvat* 1229 (A D 1173),³ in the reign of *M-P-Parama-māheśvara* Ajayapāladeva, when the *Amātya* Someśvara was transacting the business of the seal ⁴ At this date the illustrious Lūnapasāka,⁵ an officer appointed by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the *Bhāillasvāmī-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*,⁶ a province acquired by the king's own prowess, on the occasion of a *Yugādī*, which coincided with the *Aksaya-trtīyā*, gave the village of Umaiathā in the *Bhṛṅgārīkā-Catuhsasti-pathaka* to the god Vaidyanātha, at Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased *Rāja*, the illustrious Solanadeva, a son of the *Rājaputī*, the illustrious Vīlhaṇadeva, of the Muhilaundha(?) family. Lines 20-21 state that the donation was received (on behalf of the god) by Nīlakantha Svāmin ⁷

(2) *Unjha inscription*.—Found in the Kāleśvar Mahādev temple at Unjha, Baroda State. It is dated in (V)S. 1231 in the reign of Ajayapāladeva of Anahlapātaka.⁸

¹ *Ibid*, fn 2, on p 194

² *AAK*, Vol II, p 260, see also *RAI*S, Vol I, p 198

³ The exact date is Monday, the 16th April, A D 1173

⁴ *Śrī Śrī Karanādaṁ samasta mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṇṭhayati*.

⁵ Corrupted from Prakrit Lōnapasāya, Sanskrit Lavanaprasāda Another form of the name is Lūnapasāja See *IA*, Vol XVIII, p 346

⁶ Bhāillasvāmī is mod Bhilsa, to the NE of Bhopal, C I

⁷ Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 344-48 Previously edited by F W Hall in *JASB*, Vol XXXI, pp 125, correction suggested by Hultzsch in *IA*, Vol XI, p 244, fn 12

⁸ Noticed by D R. Bhandarkar from his own transcript, *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 54, No 353

(3) *Bombay Secretariat grant*—The find spot of the inscription is not known. It was deposited in 1889 in the Bombay Secretariat. It contains 32 lines, incised on two plates. Though there are ring-holes in the plate, and one plain copper ring was found, there is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring. At the end are engraved the sun, the moon, and the figure of a four faced, and four armed god, seated on a water lily (Brahman). The inscription opens with two verses praising the god Śiva (Vyomakeśa and Smarātṛāṭi), and next comes the name *Brāhmaṇapāṭaka* the place from which the grant was issued. It then traces the succession of *Pb-M-Parama māheśvara* Ajayapāladeva from Jayasimha¹. We are next told that in the reign of this prince, who was established in *Anahilapāṭaka* when the *Mahāmātya* Someśvara was in charge of the seal, the *Cahuyāna* (Cāhamāna) *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vaijalla deva who had attained the *Pañca mahāśabda* and who through the favour of Ajayapāladeva was governing the *Narmadā tāṭa maṇḍala*, when stationed at *Brāhmaṇapāṭaka*, in V S 1231 (for 1232? = A D 1175), granted the village of *Ālavīḍagūṃva* belonging to the group known as *Mākhulagūṃva grāma dvicātvarīṃśat* and forming part of *Pūrṇa pathaka*, for the feeding of 50 new Brāhmins in *Khaṇḍohaka* southern division. In line 31 there is another date, (V) *Saivat* 1231 in figures. The *Dātaka* of the grant was the *Pratihāra* Sobhanadeva. The grant ends with *Sva hasto yam Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Śrī Vaijalla devasya* Uparor (Uparika?) Vāmadeva².

If Fleet is right in his suggestion that the date V S 1231 of the second inscription is a mistake for V S 1232 the two records show that Ajayapāla reigned at least for 3 years (V S 1229-32). Merutunga's *Theravāli* tells us that he reigned for

¹ Jayasimha is given the epithet *Vaccaraḥa-jyēṣṭha* while Kumārapāla is called *Umāpatī-sara-labdhā prasādo* and *vinirjita Śakambhavi* *lā pāla*. The epithet *pādānuḍhyāta* qualifies the relationship of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla to their predecessors.

² Edited by Fleet, *IA* Vol. XVIII pp 80-85. In a Kadi grant of Bhīma II (*IA* Vol. VI p. 207) Ajayapāla is given the epithet *Vahāmāheśvara*.

3 years and two months, from V.S. 1229, *Pauṣa*, to 1232, *Phālguna*.¹ The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of the same author states that he 'ruled for 3 years beginning from V.S. 1230.'² As the *Ā'in-ī-Akbarī*³ and the *Mināt-ī-Aḥmadī* also assign him 3 years, we may conclude that his reign period did not exceed that limit by any appreciable margin. The Jain chroniclers do not record any achievements of this reign. The author of the *Sukṛta-samkīrtana* however notes that the king of Sapādalakṣa sent Ajayapāla a silver pavilion 'as a feudatory's gift.'⁴ This seems to be confirmed by the Kadī grant of Bhīma II (V.S. 1263), which gives Ajayapāla the epithet *Karadikṛta-Sapādalakṣa-Kṣamāpāla*.⁵ If there is any truth in this statement, this Cāhamāna ruler must be identified with Someśvara, for whom we have dates ranging from c. 1170 to 1177 A.D.⁶ There is some evidence to show that Ajayapāla was engaged in war with the rising Guhīlas of Rajputana. From an Abu inscription dated in V S. 1287 we learn that the Abu Paramāra Prahādāna defended the illustrious Gurjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasīmha.⁷ Lüders suggested the identification of the latter prince with the Guhīla Sāmanta-sīmha, whose name is mentioned in two inscriptions of Mt. Abu. He referred him to c. 1200 A.D.⁸ But two inscriptions of the Guhīla prince, recently discovered, are dated in V S. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.) and 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.).⁹ These make him a

¹ *JBRAS*, Vol IX, p 155.

² This must be wrong; see above, p 999, inscription No 1, dated in V S. 1229.

³ *AAK*, Vol II, p. 260, *MA*, Trans, p. 143, *BHG*, p 27

⁴ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 194

⁵ *IA*, Vol VI, pp 194 ff Fleet in the grant No 9 of Bhīma II (see below, p 1008) read it, I think wrongly, as *Karadikṛta Sapādalakṣa-Lakṣmāpāla*, and translates as 'levied tribute from Lakṣmāpāla, the king of Sapādalakṣa' *IA*, Vol XVIII, pp 113 and 115.

⁶ *JASB*, Vol LV, Part I, pp 40ff, *JRAS*, 1918, p 277, also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas

⁷ *EI*, Vol VIII, p 216, V 38 See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Guhīla-putras.

⁸ *Ibid*, p 202; Lüders takes the Gurjara king to be Bhīma II

⁹ Noticed in *RMR*, 1914-15, p 3, also *IA*, 1924, p 100

contemporary of Ajayapāla, and as the two immediate successors of Ajayapāla were minors when they ascended the throne, the conflict may have taken place during his reign ¹

According to the Merutuṅga, Ajayapāladeva, soon after his accession, 'began to destroy the (Jain) temples set up by his predecessors' and appointed Kapardin, a worshipper of Durgā, to be his prime minister. Among the violent acts recorded by this author of this 'low villain of a king' is the execution of the minister Kapardin and the Jain scholar Rāmacandra, 'the author of a hundred works' (and a pupil of Hemacandra). The former was 'cast into the cauldron, while the latter was 'placed on a heated plate of copper' I have already referred to the armed revolt of Āmrabhaṭa, the son of Udayana, Kumārapāla's powerful Jain minister. We are told that he refused to prostrate himself before the king, saying that in this birth he did obeisance only "to him who is without passion as a god, to the sage Hemacandra as a teacher, and to Kumārapāla as a master" ² The angry king ordered him to prepare for battle. Thereupon he worshipped the image of the Jina and after accepting consecration for battle, 'swept away from his own mansion the retainers of the king like a heap of chaff, with the wind of his own soldiers'. He then penetrated as far as the clock house and passed into existence as a god, being emulously chosen by the Apsaras, who came to behold the wondrous sight" ³ There is no reason to doubt these stories of the violent end of these two influential Jain devotees. But there is some ground to suspect the authenticity of Merutuṅga's story about Kapardin. For the two inscriptions of Ajayapāla give the name of his chief minister as Someśvara. Possibly however Kapardin was one of the minor ministers. But when we contrast the evident horror and anger of Merutuṅga in his description of the death of Rāmacandra with his tacit approval in the case of Kapardin we may well suspect

¹ *HB* II, p. 449; *IA* 1924 pp. 100-102.

² *PO* p. 153

³ *Ibid*

that underneath this story there lies a desire to show poetic justice for the violent anti-Jain policy of the king's ministry. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* says that Ajayapāla, 'the sinner against religious edifices, was stabbed to death with a knife by a door-keeper (*Pratihāra*) named Vayajaladeva, and being devoured by worms, and suffering the tortures of hell every day, he passed into the invisible world'¹ It is not easy to identify this murderer. But I would like to point out that this was the name of a very influential Cāhamāna officer of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla;² and the murder may have had some connection with the king's religious policy.

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son³ Mūlarāja II. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* calls him *Bāla-Mūlarāja*, and assigns him a reign of two years, beginning from V S. 1233.⁴ The *Therāvalī* styles him *Laghu-Mūladeva*, and allots him a period of two years, one month, and two days, from V S. 1232, *Phālguna*, to 1234, *Cartīa*.⁵ Abu'l-Faẓl gives him a reign of 8 years,⁶ while 'Alī Muḥammad allows him 20 years.⁷ The Muslim tradition on this point is evidently wrong, for we know that the successor of Mūlarāja must have ascended the throne before V.S. 1235. Merutunga, therefore, is apparently right in assigning him a short reign. He probably ruled from c. 1176 to 1178 A.D.⁸ As the Muslim tradition agrees with Merutunga, it seems certain that Mūlarāja ascended the throne when still a child. The *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* states that after the accession in V. S.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154 Tawney has translated *Pratihāra* as 'door-keeper,' see *Sanskrit Text*, Ed. by Rāmacandra Dinanātha, Bombay, 1888, p. 249 But I think the Sanskrit word here denotes a higher official of the State

² See Kumārapāla's inscription No. 10 on p. 981 and fn. 1 on p. 981; also inscription No. 2 of Ajayapāla on p. 1000

³ *BI*, p. 210, line 28; *RAS*, Vol. I, p. 200

⁴ *PC*, p. 154.

⁵ *JBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 155

⁶ *AAK*, Vol. II, p. 260 The name is Lakhmūl.

⁷ *MA*, Trans., p. 143 The name is given as Lakhū-Mūl Deo

⁸ See *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52, which says that Bhīma was already on the throne of Nahrwālah in 574 A. H. (A. D. 1178).

1283, his mother "queen Nāikī, the daughter of king Paramardīn¹ taking her son in her lap," fought at Gādarāra-ghaṭṭa, and conquered the king of the *Mlecchas*, by the aid of a mass of rain clouds, that came out of season attracted by her virtue². The *Kīrti kaumudī*, the *Sukṛta saṃkīrtana*,³ and *Vasanta vilāsa*⁴ state that Mūladeva even in childhood defeated the Muhammadans⁵. This tradition of the defeat of the Muslims is confirmed by epigraphic evidence. A Veraval inscription of Bhīm II tells us that Mūla rāja conquered Hammīra in battle,⁶ while four Kadī plates of the same king give him the epithet *parābhūta-durjaya Garjjanakādhi rāja*⁷. Two other Kadī grants call him *Mleccha tamo-nicaya cchanna mahī valaya pradyotana bālārka*.⁸ Bühler has suggested that *Garjjanaka* is a mere Sanskritisation of the word Ghaznavī, giving the etymological meaning of 'the roarer'⁹. Mr Jackson has conjectured that this conflict with the Muslims occurred in 574 A. H. (A. D. 1178), when according to the Muhammadan historians Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn unsuccessfully invaded Gujrat¹⁰. But as the Muhammadan chroniclers unanimously give the name of the contemporary Caulukya king as Bhīm Deo it seems difficult to accept Jackson's suggestion that they are wrong in

¹ Identified with the Goa Kadambe *Mahāmaṇḍavarī* Perumādī who ruled c. 1147-75: BG Vol. I, Part I p. 195; Part II, pp. 460, 476, 486 and 548; called *Sisecottī* *ibid* p. 555.

² *Utsarga dīkṣā svataḥ āpāda vidhaya* (having made her son a child in arms king).

³ PG p. 154.

⁴ BG Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.

⁵ III, 34.

⁶ The Muslims are mentioned as *Turukkas* in the first two and *Mlecchas* in the third.

⁷ BI p. x10 line 29.

⁸ IA Vol. VI, pp. 194ff.; *ibid*, p. 201. See also Royal Asiatic Society's grant, *ibid*, Vol. XVIII pp. 113. But Fleet reads the word as *Nāgarjuna Kacirāja* i.e. Nāgarjuna the lord of Kavi (mod. Kavi in Broach district). Without actually rejecting Bühler's reading in the Kadī plates Fleet is emphatic that his reading is quite distinct on the plate.

⁹ IA, Vol. VI p. 199 line 13, plate I. But see *ibid* p. 200 where Bühler wrongly gives the summary as 'who conquered the ruler of Garjjanaka. The English translation ought to be 'the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the Mlecchas, see *ibid* p. 205.

¹⁰ IA Vol. VI p. 163.

¹¹ BG Vol. I, Part I p. 105, fn. 4.

mentioning Bhīma instead of Mūlaiāja. If Bühler's reading and interpretation of *Gaṇjanaka* is accepted, one might suggest that the invader may have been one of the Ghaznavids of Lahore. But it is highly improbable that the 'mild and the voluptuous' Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (c. 1160-86),¹ the last representative of that line, would have attempted so daring and distant an expedition. As the Caulukyas of Anhilvada were frequently in conflict with the rulers of Sind the struggle in question may have been caused by the raid of a Sumra chief of Maṇṣūra. There is a third possibility. We know that Mu'izz ud-Dīn conquered Multan in 571-72 A.H. (1175-76 A.D.)² Can it be that before embarking upon his distant expedition against Nahrwālah in 574 A.H. (1178 A.D.) he sent a minor expedition for reconnaissance during the period c. 1176-78 A.D., which has been left unrecorded by Muslim historians?

According to a Veraval stone inscription Mūlaiāja II "went to heaven even in youth as if desirous of (meeting) his father there. Then Bhīmadeva became the self-elected husband of royalty."³ The *Sukṛta-samkīrtana* and the *Kīrti-kaumudī* inform us that he was the younger brother of Mūlaiāja.⁴ The *Kīrti-kaumudī* further adds that when Bhīmadeva came to the throne he was still in his childhood.⁵

Of the time of Bhīma II we have the following published records :

(1) *Veraval stone-inscription of Bhāva-Brhaspati*.—Found lying loose in the Fauzdar's office at the sea-port of Veraval, in Junagarh state. It contains 45 lines, many of which are damaged and extremely fragmentary. It opens with verses in praise of Śiva and Sarasvatī; then follow an account of Gaṇḍa-Bhāva-Brhaspati and his family and the names of the

¹ For his rule, see *CHI*, Vol III, pp 37ff

² *TN*, Vol I, pp 449-51.

³ *BI*, p 213

⁴ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, pp 195-96 *Ras*, Vol I, p 200 and fn. 2

⁵ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 196.

Caulukya princes from Siddharāja to Bhīma II. The proper object of the inscription, which is undated, seems to be to record that Bhīma II built a temple called Meghanāda at Somanātha.¹

(2) *Kiradu stone-inscription* — This fragmentary and mutilated inscription was found in a temple of Someśvara, and belongs to the reign of Bhīma II. It is dated in (V) S 1235 and mentions the name of the feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadeva and his subordinate Tejapāla. It records that the image of Someśvara, which was in the temple, and which was broken by the Turuṣkas was replaced by a new one by Tejapāla's wife.²

(3) *Patan inscription* — This fragmentary inscription of the time of Bala Bhīma (II) was discovered at Patan (Baroda State). It is dated in (V) S 1236. The inscription was composed by the Nagar Brāhman Mādhava.³

(4) *Diwra image-inscription* — Found inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Nityaprasādita deva at Diwra in Dungarpur State South Rajputana. It records that in V S 1253 (A.D. 1196), in the reign of Bhīma II, a person named Vajja erected the image at Devakarpa (Diwra).⁴

(5) *Patan grant* 'picked up from the old rubbish lying at the Patan Kacheri' — It contains 45 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Oṃ svasti*, then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlārāja I to Bhīma II.⁵ The object of the inscriptions to record that Pb M P Abhinava-Siddharāja Bhimadeva, residing at Anahilapāṭaka in V S 1256 (? 1199 A.D.) granted four ploughs of land in Kaḍāgrāma, on the eastern side, the side close to the land of the god Ānalaśvaradeva, of

¹ *BI* pp. 208-14. See above, inscription No. 10 of Kumārapāla.

² Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar *BI* Vol. XI p. 72. Kiradu is a village in Marwar near Hathamo under Badmera.

³ Noticed from his own transcript by D. R. Bhandarkar *BI* Vol. XX p. 57 No. 396.

⁴ *BMR* 1915 p. 2.

⁵ All the rulers are called Pb M P.-*Sri*. In addition Karpa is given the title *Trailokyamalla*. Jayasinha is given the epithets *Avantīnātha*-*Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*-*Varcera*-*ka*-*j*-*gga*-*Siddha*-*calacavertī*; Kumārapāla: *Umapati*-*vara*-*lobha*-*prāsāda*-*pranḍhe*-*prati*-*śa*-*Stabhya*-*j*-*vikrama*-*raṣṭāga*-*cinurjita*-*Sākambhari*-*bhāpāla*; Ajayapāla: *Karadīpta*-*Sapādelakṣa*-*Kṣemāpāla*; Mūlārāja: *Parābhūta*-*Durjaya*-*Gaṇanākādurdja*.

the village of Mahīsānā,¹ to the Rāyakavāla Brāhman Āśādhara. The writer of the grant was the *Modhānvaya-prasūta-Mahākṣapatalika-Tha(kkura)*-Kumyara, the *Dūtaka* the *Mahāsāndhvirahika-Tha(kkura)* Bhīmaka. The grant ends with Śrī-Bhīmadevasya.²

(6) *Kadi grant* (ι) —One of the plates which was lying in the 'Gaikvādi Kacheri' at Kadi in the Uttara Mahāls. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription begins with *Om svasti*, then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.³ The object is to record that *Pb - M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharāja* Bhīmadeva, who ruled in Anahilapāṭaka, in V. *Samvat* 1263 (A.D. 1206), granted the village of Indilā in the Agambhūtā (or Gambhūtā)-*pathaka* to maintain the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Līleśvaradeva built by Rājñī Līlādevī, daughter of Cāhu(māna) Rān(ā) Samarasīha at Līlāpura and the drinking-fountain and almshouse situated at the same place. The writer of the grant was the *Kāyastha Mahākṣapatalika Tha(kkura)* Vosarin, and the *Dūtaka* was *Mahāsāndhvirahika Tha(kkura)* Sūdha(?). The grant ends with Śrī Bhīmadevasya.⁴

(7) *Timana grant of the Mehra Jagamalla* —'Found at Ṭimānā near Bhaunagar.' It contains 34 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V) *Samvat* 1264 (A.D. 1206) when *M.P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-praudha-pratāpa-Lankeśvara-Nārāyaṇāvatāra* Bhīmadeva was ruling at Anahilapāṭaka and while his *Mahāmātya-Rānaka* Cācigadeva was in charge of the Seal.⁵ At this date the following *Śāsana-patra* was drawn up with the consent of the Mehara-rāja Jagamalla at Ṭimbānaka (mod. Timana) under the administration (*vyāpāre*?) of the *Pratī(hāra)* Sākhadā. The abovementioned Jagamalla had

¹ For the places mentioned in connection with the grant and the suggested identifications of some, see I 4, Vol XI, pp 72-73

² Edited by Dhruva, I 4, Vol XI, pp 71-73

³ The *virudas* and epithets as in No 4 above

⁴ Edited by Bühler, I 4, Vol VI, pp 194-96

⁵ *Srī Karnādau Samasta mudrā vyāpārān paripanthayatī* (conducting the business of the seal relating to the treasury)

established two idols,¹ Caṇḍareśvara and Pṛthivīdevīśvara, at the large town (*mahāsthāna* ?) of Talājhā² for the spiritual merit of (his father) Caṇḍarā, the son of the great man (*bṛhat-puruṣa*), the Mehara rāja Āna, and his mother *Seṭhāhe-rājñī* Pṛthivīdevī. He granted 55 *pāthas*³ of land in each of the two villages named Kāmbalaūli⁴ and Phulasara⁵ for the maintenance of the gods.⁶ The inscription also records donations of annual grants of money (*dramma* and *rūpaka*) from *Pratī(hāra)* Sākhadā, the *Sreṣṭhin* Valahala and the *Mahājanas* of Ṭimbānka, the *pūjāmātya* of the Ṭimbānaka *maṇḍala*, and Rāūla Uccadeva. This last person and 8 other trustees (*Goṣṭhika*) were appointed to administer the revenues of 'this place of worship' under the control of certain Sobhārka. The inscription was incised by *Sau Ālada*.⁷

(8) *Abu stone inscription (i)* — Opens with *Om* *svasti* and an invocation of Śiva, the lord of the holy Mt Abu. Then follows a glorification of Avantī and a list of 7 spiritual ancestors⁸ of the Śaiva ascetic Kedārārāśī, who belonged to the Capala gotra. The object is to record that this ascetic paved the interior of the *Tīrtha* of Kanakhala on Mount Arbuda, and built and renovated various temples at that holy place. The record was composed by Lakṣmīdhara in (V) *Saṁvat* 1265 (A D 1208-09), in the *Vijaya-rājya* of *Pb M* Bhīmadeva, the saviour of the Caulukyās,⁹ while *Maham*¹⁰ *Thābū* (?) was in charge of the great Seal, when the *Māṇḍalika* Dhārāvarṣadeva,

¹ Śaiva *Līṅgas* (?) Rams were sacrificed before them see *IA* Vol. XI, p. 339

² Mod. TalaJa (or TilaJha) on the SetramJi (SairuJaya) river near Palitana, in the BH. of Kathiawar

³ One *pātha* = 240 sq. ft.; see *ibid* fn. 23 on p. 339

⁴ Mod. Kamol W of Talājhā

⁵ Mod. Phulsar S of Talājhā.

⁶ Names of cultivators are given who were appointed to plough the land.

⁷ Edited by Hultzsch *IA* Vol. XI, pp 337-40.

⁸ This includes Yāgaśvarī a female ascetic.

⁹ Caulukyoddharaṇya

¹⁰ *Mahāmātya*.

the lord of Candrāvātī was protecting the earth, and when the worshipful prince,¹ Prahlādanadeva was the *Yuvarāja*. The inscription was engraved by the *Sūtra(dhāra)* Pālhaṇa.²

(9) *Royal Asiatic Society's grant* — Found deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1879. Its find-spot is unknown. It contains 56 lines, incised on three plates. It opens with *Om svasti*: then follows the date, V.S. 1266 (A.D. 1209), *Simha Samvat* 96. Next comes the genealogy of the Caulukyas of Anahillapātaka from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.³ We are then told that in the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharājadeva-Vola*⁴ (*Bāla* ?) *Nārāyanāvatāra* Bhīmadeva, while the *Mahāmātya* Ratnapāla was in charge of the Seal and when the *Mahāpratī(hāra)* Somarājadeva was carrying on the administration at *Vāmanasthalī*⁵ in *Surāstra-maṇḍala*,⁶ 350 *pāśas* of land yielding four *Khandas*⁷ were granted to a certain Mādhava of the *Nāgara* kindred (*jñātīya*), for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough made at the village of Ghantelānā⁸ by one Mahīpāla of the *Prāgvāṭa* kindred (*jñātīya*). The *Dūtaka* is represented as 'himself' (*Svayam*, perhaps *Somarāja*).⁹

(10) *Veraval stone-inscription of Śīdhara*. — Reported to have been originally found by Tod and Postans on a (stone) pillar at

¹ *Kumāraguru*

² Edited by Cartellieri, *IA*, Vol XI, pp 220 23 The record is also called Kanthal (Mt Abu, Rajputana) inscription, see *EI*, Vol XX, Appendix X, p 65, No 454. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p 916

³ *Bīrudas* and epithets as in No 4 above

⁴ The correction of *Vola* to *Bāla* is suggested by Fleet, *IA*, Vol XVIII, p 113, fn 17 But could it have any connection with the popular epithet *Bhoḷo* applied to him? See *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 196

⁵ *Vāmanasthalī-Śrīkarane* *Vāmanasthalī* is modern Vantali in the Junagarh State

⁶ Mod Sorath, or perhaps the whole of the Kathiawar peninsula as Fleet suggests

⁷ *pāśa*=chain 100 *pāśas*=1 *khaṇḍa*

⁸ This place together with the other villages mentioned in connection with the grant have not yet been identified For their names, see p 115, *IA*, Vol XVIII

⁹ Edited by Fleet, *ibid.* pp 110 16

Somnath, near the Qāzi's house At present the slab bearing the record is 'built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town of Veraval The inscription contains 47 lines of fragmentary and damaged writing It opens with (*Oṃ namaḥ*) *Śivāya*, and a *maṅgala* addressed to Śiva (Vs 1-8) Then follows a eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, 'which the moon founded in order to escape the intolerable disease of consumption' (Vs 4-5) Next comes a eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula family and the Caulukyās of Anhilvad¹ Śrīdhara of the former family² we are told, was honoured amongst the officials of king Bhīma II By his counsel he quickly made again stable the country that had been shaken by the war elephants of Mālava and protected Devapattana by his power He made like so much grass the host of the heroic Hammīra The proper object of the inscription is probably to record that this person constructed two temples at Somanātha, one of these a Vaiṣṇava shrine raised in memory of his mother, and the other a Śaiva temple, in memory of his father The date, V S 1278 (A D 1216) is given in the last line.³

(11) *Bharana stone inscription* — Found built into the verandah of a Bāvā monastery at the small village of Bharana near Khambhaha a seaport in the Gulf of Cutch in Jamnagar State, Kathiawar It contains 9 lines of fragmentary writing, opening with the date V S 12(75) (A D 1219) in the *Vijaya-rājya* of M Bhīmadeva of Anahilapāṭaka The object is to record that a well was caused to be made by Sāmantasīmha, who was probably an officer appointed in Saurāṣṭra (*Śrī-Sau deśābhīyukta maharāṇ Śrī*)⁴

(12) *Kadī grant (ii)* — Found as in No 5 above It contains 28 lines, opening with *Oṃ svasti* and then giving the genealogy

¹ From Mūlārāja I to Bhīma II with the exception of Bhīma I whose name has been lost through damage of V 16.

² Belonged to the Śāṅgīliya gotra and the city of Nagara (mod. Vadnagar).

³ Edited by Bühler and V G Oza *RI* Vol II pp. 137-18.

⁴ *RI* pp. 204-05.

of the Caulukyās as in No. 4 above.¹ We are then told that *M -P -Pb.-Abhinava-Siddharāja-Saptama-cakravartī* Bhīmadeva, residing at Anāhilapātaka in V.S. 1283 (A.D. 1226) granted the village of Natāulī, in the Cālīsa-pathaka² to the temple of Mūleśvara at Mandalā and the ascetics attached thereto. The trustee was the *Sthānapati* Vedagarabharāśī. The grant was written by the *Ākṣapaṭali(ka)* Kāyastha Somasīha; the *Dūtaka* was *Mahāsāndhī(vigrahika)* *Ṭha(kkura)* Vahudeva. The inscription ends with 'Śrī-Bhīmadevasya' ³

(13) *Nana stone-inscription* —Found in the temple of Nīlakanṭha-Mahādeva at Nana in the Balī district in Godwar. It is in Marwarī, and records the repair of the temple in-(V.) *Samvat* 1283 when Bhyivadeva (Bhīmadeva), son of Ajayapāladeva, was paramount sovereign at Anahila-nagara, and when the Cāhama (Cāhamāna ?) Dhāndhaladeva, son of Vīsadhavalā, was his feudatory.⁴

(14) *Kaḍi grant (vi)*.—Found as in No. 6 above. It contains 55 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is almost the same as in No. 4. The inscription next records that *M -P -Pb.-Abhinava-Siddharāja-Saptama-Cakravartī* Bhīmadeva residing at Anāhilapātaka⁵ in V.S. 1287 (A.D. 1030) granted the village of Devāū (?) in the Vardhī-pathaka,⁶ to the temples of Ānaleśvara and Salakhaneśvara, built by the Solum (kī) *Rāṇā Ānā Ṭha(kkura)* Luṇāpasāka⁷ to defray the expenses of the temple service and to feed Brāhmins. The trustees of the endowment was Vedagarabharāśī, the *Sthānapati* of the

¹ The *virudas* and epithets are similar with some differences. The most important of these is the epithet *Mleccha-tamo-nicaya cchanna-mahī-valaya-pradyotana-bālārka* given to Mūlarāja II.

² For the places mentioned in connection with the boundary, see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 200.

³ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol. VI, pp. 199-200.

⁴ *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 49.

⁵ In the English summary Bühler gives this as 'Anāhilapātaka'.

⁶ The place names occurring in the description of the boundaries of the villages (see *IA*, Vol. VI, p. 201) have not yet been identified.

⁷ Sanskrit *Lavanaprasāda* ? see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 50, n. 990.

Mūleśvaradeva maṭha at Maṇḍali The writer and the *Dātaka* of the grant are the same as in No 12 Line 7 of the plate II then ends with 'Śrī Bhīmadevasya' Lines 8 to 26 contain a mutilated postscript which appears to 'contain some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the merchants of Salakhanapura' ¹

(15) *Abu stone inscription* (u) — Engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the shrine of Neminātha on Mt Abu which is generally known as the 'temple of Vastupāla and Tejahpāla' It contains 33 lines In the opening lines (1-5) we are told that in (V) *Saka*vat 1287 (A D 1230) the Caulukya king Bh(ī)madeva was ruling at Anahilapātaka, and while the *Mahā maṇḍaleśvara rājakula* Somasīmha, born in the family of the illustrious Dhūmarāja, who had sprung from the sacrificial fire altar of the holy Vasiṣṭha was reigning victoriously, Tejahpāla caused to be made in the village of Deulavādā ² on the top of Mt Arbuda, the temple of the holy Neminātha, called *Lūnasīmha vasahikā* for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadevī, and his son Lūnasīmha Tejahpāla ³ is described as 'conducting the whole business of the seal of the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara rājaka* Viradhavaladeva, the son of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara-rājaka* Lavanaprasādadeva, born in the Caulukya kula in the *rātra-maṇḍala* (obtained) by favour of the aforesaid M Bhīmadeva The rest is mainly devoted to an elaborate description of the management of the temple and some endowments to the same The *Srāvaka* trustees (*goṣṭhika*) appointed for the temple were Tejahpāla, his two brothers Malladeva and Vastupāla, their descendants and all male members of the family of Lūnasīmha's mother Anupamadevī ⁴ and their descendants Amongst the names of persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted occur the names of *Rajakula*

¹ Edited by Bühler *IA* Vol. VI pp. 201-03

² Mod. Dilwara in Lat. 24 36' N long 73 43' E. The other places mentioned in the inscription have all been located round about Dilwara see *RI* Vol. VIII p 207

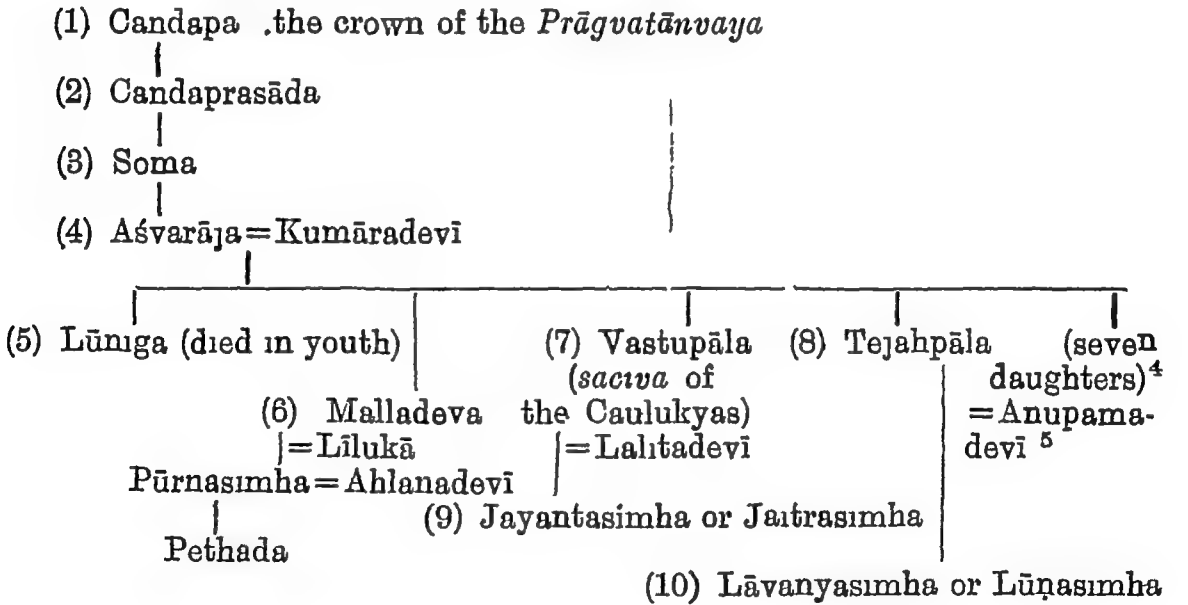
³ His pedigree as in No. 10 the next inscription.

This family resided at Candrāvati and belonged to the Prāgyaṭa jāti.

Somasimha, the lord of Candrāvātī and his son the *Rājākula* Kānhadadeva.¹ Line 31 records that the *Mahārājākula* Somasimhadeva granted to Neminātha in the *Lūnasimha-vasāhikā* the village of Ḍavāni in Vāhirahadī, for his worship and personal allowance. The record concludes with Somasimha 'entreating the future kings of the Pramāra (Paramāra) race to protect his gift for all time.'³

(16) *Abu stone-inscription (ii)* — Engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the same temple as in No. 15 above. It contains 47 lines of writings. It opens with an invocation of Sarasvatī and Ganeśa. Then comes an account of Tejahpāla's family, which may be tabulated as follows :—

In Anahilapura. .protected by the Caulukyas³



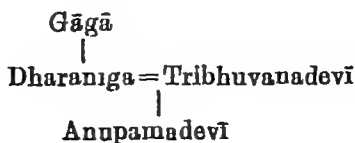
¹ The same as Kṛṣṇarājadeva of No 15

² A short account of the record was published by Wilson in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol XVI, pp 309ff It was then edited by Prof Kathavate as Appendix B to his Ed of the *Kīrti-kaumudī* Re-edited, by Lüders in *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 204-07 and 219-23

³ Note the omission of the name of Bhīmadeva, the reigning king

⁴ Jālū, Māū, Sāū, Dhanadevī, Sohagā, Vayajukā, and Padmaladevī

⁵ Her genealogy In the *Prāgvāta* family of Candrāvātī



From V 25 the genealogy of Tejahpāla's masters begins as follows

In the family (*vaṁśa*) of the Caulukya heroes

Arporāja after him

Lavanaprasada

Viradhavala his two ministers (Vastupāla and Tejahpāla)

From V 30 begins a description of Mount Arbuda and the following genealogy of the Paramāras of Candrāvātī

From the sacrificial fire of Vasistha

(1) Paramara so called because he took delight
in killing his enemies (*para-māraṇa*)
In that lineage

(2) Dhūmarāja Then came

(3) Dhandhuka

(4) Dhruvabhāṣa and others In their lineage

(5) Ramadeva

(6) Yaśodhavala killed Ballala lord of Mālava who had
become hostile to the Caulukya king
Kumārāpāla.

(7) Dhāravarṣa
(defeated the lord
of Kauṁbhaka)

(8) Prahlādana. defended the
Gūjara king
when his power
had been broken
in battle by
Śāmantasirha.

(9) Somasirhhadeva

(10) Kṛṣṇarājadeva,

V 60 announces that for the religious merit of his wife (Anu-
pamā) and son (Lāvanyasirha) Tejahpāla built this temple of
Neminātha on Arbuda. It was built of white marble and had
52 shrines for the Jinās. There were besides 10 statues of the
members of Tejahpāla's family (Nos 1-10) mounted on female
elephants. Behind these statues, on *khaffakas* of white marble
the same persons were placed with their wives. The *praśasti*

was composed by Someśvaradeva whose feet were honoured by the Caulukya king It was engraved by the *Sūtra(dhāra)* Candēśvara. It is dated in the last line (47) in V. S. 1287 (A.D. 1230).¹

(17) *Kaḍi grant (w)*.—Found as No 6 above. It contains 40 lines, incised on two plates The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5 above. The inscription in its formal part records that the donor of No. 11 above, in V. S. 1288 (c. 1232 A D) granted a village (name lost) and 20 ploughs of land in the village... (name lost), both in the Vālauya-pathaka,² to the temples of Ānaleśvara, and Salakhaneśvara in the Salakhanapura and to the *Shānapati* of the local *matha*, Vedagarbhakāśī, as well as his son Someśvara for the maintenance of the *Bhattānakas* and the almshouse (*satra*) The writer³ and the *Dūtaka* of the grant are the same as in No. 12 above⁴

(18) *Kaḍi grant (v)* —Found as in No. 6 above It contains 47 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No 5.⁵ In the formal part it records that the donor of No 12 above, in V S 1295 (c. 1238 A D), granted as *palladikā* in the village of Ghūsadī, near Gohanasara, a garden measuring two ploughs and some other objects⁶ to the temples of Vīnameśvara built by Rāṇā Vīrama, son of Rānā Lūnapasā in Ghūsadī and Sūmaleśvara. The trustee is the same as in No 14 above; the writer as in

¹ Wilson first published a translation of the record in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI, pp 802ff It was first edited by Prof Kathavate as Appendix A of his edition of the *Kīrti-kaumudī* A second edition appeared in *BI*, pp 174-84 Finally edited by Lüders, *EI*, Vol VIII, pp 200-04 and 208-19

² Places mentioned in connection of the boundaries not identified, see *IA*, Vol VI, p 204

³ Here called *Mahākṣapaṭalika*

⁴ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, pp 203-04

⁵ Though here Mūlarāja II is given the epithet *parābhūta durjaya-Garjjana-kādhirāja*, the editor erroneously translates it as "morning sun, etc" See *IA*, Vol VI, p 206

⁶ Writing damaged in this portion

No 12 above. The *Dātaka* was the *Mahāsandhivigrahika* (*Thakkura*) Vayajaladeva.¹

(19) *Kadī grant* (vi) — Found as No 6 above. It contains 44 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No 5.² It records that the donor of No 12 in V S 1296 (A D 1238) granted the village of Rājāyāpāṇī in the Vardhī *pathaka* to the same donees as in No 17. Trustee as in No 14. The same writer as in No 12, and the same *Dātaka* as in No 18 above.³

These inscriptions cover a period of about 60 years, from 1235 to 1296 V S (c 1178-1238 A D). According to the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, Bhīma II reigned for 63 years from V S 1235.⁴ According to Merutuṅga's *Theravāli* he ascended the throne in V S 1234, *Castra* 14, and apparently continued to reign till V S 1300, when Viśaladeva came to the throne.⁵ As the epigraphic and literary evidences agree in assigning Bhīma a long reign, it is likely that he really ruled from c 1235 to about 1298 V S (A D 1178-1241).

According to the *Kīrti kaumudī*, Bhīma II was still young when he ascended the throne. The Jain chroniclers usually pass over his reign, or only supply the most meagre details of it. The violent reaction of the royal family towards Saivism and the persecution of prominent Jain monks must have alienated the sympathies of the Jain writers from the reigning house of Anhilvad. Yet there is reason to believe that this long reign of more than half a century was not devoid of important incidents, which had far reaching effects on the whole history of Gujarat. It seems that in the very year in which Bhīma ascended the throne Gujarat was faced with the invasion of Turuṅkas under the formidable leadership of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Ghūrī. The

¹ Edited by Bühler *IA* Vol. VI, pp. 205-06.

² Mālarāja II is called *Mlecchaka-tamo* etc. as in No. 11 above.

³ Edited by Bühler *IA* Vol. VI pp. 205-06.

⁴ *PC* p. 154.

⁵ *JBRAS* Vol. IX p. 155.

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī relates that in the year 574 (A. D. 1178), the Sultān “marched an army towards Nahrwālah by way of Ūchchah and Multān. The Rāe of Nahrwālah, Bhīm Dīw, was young in years, but had numerous forces and many elephants and when the battle took place, the army of Islam was defeated and put to rout, and the Sultān-i-Ghāzī returned again without having accomplished his designs.¹ Nizām ud-Dīn tells us that “in the year 574 A.H. he again came to Uchch and Multan and thence marched towards Gujrat through the desert. Rāe Bhīm Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle and after a severe struggle, the Sultān was defeated, and after much trouble he returned to Ghaznī and rested there for a short time.”² Firishta also repeats a similar story. We are told that “in the year 574, he again marched to Oocha and Moultan and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Gujerat. The prince Bhīm-dew advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny.”³

According to these three Muslim accounts Bhīma was no contemptible ruler, as the Jain authors try to paint him. It was no mean achievement for one so young in years to defeat one of the greatest military leaders of the age. The victory was so decisive that the Muslims apparently made no serious efforts to recover their position for about 20 years. It was not till the month of Safar in 593 A.H. (A.D. 1197) that Quṭb ud-Dīn

¹ *TN*, Vol I, pp 451-52

² *TA*, Trans, p 36. The *Zafar ul-Wāliḥ* also states that when Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī advanced towards Nahrwālah by way of Ujja and Multān, “the infidel Bhīm Deo, the Rāi of Gujarat, who was young in years, came but with his minister (وزیر) to oppose the Muslim advance with many soldiers and elephants. But, curiously enough the author writes “The two armies met and there was a hard struggle, which promised a victory in due time. So he returned to Ghaznī.” Thus perhaps like some other Muslim historians he avoided telling an unpleasant truth. See *Zafar*, Ed by E. D. Ross, Vol. II, p 675

³ *TF*, Brigg's Trans, Vol II, p 170

succeeded in raiding Anahilapataka, Bhīma's capital. Hasan Nizāmī, the author of the *Tāj ul Ma'āthir*, gives the following account of this Muslim campaign

"In the year 591 H (1195 A D) when Quṭbu d Dīn was again at Ajmīr, intelligence was brought to him that a party of seditious Mbers 'who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness, had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwāla, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmīr, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them and might rid the country of them, and if any one of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death he must necessarily take the road to flight, and with his two horses would make three stages into one until he reached Delhi in a state of distraction

When this treacherous plan was revealed Quṭbu-d Dīn determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season 'before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels and like lions attacked them right and left. The action lasted during the whole day and next morning the immense army of Nahrwāla came to the assistance of the van guard, slew many of the Musulmāns wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmīr, and encamped within one parsang of that place

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels and to ask for orders as to future proceedings. 'A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindness upon the Khusrū, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent.' A large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jahān Pahlawān Asadu-d Dīn Arslān Kalj, Nasiru d Dīn

Husāin, 'Izzu-d-dīn, son of Muwāyīdu-d-dīn Balkh and Sharfu-d-dīn Muhammad Jarah. These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when 'the vanguard of the army of the winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned.'

'In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (January, 1197), the world-conquering Khusrū departed from Ajmīn, and with every description of forces turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rāī of Nahlwāla.' When he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmāns, and had collected under their leader Rāī Karan,¹ and Dāīābars,² in great numbers, 'at the foot of Mt Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter.' The Musulmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially in that very place Sultān Muhammad Sām Ghūrī had fallen wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoned the pass, 'turned their face towards the fields of battle and the plain of honour and renown' for 'they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion.' 'The two armies stood face to face for some time engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabī'ul awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at noon reached the position of the infidels.' A severe action ensued from dawn to midday, when

¹ Prof D R Bhandarkar suggests that 'Karan' is the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhan (c 1164-82 A D) See *EI*, Vol XI, pp 73-74, also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Cāhamānas

² Probably Dhārāvārṣa (c 1163-1219 A D), the Abu Paramāra chief, who was a feudatory of Bhīma II See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, pp 938 ff, chapter on the Paramāras, also *EI*, Vol XI, pp 73-74, *IA*, 1927, p 47

'the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became one level. Rai Karan effected his escape from the field. 'More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants and cattle and arms beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the victors. 'You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession.

'The city of Nahrwāla, which is the most celebrated in the country, full of rivers, and the kingdom of Gujarat, which is 'a separate region of the world' came under the dominion of the Musulmāns, 'and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice. 'The chief nobles and pillars of the state were favoured with handsome robes of honour, and received abundant proofs of royal kindness, then 'the standards of the Khusrū, victorious in battle returned to Ajmīr. '1

The above quotation gives us some idea of the severe struggles that Quṭb ud Dīn had to encounter for about two years (c. 1195-97 A.D.), before he succeeded in effecting his temporary occupation of Anahilapātaka in 1197 A.D. It was probably one of the episodes of this protracted struggle that gave Jayasinhha Sūrī his theme for his drama *Hammira-mada mardana*.² The account of Jayasinhha, though tainted with the well known bias of Jain authors, seem to contain some elements of truth. He tells us that when Bhīmasinhha³ was the *śimanta mahā* of Surāṣṭra, and when Viradhavala was reigning at Dhavalakapuri⁴ a mighty 'army of horse of the *Turuṣka vīra*s came to attack Gujarat by way of the Maru. Viradhavala, however, promptly appeared in the Marudeśa

¹ Elliot Vol. II, pp 230-31; see also TN Vol. I p 516; TF Briggs's Trans. Vol. I p 180

² Ed. by G. D. Dalal, GOS No. X, 1920.

³ II 9. Must be identified with Bhīma II.

⁴ Also known as Dhavalsakka nagari, or sometimes Dhavalishka. Modern Dholka in Ahmedabad District. V 32.

before the *Mleccha-Cakravartī*. Somasiṃha, Udayasiṃha, and Dhārāvarṣa, the princes of the Maṇu country and Bhīmasiṃha of Surāṣṭra, joined him against the Mlecchas. In the meantime the territory of Jayatala,¹ the lord of Medapāta, who in his pride had not joined Vīradhavalā, was invaded by the Hammīra. His capital was plundered with terrible brutality. Even the children were butchered; and the people were so demoralised that they threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invader's hands.² The approach of Vīradhavalā and the intrigues of his spies in the end compelled the Muslim prince to beat a hasty retreat towards Mathurā, his own principality. Vīradhavalā then returned to his capital in triumph by way of Arbuda-giri,³ Candrāvātī, the capital of the Paramāras,⁴ the river Sarasvatī,⁵ Anhilvad, the capital of the Gurjara king,⁶ and Kaiṇāvātī on the Sābhamatī.⁷ In this account Jayasiṃha characteristically gives all the credit to Vīradhavalā, the generous patron of his religion, and does not even mention 'Rāi Karan' who according to the Muslim writers, was the real leader of these campaigns.⁸

¹ II, 8 Probably Jaitrasīṃha, the ruler of Medapāta (c 1213-52 A D) whose capital Nāgadrāhapura (modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur) was destroyed by the troops of the Suratrāna (Sultān). See *WZKM*, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff, also *EI*, Vol XI, p 73, fn 6, *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, *infra*, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*

² III, 11 ff ³ V, 3 ff ⁴ V, 15 ff ⁵ V, 18 ff ⁶ V, 21 ff ⁷ V, 29 ff

⁸ The Muslim leader in this invasion is often designated by Jayasiṃha as *Milacchī-kāra* (III, 3 ff.) It has been recently suggested that this name is a corruption of *Amīr-i-Shikāra*, an office conferred by Quṭb ud-Dīn on Iltutmish, *HR*, II, p 467, also *IA*, 1929, p 47. I do not know how this identification can be sustained on phonetic grounds. Dr Barnett considers the identification as very improbable, but it seems to me possible that Jayasiṃha may have based his plot on some of the incidents which took place when Iltutmish (1211-36 A D) captured Mandawar (مندور), probably mod Mandor near Jodhpur in the Siwalik (Sapādalakṣa territory) in A H 624 (c 1226 A D), or when he invaded Malwa in A H 632 (c 1234 A D), captured Bhilsa, and sacked Ujjain. See *TN*, Vol I, pp 611 and 621 ff. Though the text sometimes gives the name as (مندور), the mention of 'Siwalik' A H 632 makes the identification of Mandawar with Mandu impossible, see *ibid*, p. 611, fn 3. *CHI*, Vol III, p 53 places it 8 miles north of Bijnor in U P. I think Raverty was right and Sir W Haig wrong.

Besides these serious conflicts with the Muslims, there is evidence to show that there were other foreign invasions during the reign of Bhīma II. According to the *Prabandha cintāmaṇi*, while Bhīma was reigning, 'the king of Mālava, named Sohaḍa, advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating that country, but the ministers of Bhīmadeva went to meet him, and addressed this couplet to him,

Thy blaze of might O sun of kings gleams in the
eastern quarter
 But it will be extinguished when thou shalt descend
into the western region

When Sohaḍa heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister he turned back again. Subsequently his son, named the glorious Arjunadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarat.¹ The *Hamīrāmada mardana* of Jayasinha also refers to the invasion of Gujarat by Mahārāja Devapāla of Mālava² simultaneously with the Muslim invasion from the north. Lavaṇaprasāda who was a minister of Bhīma, is credited in Bālacandra's *Vasanta vilāsa* with victories over Coḍa, Kerala, Lāṭa, Mālava Rāḍha and the Hūṇas.³ To this war between Mālava and Gurjara princes during this period the literary and epigraphic records of the Paramāras bear testimony. Thus the *Pāryāta mañjarī*⁴ of Madana⁵ tells us that the Paramāra Arjunavarman (1211-15 A. D.) defeated the *Gaulukya mahī mahendra* Jayasinha.⁶ Hultzsch inclined to the view that this Jayasinha is identical with Bhīma II, who like his predecessor Jayasinha, was known as 'the New Siddharāja'.⁷

¹ PC p. 154.

² I IV II 13-40.

³ III 42-43.

⁴ Also known as *Vijayadri*.

⁵ The preceptor of the Paramāra Arjunavarman.

⁶ Also called *Gurjarendra* and *Gurjarepati*.

⁷ EI Vol VIII p. 99. Hall first suggested the identification see J.103 Vol VII pp. 39-40 No. 23.

But it is more likely that this ruler was Jayasimha¹ the temporary usurper of Bhīma II's throne, for whom we have got a grant, dated in V S. 1280 (c. 1223 A. D.) The statement of Madana concerning the victory of the Paramāras over Gujarat kings is also borne out by the inscriptions of the former. Thus the Piplainagai and Bhopal grants of Ajunavarman (V. S. 1267-72) claim that the 'angered prowess' of Subhatavarman² was 'witnessed in the conflagration of the cities of Gurjara,'³ and repeats the story of Arjuna's victory over Jayasimha⁴ The same incidents are also recorded in the Mandhata grants⁵ of his sons Jaitugi and Jayavarman.

The *Vyāyoga Pāṭhapaṛākrama* of Pahlādana seems to refer to hostilities between Bhīma II, and the Cāhamānas of Sākambhārī. We are told that the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarsa, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya prince, repulsed a night attack by Pithvīāja (III), lord of Jangala.⁶ This is confirmed by the bardic tradition of war between the two kings.⁷

Another important foreign invasion that seriously troubled Gujarat during this period appears to have come from the south. The inscriptions of the Yādava king Singhana (c. 1210-47 A.D.) claims repeated victories over the Gurjaras.⁸ One of Singhana's earlier expeditions was apparently led by his Brāhman general Kholeśvara.⁹ Fleet has suggested that this expedition took place in the time of Lavanapiasāda,¹⁰ who, as we have seen, was the

¹ This name occurs at the end of his grant *Śrī Jayasimha devasya*, but in the grant itself the name is given as Jayantasimha. See *IA*, Vol VI, pp 197-98. He is called *Jait-rasimha* in the Mandhata grant of Jayavarman. *EI*, Vol IX, p 121, line 15. On the identity of the prince defeated by the Paramāra Arjuna, see Kielhorn, *ibid*, p 118, fn 2.

² Same as Sohada of *PC*, father of Arjuna.

³ *Gurjara pattane*, see *JASB*, Vol V, p 378, V 15, *JAOS*, Vol VII, p 26, V 15.

⁴ *JAOS*, Vol VII, p 26 V 17, *JASB*, Vol V p 379, V 17.

⁵ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 108-09, lines 12-13; *ibid*, p 120, lines 14-15.

⁶ *GOS*, No IV, p 3.

⁷ *Ras*, Vol I, pp 202 ff.

⁸ *BG*, Vol I, Part II, pp 240-43 and 524-25.

⁹ Āmbem inscription, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol III, p 85.

¹⁰ *BG*, Vol I, Part II, p 525.

chief minister of Bhīma II. The Yādava claims to victory over the Gujarat kings seems to be confirmed by two pieces of literary evidence. Someśvara in his *Kīrti-kaumudī* tells us that during the time of Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, Siṅghaṇa with a mighty army crossed the Tapti and overran the country about Broach. The capital of the Gurjaras trembled with fear, and the terror stricken villagers fled *en masse* from their route, guiding their movements by the columns of smoke from the burnt villages that marked the advance of the Yādava army. Lavanaprasāda when he heard this, though he had but a small army advanced to the Mahī and 'did not consider them unconquerable'. In the meantime however four kings of Mārvāḍ rose against Lavanaprasāda, and were joined by the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāṭa. "In these circumstances Lavanaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards. The Yādava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance further, but he gives no reason whatever for this, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it". But as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked "if the invasion spread such terror over the country, as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Siṅghaṇa was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gurjara prince retreated unless he had agreed to pay tribute, or satisfied the Yādava commander in some other way". His guess is confirmed by the *Lekha paddhati*,¹ also known as *Lekha pañcāśikā*, of an unknown author, which gives us the following draft of a treaty (*Yamala-patra*) between Siṅghaṇa (Siṅghaṇa) and Lāvanyaprasāda, dated in (V) *Samvat* 1288.

Samvat 1288 *varṣe Vaiśākha Sudī* 16

Some dyeha *Śrīmad Vijayakāṭake Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmat*
Siṅghanadevasya Mahāmandalesvara Rānaka Śrī Lāvanya

¹ *Kīrti-kaumudī* IV 43-03; *BG* Vol. I Part II p. 211

² *BG* Vol. I Part II, p. 211

³ *GOS* No. XIX, 1925

prasādasya ca Samrāja¹-kula-Śrī-Śīmat-Simhanadevena Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara-Rāṇa-Śrī-Lāvanyaprasādena pūrvaiṇdhyātmīyātmīya-daśeṣu rahanīyam. Kenāpi-kasyāpi bhūmī nākīamanīyā. Ubhayor-madhyād yah ko'pi balistha-śatīnā gr̥hyate tadā tasya śatīr upaīy-ubhābhyām-api kataham karavyam. Atha ca śatīr-dandā-dhipo gr̥hnāti tadā dalena samvāhanā kūr्या. Yady-ubhayor-api deśayor-madhyāt ko'pi rājaputraḥ kim-api vināśyāparadeśe pravīṣati tadā svadeśe kenāpi sthānam na dātavyam. Anyatra vinasṭam samāropanīyam. Likhita-vidheḥ pālanāya vyabhicāra-rakṣāyā datta-pratibhūḥ Dattāntaram deva-Śrī-Vaidyanātha-patram utpāṭitam.³

Commenting on this treaty, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rightly remarked that "it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Simhana is but another form of Singhana, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the victorious camp, which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara."²

This treaty throws a flood of light on the internal history of Gujarat. It is dated in V. S. 1288 (c. 1231 A. D.). The inscriptions of Bhīma II noticed above shows that he was ruling at Anahilapātaka at least up to V. S. 1296 (c. 1238 A. D.). But it is significant that the treaty omits the name of the reigning sovereign and substitutes for it that of his minister the *Mahā-maṇḍaleśvara* Lāvanyaprasāda. The author of the *Kīrti-kaumudī* tells us that the kingdom of the young Bhīma was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs, while *Sukṛta-samkīrtana* refers to Bhīma's great anxiety on account of the chiefs, who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom.⁴ The statement of these chroniclers would seem to indicate

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests *Sāmrajya* or *Samrāj*.

² Text, p. 52, partially quoted in BG, Vol. I, Part II, fn. on p. 242.

³ BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 196.

that the religious revolution in Ajayapāla's reign, his violent death, and the youth of the next two rulers must have shaken the very foundation of the authority of the central government at Anahilapāṭaka. To the task of re-establishing the authority of his house, Bhīma appears to have devoted his whole energies. But though he may not have been a mere 'simpleton' (*Bhola*), as he is sometimes represented to be, he does not appear to have met with any substantial success. Besides the disorder and economic distress caused by repeated invasions he was faced with the treachery and disaffection of many of his powerful feudal barons. The statements of the Jaina authors on this point are remarkably confirmed by the *Kaḍi* grant of Jayantasīṃha, also known as Jayasīṃha.¹ It was found as in No 6 of Bhīma II, and contains 42 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion of the grant is almost similar to the other *Kaḍi* grants of Bhīma II. But after tracing the Caulukya genealogy up to this prince² it replaces the usual *pādānudhyāta* by *tadantarāṃ sthāne* and mentions the name of *M P Pb Umāpati vara-labdhā prasāda prauḍha pratāpa Caulukya kula kalpa-vallī-vistāraṇa dīpta Abhinava Siddharāja Jayantasīṃhadeva* established at the *rājadhānī* Anahilapura. It then records that this prince, in V S 1280 (c 1223 A D), granted the village of *Sāmpāvādā* in *Vardhī³ pathaka* to the donee of inscription No 18 of Bhīma II. The inscription ends with *Śrī-Jayasīṃhadevasya*.⁴

This grant shows that some time between V S 1275 and 1283, the dates of Bhīma II's Bharana and *Kaḍi* (No 11) inscrip-

¹ Called *Jatrasīṃha* in the *Mandhata* grant of the Paramāra Jayavarman, see *HI* Vol. VIII p 181 V 13.

² To Jayasīṃha-Siddharāja is given in addition to the usual epithets the title *Ekādge* etc. It also contains *parābhūtatadārāja Garjanak-ādharāja* for Mūlarāja II.

³ The plate gives *Varṇī*, while Bühler gives in the abstract *Varphī*. But as the donor addresses the officers and residents of *Vardhī-pathaka* *Varṇī* is clearly a scribe's mistake for *Vardhī* which is frequently mentioned in Caulukya grants from the time of Mūlarāja I. See *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II pp 913 1011 etc.

⁴ Edited by Bühler *IA* Vol. VI, pp. 100-98.

tions, the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by a usurper. As Jayantasīma calls himself a Caulukya, he was probably one of Bhīma's relatives; but the actual relationship must remain for the present uncertain. The Kadī grant (No. 11), of Bhīma, dated in V.S. 1283, shows that the usurper's tenure of power was comparatively short, and that Bhīma had won back his throne at Anahilapātaka sometime before c. 1226 A.D. But the most serious danger that threatened the Caulukyas of Anahilvada came from one of their distant branches, which was founded by Dhavala, the husband of Kumārapāla's maternal aunt. The *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolīnī* calls this chief Bhīmapallī-pati and the line founded by him as Dhavala-kula.¹ His son was Āna or Arṇorāja, who, we are told, served under Kumārapāla and killed the chiefs of Medapāṭa and Candrāvātīpura.² In return for his services Kumārapāla granted him the village of Vyāghrapalli, about 10 miles S.W. of Anahilapātaka.³ It was from this village that his family came to be known in the Vernacular form as *Vāghelā*. Udayaprabha⁴ relates that Bhīma II, considering that Arṇorāja, son of Dhavala, had made Kumārapāla king and was an object of that prince's favour, entrusted the task of administration to Arṇorāja's son Lavanaprasāda.⁵ It was this Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala⁶ who, while acknowledging the nominal sovereignty of Bhīma II, gradually carved out a principality round Dhavalakka (Dholka), between the Sabarmatī and the Narbada. Though the Jain writers often invest Vīradhavala and even his father Lavanaprasāda with royal titles, it is significant that even as late as V.S. 1287 an Abu stone-inscription represents both of them as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* and *Rānakas*. But it is to be noted that a Girnar inscription,

¹ V 79; or *Dhavalānvaya*, IA, Vol XI, pp 106 ff

² V 35

³ BG, Vol I, Part II, p 198

⁴ The author of *Sukṛta-kīrti-kallolīnī*

⁵ His mother was Sallakṣaṇadevī, see BI, p 215, V 9.

⁶ His mother was Madanadevī or Madanarājñī, PG, p 154, BI, p. 215, V 13.

dated in V S 1288, not only omits Bhīma's name, but invests Lavanaprasāda with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* and his son with that of *Mahārāja*. It was in this very year that the *Yamala-patra* of the *Lekhā paddhati* and also an Abu inscription omit mention of the name of Bhīma. As Bhagvanlal Indraji has suggested, the Vāghelās perhaps rose to power by aiding Bhīma to recover his throne from the usurper Jayantasīmha¹ (c 1275-1288 V S). Though it is evident from epigraphic evidence, that Bhīma II continued to reign till V S 1296, he was apparently not strong enough to destroy this *imperium in imperio* which after Lavanaprasāda's death, Vīradhavalā continued to build up in the south. The formal transference of the crown of Anahilapāṭaka was perhaps not completed even as late as V S 1800, when according to the *Therāvāḷi* Viśaladeva ascended the throne, yet for all practical purposes, during the period V S 1288-1800 Vīradhavalā seems to have acted as an independent sovereign.

The Jain authors are at pains to assert that the transference of power from the time of Bhīma to the Vāghelās was peaceful, and did not involve any violent measures by the latter. Thus according to the authors of the *Sukṛta-samkīrtana*, Kumārapāla appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint Vīradhavalā as his heir-apparent. "Next day in court, in the presence of the nobles, when Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavalā entered, the king said to Lavanaprasāda 'Your father Arjorāja seated me on the throne, you should therefore uphold my power in return I will name your son Vīradhavalā as my heir-apparent.'"

The anxiety of the Jain authors to whitewash the usurpation of Vīradhavalā and his father is evidently to be explained by the fact that after the violent measures of Ajayapāla, the Jain religion had found new patrons in the line of Vyāghrapallī

¹ BG Vol. I, Part I p. 106

² BG Vol. I, Part I, pp. 106-07

And, as in the case of Kumālapāla, the substantial backing of this powerful and wealthy mercantile community no doubt greatly facilitated the task of Vīradhavaḷa. In consolidating his power Vīradhavaḷa, we are told, was ably assisted by two Jain Bania ministers, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla.¹ Jayasīṃha in his *Vastupāla-Tejahpāla-praśasti* tells us that these two brothers were at first ministers² of Bhīma, and the latter at the request of Vīradhavaḷa gave them to the Vāghelā prince 'as a matter of friendship.'³ This is probably intended to hide the fact that these two ministers deserted him and joined the party of Vīradhavaḷa. According to Bāla-candra's *Vasanta-vilāsa* it was the *Rājalakṣmī* who appeared to Vīradhavaḷa in a dream and asked him to appoint the two brothers of the Piāgvaṭa family as his *Mantri-yugma*.⁴ Whatever may be the reason that led to their appointment, their influence on the reign of Vīradhavaḷa is apparent. Not only do the Jain authors ascribe all his success directly or indirectly to them and their family, but even all the epigraphic records of his reign are connected with their achievements. Besides the inscriptions Nos 15 and 16 of the reign of Bhīma, which practically belong to these two brothers, the following published records of their time may be mentioned :

(1-30) *Abu stone-inscriptions*.—These 30 short inscriptions are engraved in the temple of Neminātha⁵ at Abu. They are all incised either on the lintels of the doorway of the main temple or that of the cell-shrines in the corridor of the temple recording the erection of these shrines or of images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The records all belong to Tejahpāla, and contain dates from 1287

¹ For their genealogy see inscription No 16 of Bhīma II, above, p 1013

² *Karana-pada-kṛta-vyāpṛta*, V. 50

³ *Ibid*, Vs 33-51

⁴ III, 51 ff, for another version, see *PG*, pp 156 ff.

⁵ Same as in No 15 of Bhīma II, see above, pp 1012-13.

to 1297 V S They are of interest as showing that the minister in the years following V S 1287, when the temple was erected, did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had erected¹

(31) *Girnar stone inscription* — Found over the west doors of the temple of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla on Mt Girnar It opens with (*Om*) *namaḥ Sarvajñāya* and a mutilated invocation to Nemi Jina Then follows the date, V S 1288 (A D 1232) The rest is devoted to a *prastāva* of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla describing their various building and charitable activities Besides the genealogy of the ministers,² the only important information supplied by the record is as follows

(i) In c (V) S (12)79,³ Vastupāla's son Jayantasimha was transacting the business of the Seal⁴ at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay)

(ii) In V S (12)76, Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla were appointed to carry on the business of the Seal in Dhavalakkaka and other cities in the Gurjara *maṇḍala* by the *Mahārāja* Viradhavala, son of M Lavanaprasāda, of the Caulukya lineage (*kula*)

(iii) In V S (12)77, the *Mahāmātya* became *Saṅghādhipati* and made pilgrimages to Śatruñjaya, Ujjayanta and other *Mahātīrthas* The inscription was composed by the *Gurjara-Purohita* *Tha(kkura)* Someśvara, and written by the *Kāyastha* Jaitrasimha.⁵

(82-86) *Girnar stone inscriptions* — All these five inscriptions are on the doors of the same temple as No 31 They all describe the numerous charitable and building

¹ Edited by Lüders *BI* Vol. VIII, pp. 207-08 and 223-29 The inscriptions do not mention the name of any king

² Almost the same as in No. 10 of Bhūma; see above p. 1012.

³ *Saka* 79 *carṣa-pārrava* was translated by Burgess as before the Śaka year 70 But E D Dalal pointed out that it should mean beginning with the year 1279 : see *ARB* pp. 283-84; *GOS* No. VII p. xii fn. 2.

⁴ *Madra rājapāla rājapracāli*

⁵ *ARB* pp. 283-86; *ASVI* Vol. II pp. 170-73. The pilgrimage of Vastupāla in V S. 1277 is also mentioned by the *PC*, p. 167

activities of the two ministers. They were composed by Maladhārī Naracandra, Someśvara, Maladhārī Narendia, Maladhārī Saracandra and Udayaprabha. They are all dated in V S 1288.¹

(37) *Gunan stone-inscription*.—Incised 'on the rock to the east of Rājāla and Vājela caves and west of the road to Gau-mukha.' It records the erection of four new and beautiful Jain temples for the spiritual benefit of the donor and his wives. The date is V.S. 1289.²

Besides the above inscriptions, the Jain authors have left a number of literary compositions on the life and works of the two ministers.³

As Vīradhavalā's principality lay between the Sabarmatī and the Narbada, he had to bear the brunt of the assaults of the Yādava ruler Singhana. I have already referred to one such expedition by Singhana and his treaty with Vīradhavalā's father in V.S. 1288. The *Hammīra-mada-mardana* gives a detailed account of another attack by Singhana in collaboration with the Mālava-naieśa Devapāla (c. 1218-29 A.D.) and the *Mandaleśvara* Saṃgrāmasimha who was the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Simha, the lord of Lāṭa.⁴ But thanks to the activity of Vastupāla's spies the alliance was dissolved and the allies dispersed. The Ambem inscription tells us that Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, led a Yādava army as far as the Narmadā,

¹ ARB, pp 286-302

² ARB, p 315 But in ASWI, Vol. II, p 173, the date is given as V. S. 1288 See EI, Vol XX, Appendix, p 73, No 507 For notices of other inscriptions see GOS, No VII, pp x-xii

³ See *Kīrti kaumudī* by Someśvara, Ed by A V Kathavaṭe, Bombay, 1888 (No. XXV of Bombay Sanskrit Series), *Sukṛta samkīrtana* of Arisimha, *Vasanta vilāsa* of Bālacandra, GOS, No VII, 1917, *Hammīra mada mardana* of Jayasimha, GOS, No X, 1920, *Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti* by the same, GOS, No X, Appendix I, pp. 58-66, *Sukṛta-kīrti kallolīnī* by Udayaprabha, GOS, No X, Appendix II, pp 67-90, *Vastupāla-prabandha* by Rājasekhara, GOS, Vol VII, pp 80-114 See also *Nārāyanānanda* by Vastupāla himself, GOS, No II.

⁴ The Dabhoi Inscription of Viśaladeva, V S 1311, seem to refer to an unsuccessful combined attack by the lords of Dhār and the Dakṣiṇa see EI Vol I pp 20 ff. V. 25

where 'he slew a number of Gurjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.' Sir R G Bhandarkar has shown that his expedition must have taken place shortly before Saka 1160 (c 1295 V S) ¹ Possibly therefore Rāma lost his life in the expedition referred to by the drama of Jayasūmha. The *Vasanta vilāsa* describes a victory of Vastupāla over the Cāhamāna ruler of Lāṭa named Saṅkhu. He attacked Stambhatīrtha from Bhṛgukaccha with a cavalry force but after a fierce struggle was forced to retreat to Bhṛgupura ² This Saṅkhu, who is also referred to by other Jain writers, ³ is, I think, to be identified with the Satagrāma of the *Hammīra mada mardana*. Besides these wars, Viradhavala is credited with other victories I have already referred to his success against a Muslim invader who advanced as far as Medapāṭa. Someśvara records his campaigns against the chiefs of Vāmanasthalī, near Juna gadh, Godhra in Eastern Gujrat, and Outoh ⁴ Not all of these were successful. In the last campaign we are told that Viradhavala was defeated and made a prisoner.

Viradhavala must have died sometime before V S 1295, ⁵ for a colophon of a MS of the *Yogaśāstra* ⁶ contains that date as in the reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāyaka* Visaladeva. Meru tuṅga narrates that when Viradhavala died, 'owing to his excessive popularity, 120 followers elected to burn themselves with his corpse' ⁷ Jain tradition related that Visaladeva poisoned his father and prevented by arms the accession of his elder brother Virama ⁸ That the succession was disputed seems to be proved by the colophon of a palm leaf MS ⁹ which is dated from the

¹ BG Vol. I, Part II, pp 240 and 242.

² IV 178.

³ Saṅkha in PC p 162A.

⁴ *Kirtī-śaśvadī* XXIII XXIV BG Vol. I Part II pp. 300-01.

⁵ According to Hīṣaṅkha and Hara Gapi Viradhavala died at Dholka not long before the death of his minister Vastupāla in V S. 1297 (A.D 1240); *JA* Vol. VI, p. 100.

⁶ No. 37 of Sanghavi's Bhandar at Pattan see GOS No. VII, p xi fn. 2.

⁷ PC p. 167.

⁸ BG Vol I Part II, p. 303.

⁹ No. 293 in the Jaipur Bhandar see GOS No. VII, p. xi fn. 4.

(2) *Dabhoi stone-inscription* —Incised on a large stone fixed in the inner side-wall of the Hīra Bhāgolā gate at Dabhoi. The inscription, which contains 59 lines, is very badly damaged and in many portions is extremely fragmentary. It seems to open with 3 verses invoking Śiva-Vaidyanātha, and then in Vs. 4-79 gives an eulogistic description of the predecessors of Vīśaladeva. Vs.

⁴ Edited by Rev J E Abbot, *EI*, Vol V, pp 102-03 *Masāhanī* may be a mistake for

4-7 seem to have contained references to Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukyās of Anahilapātaka. From Vs 8-79, we have a description of the achievements of the Vāghelās from Arṇorāja to Viśaladeva.¹ The proper object seems to have been to record the building or restoration of a temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi (Darbhavati) by the order of Viśaladeva. The *prastāva* was composed by Someśvara, the royal priest,² and written by the Brāhman Prahlādana. It was incised by the *Satradhāra* dhurī Padmasūmha. The date, (V) *Saṃvat* 1311 (A D 1253) comes at the end.³

(3) Kadī grant—Found as No 6 of Bhīma II.⁴ It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Om svasti*; then follows the date, V S 1317⁵ (A D 1261), when the *P -Pb -Umāpati vara labdha prasāda prauḍha pratāpa Caulukya-kula kamalinī kalikā vikāśa mātanta Śiṅghana saṁya samudra saṁśoṣana -Vaḍavānala Mālavādhiśa māna mardana Medapātaka deśa kaluṣa rāṇya vallī kamdocched-ana Kuddāla kalpa Karnāṭa rāja jaladhī tanayā svayamvara Puruṣottama bhūja bala Bhīma Abhinava Siddharāja apar Ārjuna Viśaladeva* ruling victoriously at Anahilapātaka, and when the Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa was in charge of the Seal. It then states that on this date the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka Sāmantasūmha, who ruled at Maṇḍali in Vardhī pathaka, for the spiritual benefit of his grandfather Rānū Lūṇapasāja, granted 12 ploughs of land in — the villages of Mehūpā and Rinasībavasana, 12 shops at Maṇḍali, and some other gifts for the purpose of feeding in Āśāpalli,⁶ at a formerly instituted *Sattra*, 8 new Brāhmanas, and to keep the drinking fountain filled. All this was made over for management to the Mahāmuniśra rājakula

¹ The inscription contains references to many historical incidents.

² The same as the author of the *Kīrti-kāuṇḍī*.

³ Edited by Bühler *BI* Vol. I pp. 20-31.

⁴ See above, *DHNI* Vol. II p. 1007.

⁵ On the 4th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha—Thursday 19th March A.D 1261.

⁶ Identified with Ahmedabad; see Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84 17 18; *BG*

Viśvāmītra, the head of the *matha* of Mūleśvaradeva at Mandapikā. The *Dūtaka* was *Mahā-sāndhivigrahika Tha(kkura)*, Śīdhara, the writer *Mahāksapatalika Tha(kkura)* Govinda. The inscription ends with *Aparāṇjana-M -Śrī-Śīmad-Vīśaladevasya*.¹

These 3 inscriptions cover the period 1308 to 1317 V S. We have seen that Vīśaladeva was already a *Mahāmandaleśvara* in V. S. 1295. Merutunga's *Therāvalī* asserts that he became king in V. S. 1300. He probably means that he ascended the throne at Anahilapātaka on that date. For, as we have seen, Bhīma II was actually ruling in that city in V. S. 1296 (A. D. 1238). Then there is evidence to show that Bhīma was succeeded in that city by one Tribhuvanapāla, who ruled up to V. S. 1299. This is proved by the *Kadī grant*² of the latter. This inscription contains 42 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion gives us the Caulukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.³ We are then told that *M.-P.-Pb* - Tribhuvanapāla, who meditated on the feet of Bhīmadeva (II), and who resided at Anahilapātaka, in V. S. 1299 (c. 1242 A. D.) granted the villages of Bhāmsara and Rājapuri in the Visaya and Dandāhi *Pathakas*⁴ to feed the *Kāpatika* (mendicants) at the almshouse (*satrāgāra*) built by Rānā Lunapasāu in the *Māulatapada*, for the spiritual benefit of his mother Rājñī Salakhana-devī. The management of the endowment was entrusted to Vedagarbhakāśī, the *Sthānapati* of the temple of Mūleśvara (Śiva) at Mandalī, and his descendants. The writer of the grant was *Āksapatalika Tha(kkura)* Somasīha, the *Dūtaka Tha(kkura)* Vayajaladeva. It ends with *Śrī-Tribhuvanapālasya*.⁵

¹ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, pp 210-13. Note also the unfinished *Cambay stone inscription* in which the last name is that of Vīśaladeva. As the record is undated, it is impossible to say definitely whether it belongs to him. *BI*, pp 214-18.

² Found as No. 6 of Bhīma II, see above, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1007.

³ The *Vamśāvalī* agrees with No. 19 of Bhīma II, see *ibid*, p 1016.

⁴ The king addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Visaya and Dandāhi-*Pathakas*.

⁵ Edited by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, pp 208-10. This prince is possibly to be identified with the Tribhuvana-Rānaka who fought and killed Bāla, a general of Guhila Jaitrasimha.

This grant shows that besides his brother Virama, Visaladeva had probably to fight Tribhuvanapāla, the immediate successor of Bhīma II, before he could seat himself on the throne of Anahilapātaka. If Merutuṅga is to be believed, Visaladeva's struggle for the crown was settled by V S 1300. Tribhuvanapāla had therefore a short tenure of power, which probably extended from c 1296 to 1300 V S.

The first important event in the reign of this prince was the downfall of his father's two great ministers, Vastupāla¹ and Tejāhpāla. According to the Jain writers, it was Vastupāla who was instrumental in securing the crown for Visaladeva. Someśvara records that in spite of this service, they suffered great indignities at the hands of the king, and were nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal of *ghaṭa-sarpa* in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation². On another occasion Vastupāla came into violent conflict with Sūmha the king's maternal uncle and 'abandoned the hope of life'.³ On both these occasions, we are told, the royal priest Someśvara saved them by his intervention. Before these incidents, it seems that the king had relieved them of their high offices and appointed a Brāhman named Nāgaḍa as his chief minister. The Kadī grant shows that Nāgaḍa was transacting the business of the Seal as late as V S 1317. The appointment of Nāgaḍa like that of Kapardin in the reign of Ajayapāla probably marks a Brāhmanical reaction in the king's administration, and we are therefore not at all surprised to see the Jain chroniclers completely ignoring Visaladeva after recording the incidents about the Jain ministers.⁴ But the inscriptions of the king show that his reign was not without its share of military glory

(c 1323-50) when the latter was trying to recover Koṭṭadaka (mod. Koṭṭāḍa); see *WZKM* Vol. XXI pp. 14* ff. See also *infra* DHNI Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila-patras*.

¹ For some additional inscription of Vastupāla and his family see *ABOI* 1237-23 pp. 170-8. These stone-inscriptions contain dates from V S. 1281-92. See also *RMR*, 1910-11 for another inscription dated in V S 1296.

² *BG* Vol. I, 233; *IA* Vol. VI, p. 190.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *IA* Vol. VI, p. 191.

The fragmentary Dabhoi inscription seems to claim that Viśaladeva successfully fought with the *Dhārādhīśvara* and *Dakṣineśvara* and kept a hero's vow (*vīra-vrata*) on the banks of the Sindhu.¹ His success against the rulers of Mālava and the South is confirmed by the epithets applied to him in the Kadi grant. The name of the Southern prince is given as Siṅghana (c. 1210-47 A.D.), who was certainly the Yādava ruler of that name, and who had been raiding the Gujarat frontier since the days of Lavanaprasāda. The statement contained in the Kadi grant, that Viśaladeva won in a *Svayamvara* the daughter of the Kaināṭa-rāja, may indicate an alliance between the Caulukyās and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra against their common enemy the Yādavas of Devagiri.² Buhler suggested that the Mālava prince who was defeated by Viśaladeva was Pūrṇamalla.³ But it is more likely that he was either Jaitugīdeva (c. 1239-43 A.D.) or Jayavarman (c. 1256-69 A.D.), the two immediate successors of Devapāla, the opponent of Vīradhavalā, who fought with Viśaladeva. Buhler is however probably right in his guess that the ruler of Medapāṭa defeated by the Caulukya king was the Guhila Tejasimha (c. 1260-67 A.D.) mentioned in an Abu inscription.⁴

According to Merutunga, Viśaladeva⁵ was succeeded by Arjunadeva in V.S. 1318. The *Cintra prasasti* of the reign of Śaraṅgadeva reveals the fact that Arjuna was not the son but the nephew of Viśaladeva. We are told that "after the illustrious Viśvamalla had anointed Arjuna, the son of (his younger brother) Pratāpamalla, he enjoyed (in heaven) the banquets of ambrosia and the nectar of the lips of the celestial maidens."⁶ The same record gives us the name of Nāgalladevī

¹ *EI*, Vol I, p 28, line 29, and pp 23-24 and p 28, line 30

² Bühler first suggested the identification of the Kaināṭa king *IA*, Vol VI, p 191.

³ *IA*, Vol VI, p 191. For another epigraphic reference to Viśala's invasion of Mālava, see *IA*, Vol XI, pp. 106 ff

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p 191.

⁵ Sometimes known as Viśvamalla or Viśvala or Viśala, see *EI*, Vol I, p 272.

⁶ *EI*, Vol I, p 272

Visaladeva's queen A stone tablet at Kodinara in Kathiawar contains two *prāśastis* of the Nāgara Brāhman Nānāka, the court poet of Visaladeva which record the inauguration of *Sārasvata kṛiḍā ketana* and *Sārasvata sarovara* by him One of these *prāśastis* is dated in V S 1328¹

Of the reign of Arjuna we have the following published records —

(1) *Veraval grant*.—Found in the temple of Harsata at Veraval in Kathiawar It contains 45 lines of writing in very bad Sanskrit, opening with *Om om namaḥ Viśvanāthāya* and an invocation to that deity It is then dated in *Rasula Mahamada saivvat*² 622 (A D 1264), in V S 1320 (A D 1264), in *Valabhīya* (S) 945, and *Śūmha-Saivvat* 151, when *P Pb Umāpativara labdha prauḍha pratāpa Niḥśanta malla Arī rāya hr̥dya śalya Caulukya Cakravartī M* Arjunadeva was ruling victoriously at *Apahillapātaka* and while the *Mahāmātya Rājaka Māladeva* was transacting the business of the Seal, and *Amīr Rukunadīna*³ was reigning in the coast of *Haramuja*.⁴ At this date, with the permission of the *Paścakulas*, in the town of *Somanāthadeva*, *Mahan(ta)* *Abhayasīha* the *pārī(pārtvika)* of *Mahattara-Gaṇḍaśrī* *Paravīrabhadra*, the great teacher of the *Pāśupatas*, the (ship-owner),⁵ *Noradīna Pīroja*,⁶ a native of *Haramuja-deśa*, brought a piece of land in the *Sikottarī mahāyānapali* outside the town of *Somnath* and built a *miṣṭigīṭi* (masjid) on it. For the maintenance of this place of worship he gave the whole *palladikā* belonging to the temple of *Bhūteśvara*, in the centre of *Somnath*, the *dānapala* of an oil mill, and two shops in front of the *miṣṭigīṭi*. Any surplus that remained was to be sent to the holy districts of *Mecca* and *Medina*.

¹ Edited by H. H. Dhruva I4 Vol. XI pp. 98-103.

² Hijra year

³ Amīr Bukn ud-Dīn.

⁴ The small island of Hormuz which gives its name to the straight leading out of the Persian Gulf.

⁵ Now (vāḥa)

⁶ Nār ud-Dīn Firz.

The trustees appointed for the management of the endowment included the Muslim congregations (*jamātha*, i.e., *Jamā'at*) of *Nākhuyā-naurika* (ship-owners), of wharf-people (*Ghattaka*) who are devoted to the Martyr¹ with their preacher (*Khalībā*), and of the Musalmans among the landholders (*pathapati*) and the (Persian) artisans (*cunakara*). The inscription ends with the statement that any one who plundered this place of worship and its income will bear the guilt of the five deadly sins (*pañca-mahāpātaka*)²

(2) *Rav stone-inscription* —“It is engraved on a memorial slab at the corner of the courtyard wall of an old temple” at the village of Rav, about 60 miles east of Bhuj in Cutch. It speaks of Arjunadeva as “great king of kings, supreme ruler, supreme lord.” It is dated in V. S. 1328 (A.D. 1272), when Māladeva was his chief minister, and records the building of a step-well in the village of Rāv.³

(3) *Ginnar stone-inscription* —Found on the famous Ginnar hill in Kathiawar at the entrance of the *mandapa* of Ganadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Neminātha. It contains 7 lines of Sanskrit prose. It is dated in V S 1330 in the reign of Arjunadeva, when Pālha was (transacting the business of the Seal) in Saurāṣṭra. It records the grant of the right of engraving inscriptions (*sūtradhāratvam*) in the temple of Neminātha and at other sacred places on the hill of Ginnar to *sūtradhāra* Haripāla, son of *sūtradhāra* Goga, belonging to the Mevāda community by Udayapiabha and other Jain priests and the *Pañcakula* headed by Dhāndhā.⁴

These three inscriptions cover the period V S 1320 to 1330 (c 1264-73) Merutunga states that Arjunadeva's reign extended

¹ 'Alī

² Edited by Hultzsch, *IA*, Vol XI, pp 241-45, *BI*, pp 224-27

³ Noticed by Bühler, *IA*, Vol VI, p 191, see *Kachdesno Itihās* by Atmaram K Dvivedi, p 18, also *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 204 and fn 3

⁴ Edited by D B Diskalkar, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society*, Vol XIV, pp 242-43

up to V S 1331¹ According to Abu'l Faḥl and 'Alī Muḥammad he reigned for only 10 years² As the earliest known inscription of his successor is dated in V S 1332, we may tentatively accept with Bühler Merutuṅga's date³ We know of very few political incidents in his reign, but his two inscriptions show that his authority extended from Patan to Cutch and the South of Kathiawar His Veraval inscription is of great interest, as it bears witness to his tolerance in religious matters. The generous statesmanship which allowed Muslim communities to thrive and to build and endow mosques in one of the most sacred cities of the Caulukya kingdom forms a remarkable contrast to the policy of plunder and desecration practised by the early Turkish conquerors of India

According to Merutuṅga, Arjunadeva was succeeded by Śāraṅgadeva in V S 1331⁴ The latter's Cintra *prāṣasti* shows that he was the son of Arjunadeva.⁵ Of his reign we have the following published records and dates

(1) *Khokhrā stone inscription*—This mutilated inscription is incised on a Pālīā at Khokhrā in Cutch, which was originally in the fort of Bhadreswar The Pālīā has a figure of a cow feeding probably on Indian corn (maize) and suckling her calf, and at present contains 6 lines of writing It opens with *Oḥ* and gives the date (V) *Samvat* 1332 (A D 1275), when *M P -Pb -Praudha pratāpa-Nārāyaṇavatāra Lakṣmī-svayamvara Mahārāja Śāraṅgadeva* was ruling victoriously at *Aṇahillapātaka*, and when the *Mahāmātya Śrī Māvava maham rādhi* : *Śrī Kanha* was transacting all the royal business⁶

¹ *JBRAS* Vol IX, p 155.

² *AAK* Vol II p 260; *MA Trans.* 150

³ *IA* Vol. VI, p. 191.

⁴ *JBRAS* Vol. IX, p. 155.

⁵ *EI* Vol I p. 281 V 12.

⁶ These words baffle emendation.

⁷ Noticed by Bühler *IA* Vol. XXI pp. 276-77

(2) *Āmaran inscription* — Found at Amaran, Jamnagar State, Kathiawar. It is dated in V S 1333 in the reign of *Mālava - dhara - dhūmaketu - Gūṇjara - dharaṇī - samuddharana - varāha - Saptama - cakravartī - Bhuja - bala - malla - Mahārāja - Sāraṅga - deva*, when Pālha was officer-in-charge of Sauvāstra. It records a benefaction by a prince (name lost), son of the Cāpotkata *Rānaka Bhojadeva* ¹

(3) *British Museum inscription* — Dated in (V) S. 1335 in the reign *Kalyāna - Viṇaya - rājya* of Sārangadeva. ²

(4) *Cintra stone-inscription* — Incised on a long slab of polished black stone which is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra. Its contents however show that it originally belonged to a temple at Veraval or Somnath. It contains 66 lines of writing, and opens with *Om om namah Śivāya*; then follow three verses containing a *mangala* addressed to Śiva and Ganeśa. Next come the genealogy of the Vāghelās from Viśvamalla ³ to Sārangadeva (Vs 4-13). Next is described the spiritual family of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata ⁴ ascetic Tripurāntaka, the benefactor of the Tīrtha of Somnātha (Vs 14-39). Verses 40-46 inform us that Tripurāntaka built temples, and dedicated 5 *lingas*, and erected a *torana* at Somnath. Verses 47-72 'enumerate the benefactions which Tripurāntaka made in order to provide for the service of his temples' and the rules regarding the worship. V. 76 states that the *prasaṣti* was composed by Dharanīdhara, written by the *mantṛin* Vikrama, and incised by the *Śilpīn* Pūnasiha. At the end we are told that the *Linga-pratisthā-mahotsava* took place in V S. 1343 (1287 A D) ⁵

¹ Edited by Diskalkar in the Gujarati journal *Purātattva*, Vol I, Part I, pp 37-41

² Noticed by Kielhorn from a rubbing supplied by Burgess, *EI*, Vol I, and Vol V, Appendix, p 34, No 237

³ Visaladeva

⁴ The head establishment of this sect was in Karohana (mod Karvan on the Miyagam-Dabhoi railway) in Lāta (Central Gujarat)

⁵ Edited by Bühler, *EI*, 1892, Vol I, pp 271-87. A copy of the *prasaṣti* was first published in *Murphy's Travels in Portugal* (1798), and the plate was then reproduced by Burgess in No 9 of the *Memoranda of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Bombay, 1879. The record is sometimes known as *Veraval inscription*, see *EI*, Vol XX, Appendix, p 87, No 611

(5) *Anavada stone-inscription* — Found during excavation work at Anavada, the old Anahilavātaka, nearly 3 miles from Patan, in the Kadi division. It contains 24 lines, and begins with the opening stanza of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*. Then follows the date, (V) *Saṃvat* 1348 (c 1291 A D), when M Sāraṅgadeva was reigning at Anahilavātaka, and while *Mahā sādhi* (vīgrahika) *Mahāmā(tya)* Madhusūdana was transacting the business of the Seal and the *Pañcakula* consisted of Pethada and others. It then records a list of gifts which was made on that date and also previously by various persons, merchants and shipowners (*nau vittaka*), etc., for the worship, offerings and theatricals in honour of Kṛṣṇa.¹

(6) *Cambay stone inscription* — Found in the Jain temple of Cintāmaṇi Pārśvanātha at Cambay, in the Kaira collectorate of Gujarat. It contains 29 lines of damaged writing in Sanskrit, beginning with an invocation to Pārśvanātha and then follows a date (V) *Saṃvat* 1165.² Next comes the genealogy of the Vāghelās Lūṇigadeva, his son Vīradhavalā, Pratāpamalla, his son Arjuna (lines 5-6), and Sāraṅgadeva (line 26). In line 25 occurs the date V S 1352 (c 1295 A D).³

These inscriptions cover the period V S 1332 to 1352 (c 1275-95 A D).⁴

This agrees with the statement of Merutuṅga, according to whom Sāraṅgadeva ruled from V S 1331 to 1353, or roughly ;

¹ Edited by D. B. Bhandarkar *IA* 1913 pp 20-21

² Without any indication as to what II refers to

³ Very imperfectly edited in *BI* pp 227-23 see also Kielhorn in *EI* Vol. V Appendix p 85 No. 249. Though it contains a date for Sāraṅgadeva it is doubtful whether II belongs to his reign.

⁴ For a MS dated in (V) *Saṃvat* 1350, in the reign of Sāraṅgadeva while his army was encamped near Xāṣṭpallī see Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, 17 18 *BG* Vol. I Part I p 203. Bhagvanlal identifies Xāṣṭpallī with Ahmedabad. H. H. Wilson notices (*Asiatic Researches* Vol. XVI, p. 811) an Abu inscription of Sāraṅgadeva, dated in V S 1330 (A D 1294) when the *Mahāmanjaleśvara* Visaladeva of Candrāvati was his feudatory. See also *Ras* Vol. I, p. 201. The *BG* (Vol. I, Part I p. 204) mentions it but Kielhorn omits it in his list of Northern Inscriptions (*EI* Vol. V Appendix).

from 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.¹ Abu'l-Faẓl and 'Alī Muhammad assigned him a reign of 21 years.² Unfortunately very few facts throwing light upon the political incidents of his reign are known. The Amian inscription however tells us that he revived the fortune of the Gurjara country and was a veritable *dhūmaketu* to the Mālava kingdom. The *Cintra Prasasti* seems to indicate that the traditional hostilities against the Yādavas of Devagiri and the rulers of Mālava were successfully continued under him. We are told by Dharanīdhara, the author of the *prasasti*, that the ruler of the Gurjara kingdom was "passionately addicted to the sport of rescuing the earth ... Through his power he in battle reduced the powers of the Yādava and the Mālava lords, just as the lord of birds formerly (overcame) the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise"³ Buhler rightly identified the Yādava foe of Sāranga with Ramacandra, the last independent Hindu monarch of Devagiri, who ascended the throne in 1271 A.D. and died in 1309-10 A.D., a feudatory of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.)⁴ The Mālava king, whom he could not identify is perhaps the (Paramāra?) Jayavarma II for whom we seem to have inscriptions ranging from c. 1256 to 1260 A.D.⁵

Sārangadeva was succeeded by Karnaadeva, popularly known as *Ghelaro* or the 'insane prince'⁶ in c. 1296-97 A.D. Merutunga assigns him the period V.S. 1353 to 1360 (A.D. 1296-97 to 1303-04). According to Abu'l Faẓl he reigned for 6 years 10 months and 15 days.⁷ All accounts agree that he was the last Vāghelā king of Anhilvad. We have already noticed conflicts

¹ IA, Vol. VI, p. 191

² AAK, Vol. II, p. 260 MA, Trans., p. 159

³ EI, Vol. I, pp. 272 and 281, Vs. 12-13

⁴ Ibid., p. 273 BG, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 530-33 CHI, Vol. III, p. 96.

⁵ See IA, Vol. XX, p. 84 EI, Vol. IX, p. 117, and especially Kielhorn's note, *ibid.*, p. 118 See also *supra*, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 903 ff

⁶ Or simply *Ghelro* (insane), Ras, Vol. I, pp. 261 and 266.

⁷ AAK, Vol. II, p. 260 The MA (Trans., p. 159) *reigns for 6 years and 2 months*

between the Muslims and the Caulukyas in the time of Bhīma II and Viradhavala. On that occasion the Muslims advanced from the region of Mathura southwards to Medapāṭa. After about 50 years inactivity they again renewed their depredations on the Caulukya dominions. Unfortunately for Karṇa, his accession nearly synchronised with that of 'Alā ud Dīn Khālī (1296-1316 A D) one of the ablest military leaders among the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi. Within a short time of his usurpation of the crown 'Alā ud Dīn turned his attention to the fertile plains and wealthy ports of Gujarat.¹ Barani tells us that at the beginning of the 3rd year of his rule "Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, with their *amīrs* and generals, and a large army marched against Gujarat. They took and plundered Naharwāla and all Gujarat. Karan, Rai of Gujarat, fled from Naharwāla and went to Rām Deo of Deogir. The wives and daughters the treasure and elephants of Rai Karan, fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. All Gujarat became a prey to the invaders and the idol which after the victory of Sultān Mahmūd and his destruction of (the idol) *Manāt*, the Brāhmins had set up under the name of Somnāth, for the worship of the Hindus was removed and carried to Delhi, where it was laid down for people to tread upon. Nuṣrat Khān proceeded to Kambya (Cambay) and levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of the place who were very wealthy. He also took a handsome slave from his master (afterwards known as) Kāfūr Hazār dīnārī who was made *Malik nāib*, and whose beauty captivated 'Alā ud Dīn. Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān returned with great booty." Firishṭa adds the information that amongst the wives of Karṇa who were

¹ The *Ras* (Vol. I p. 266) mentions the story that Karṇa had two Nāgara Brāhmin ministers named Mādhaba and Keṭava. Karṇa took by force the former's wife, who was a *padmavati* and slew Keṭava. Mādhaba thereupon went to 'Alā ud Dīn and brought in the Muslims.

² Elliot Vol. III p. 163; see also TA Trans. p. 157; MA Trans. pp. 100 ff. *Zafar* 21 IVāliq of Abdallāh Muhammad. Ed. by H. Denison Ross London 1931 Vol. II p. 769; AAK Vol. II p. 263. *Ras* Vol. I pp. 265 ff.

captured in this expedition was 'Kowla Devy,'¹ whose 'beauty, wit and accomplishment so captivated 'Alā ud-Dīn that he took her into his harem.'² The *Munat-i-Āhmadi* states that before Karna fled he engaged the Muslim generals in battle; and the *Zafar ul-Wālih* informs us that it was 'a hard struggle'. This campaign did not however completely end Karna's career. He appears to have maintained his independence in the hilly territory known as Baglan in Nasik; and Firishta tells us that when in 1306 A.D., according to the instructions of Malik Kāfūr, Alaf Khān tried to join him in 'the borders of the Deccan' from Gujarat 'by the route leading through the mountains of Buglana, so as both to enter the Deccan together,' he was successfully opposed by Karna. Immediately before this Malik Kāfūr had tried to persuade the Caulukya king to hand over to him Devaladevī, his daughter by Kāvalādevī. For we are told that at her request the Sultān had issued express injunctions to his generals to seize her daughter and send her to Delhi. But 'The Rāja could by no means be brought to agree' to this demand. Finding that his own military efforts had no effect on local rajas, he directed Alaf Khān to join him in Gujarat. But Firishta relates that for two months Karna defeated all his efforts to force a passage, fighting several actions. At this time Sankara the son of the Devagiri Yādava Rāmadeva made offers of help to Karna, who agreed to give him his daughter, who was only 13 years of age. When Bhīmadeva, Sankara's brother, was escorting the girl to Devagiri, and had nearly reached the capital city, a section of the troops of Asaf Khān, numbering about 300, who had gone 'without leave to see the caves of Eloora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur' surprised the escort and captured the young bride.³ According to Firishta,

¹ 'Kowla' is quite correct, *Kamala* through the intermediate *Kamvā*. Dr Barnett suggests that the vernacular form of the name was probably Kāvalādevī, in Sanskrit Kamaladevī.

² *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, pp 327-29. The *MA* (Trans p 162), says 'formed an unlawful connection with the mother of the damsel' (Devalde).

³ *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, pp 365-68. Devaladevī, who like her mother, was famous for her beauty, was married to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of 'Alā ud-Dīn Amīr Khasrau.

before this incident Alaf Khān, being much concerned at the reports of these marriage arrangements and fearing for his head, had made one supreme effort to pierce Karna's mountain defences. His army, we are told, 'entered the mountains in all directions and engaging the Raja gave him total defeat. Kurrun Ray fled to Dewgur, leaving his elephants, tents and equipage on the field.' After this history loses sight of Karna and he probably died as a refugee somewhere in the Deccan.¹

composed poems on their love. After the murder of the blinded Khizr by his younger brother Mubārak about 1818-19 A.D. the latter married her forcibly against her will. After the murder of Mubārak by Khusrāu in 1820 A.D. she was forced into the harem of the usurper. Such is the reward that fate often reserves for beauty.

¹ The Vāghelās continued to rule in Gujarat as petty chiefs in the Muhammadan period. See the *Adalji well inscription* of Rāṇī Rājādevī, wife of the Vāghelā Virasimha of Dapdāhīdeva in the reign of Mshṃūd Begarhā 1458-1511 A.D. dated in V S 1555. ARB pp. 264-66 also BG Vol I Part I p. 206.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

(Dates approximate.)

Rāj = Cāpotkata Princess

Mūlarāja I (c 961-96 A D)

Cāmuṇḍarāja (c 998-1010 A D)

Cācinīdevī

Vallabharāja
Jagajñhampāna
(c 1010 A D)Durlabharāja
(c 1010-22 A. D.)Nāgadeva¹

Bhīmadeva I = Uḍayamatī

(c 1022-64 A D)

= Cakulādevī

Kaiṇpadeva I (c 1064-94 A D)

Trailokyaamalla

= Mayanalladevī

Mūlarāja

Kṣemarāja

Devaprasāda

Dhavalā = X
(of Bhīmapallī)

Jayasimha Siddharāja (c 1094-1144 A D)

Tribhuvanapāla

Kāśmīradevī =

Mahāpāla

Kīrtipāla

Kumārāpāla
(c. 1144-73 A D)Premaladevī
= KṛṣṇadevaDevādevī
= Arnorāja
(Cāhamāna)

Arnorāja

(of Vyāghrapallī)

Ajayapāla. (c 1173-76 A D.)

Premaladevī
= KṛṣṇadevaDevādevī
= Arnorāja
(Cāhamāna)¹ Names in italics did not reign at Anhilvada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- 1 'A Contribution to the History of Gujarat, by G. Buhler,'
Indian Antiquary, 1877, Vol. VI, pp.
181-91
- 2 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Tod Ed. by
Crooke, Oxford
- 3 *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1896, Vol. I, Parts I
and II.
- 4 *Ras Mala*, by Forbes Ed. by Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924,
Vol. I
- 5 *Ta'rikh-i-Firūshāhī* of Ziyā-ud-Dīn Baranī. Extracts tran-
slated in *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 93 ff.
- 6 *Tabqāt-i-Ikbarī* of Nizām-ud-Dīn, Trans. by B. Dey,
1913 (Bibliotheca Indica)
- 7 *Ta'rikh-i-Firishṭa*, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I.
- 8 *I'in-i-Akbarī*, Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II.
- 9 *An Arabic History of Gujarat (Zafar ul-Wāliḥ bi Muzaḥḥar
wa-Ālīḥ)* of 'Abdallāh Muhammad bin
'Omar al-Makkī, al-Āsafī Ulughkhānī.
Ed. by E. Denison Ross, Vol. I (1910)
and Vol. II (1921), London.
- 10 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I.
- 11 *Mināt-i-Aḥmadī*, Text, edited by Syed Nawal Ali, *GOS*, Vol.
XXXIII, 1928 Trans. by James Bird,
1835, London.
12. *Kitāb Zair ul-Akhhār* of Abu Sa'īd, 'Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-
Dahhāk, b. Muhammad Gardīzī. Ed. by
Muḥammad Nāẓim, Iranschahr, Berlin,
1928
- 13 *Taj ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Nizāmī. Extracts Trans. in *Elliot*,
Vol. II, pp. 226 ff.

- 14 *History of Gujarat*, by Bayley, 1886, London
- 15 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Trans by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901 Text, ed by Rāmacandra Dīnanātha, Bombay, 1888
- 16 *Therāvāli* (Genealogical and Succession Tables), by Merutuṅga, a Jain Pandit, by Bhau Daji, *JBRAS*, Vol IX, pp 147 ff
- 17 *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasīṃha, Ed by Khantivijaya Gaṇi (Nirṇayasāgara Press), Bombay, 1926
- 18 *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabhācārya, *GOS*, No XIV
- 19 *Dvayāśraya Kāvya* of Hemacandra, Ed by A V Kathvate Bombay Sanskrit Series, No LXIX Extracts translated in *IA*, Vol IV
- 20 *Moharāja Parājaya* of Yaśahpāla, *GOS*, No IX, 1918
- 21 *Lekha-paddhati*, *GOS*, No XIX, 1925
- 22 *Vasanta vilāsa-Mahākāvya* of Bālacandra, *GOS*, No VII, 1917
- 23 *Hamṃira mada mardana* of Jayasīṃha, *GOS*, No X, 1920
- 24 *Vastupāla Tejapāla prasasti* by the same, *ibid*, Appendix I
- 25 *Sukṛta kīrti kalloḥinī* of Udayaprabha, *ibid*, Appendix II, pp 67 90
- 26 *Nārāyanānanda*, by Vasantapāla (Vastupāla) *GOS*, No II
- 27 *Kīrti-kaumudī* of Someśvara, Ed by A V Kathavate (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No XXV), 1883
- 28 *Vastupāla-carita* of Harṣa Gaṇi
- 29 *Caturvīṃśati Prabandha* of Rājasekhara
- 30 *Vividha tīrtha kalpa* of Jinaprabha
- 31 *Kumārapāla carita* of Oāritrasundara (Ātmānanda Grantha ratnamālā, Bhavnagar)
- ¹ 32 *Vastupāla prabandha* of Rājasekhara (*GOS*, No. VII, 197, from *Prabandha Koṣa* of Rājasekhara)

¹ (Note —In addition to these see the texts mentioned by Bhagvanlal in *BO* Vol I, Part I p. 149 fn. 1.)

33. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, Chapters II, III, V, and XIII.
 34. *Archaeological Survey of Western India* (Northern Gujarat) by Burgess and Cousens, Vol. IX, 1903, Chap. I, pp 1-xx, also 3 ft
 35. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, by M Habib, 1927.
 36. *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nazim, Cambridge, 1931.
 37. *Somnath and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawar* by Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., ASI, Vol. XV, Imperial Series, 1931.
-

CHAPTER XVI

THE CĀHAMĀNAS (CAUHĀNS) OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT

The bardic tradition of the Rajputs regards the Cāhamānas¹ (Cauhāns) as one of the four fire-born races (*agni-kula*). With the founders of the Pratihāras (*Parihārs*), Caulukyās (*Solankis*) and Paramāras (*Pāvars*), their founder is said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu.² He is stated to have been 'quadriform (*Caturanga*), whence his name *Cauhan*.'³ The first seat of the government of 'Anhal, the first created Cauhan' was Māhīsmatī on the Narbada, from which city the power of the twenty four *Sākhās* of the tribe spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Unfortunately, authentic archaeological and literary records which bear upon the history of the tribe and its branches contain nothing to support the data derived from bardic songs. Unlike the Paramāras, the authors of the inscriptions and the *kāvya*s in the court of the Cāhamāna princes even as late as the 14th century A D seem to have been ignorant of the origin of their patrons from the fire-pit. It is unknown not only to Someśvara's Bijolia stone-inscription dated V S 1226 (c 1169 A D) but also to the *Prthvirāja vijaya*, which appears to have been composed in the life-time of Prthvirāja III (c 1179-92 A D).

¹ There are variants of this name. *Cāhūḍya* *BI* Vol XI p. 70 fn 4. *Cāharḍya*, *ZDMG* Vol. XL pp 38 ff. *Cāhūḍya* *IA* 1890 p 216 fn 5 also *Sarāgadharā paddhati* Ed. by Peterson, p. 1 *śloka* 2; *Cāhamāna* *ASR* Vol XXI, pp 173 ff. No. 2.

² *AR* Vol I pp 112 ff. for variations of the story of fire-origin see *ibid* Vol. III pp 1441 ff. I reserve the discussion on the origin of the Rajputs for the 3rd volume of the present work.

³ *AR* Vol. I p. 112. In another place it is stated that like Viṣṇu who created him he was four-armed like his creator and was thence styled *Caturbhuja Cauhan*; *ibid* Vol. III p. 1443.



GĀHAMĀNAS OF THE PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT

English Miles



THROAT OF INSCRIPTIONS



and even to the *Hammīna-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandīa Sūni, the grandson of the spiritual adviser of Hammīna of Ranthambhor (c. 1283-1301 A.D.). Like Padmagupta-Paṇimala, the court-poet of the Paramāra Sindhurāja (c. 995-1010 A.D.), these authors would certainly have utilised the myth to glorify their patrons, if it was known in their time. The authors of both the *Prithvīnāja-vijaya* and the *Hammīna-Mahākāvya* trace the origin of the tribe to an eponymous Cāhamāna who was born from the Sun (*Sūrya-maṇḍala*). According to the Bijolia inscription Sāmanta, the earliest representative of the family on its list, was born in the Vatsa gotra at Ahicchatīapūra.¹ This Ahicchatīapūra has been identified by some with Nāgapūra (mod. Nagaur, Jodhpur State).² An inscription recently found in the possession of the descendants of Gyanji Jabi, Colonel Tod's guru, says that Ahicchatīapūra was the capital of Jāngludesa* (*Jāngala-deśa*). Rai Bahadur Ojha would identify 'Jāngala country' with the region now known as Bikaner and Northern Marwar. Recent discussion⁴ however has shown that 'Jāngala-deśa' does not mean a particular tract of land. *Jāngala* literally means a forest or waste, and it has been shown that Jāngala settlements were attached to various ancient Indian States like Madra and Kuru. According to the *Mahābhārata* Ahicchatra was the capital of Uttara-Pāñcāla, and this section of the state may possibly have abounded in forests and hence acquired the name of Pāñcāla-jāngala.⁵ In that case we must suppose that

¹ In the Sundha hill-inscription of Cāciga (V S 1319) the eponymous Cāhamāna is stated to have been a source of great pleasure to the sage Vatsa (*EI*, Vol IX, p 70 ff). The Mt Abu inscriptions of Luntiga (V S 1377) says that when the Solar and Lunar races came to an end, the holy Vacca (i.e., Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Cāhamānas (*EI*, Vol IX, pp 70 ff). In the recently published Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla (V S 1176), however, the *Cāhamāna-vamśa* is said to have sprung from a person who came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the East (*EI*, Vol XI, pp 304 ff). These composers of Cāhamāna records were also ignorant of the fire-origin of their patrons as late as the 14th century A.D.

² Ojha, *Nāgari-Pracārini-Patrikā*, Vol II, Part III, *JASB*, 1922, p 289

³ *JRAS*, 1913, p 264, fn 1

⁴ Sinha, *JASB*, 1922, pp 237 ff

⁵ Like Kuru jāngala, Mādreyā jāngala, etc

the Cāhamānas, at least in the middle of the 12th century A D , claimed to have migrated from the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley. But it is significant that the authors of the two literary works referred to above do not mention Ahicchatra, and on the contrary seems specifically to associate the rise of the Cāhamānas with the lake Sūkambharī (Sambhar), situated on the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States. The provenance of the earliest inscriptions and the identification of some of the places mentioned therein suggest that the Sambhar region was possibly the cradle-land of the tribe. The well known tradition, both literary and epigraphic that the Cāhamānas took Delhi from the Tomaras, supported by references to conflicts between some of the earlier Cāhamānas and Tomara chiefs, seems to indicate that the movement of the tribe was from Sambhar towards the Ganges-Jumna Valley, and not *vice versa*.¹

Epigraphic evidence supports the bardic tradition that the Cāhamānas were divided into many branches. Some of these were unquestionably feudatories of the Pratihāras of Avanti and Kanauj. Thus the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartṛvādḍha (V S 818=A D 756) show that he owed allegiance to Nāgāvaloka, rightly identified with Nāgabhaṭa I (c 725 A D), while the Harṣa stone-inscription reveals the dependence of Gūvaka I on another Nāgāvaloka, *alias* Nāgabhaṭa II² (c 815 A D). The Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II (V S 1008=A D 946) mentions his feudatory the Cāhamāna *Mahāsāmanta* Indrarāja³. During the period c 750 to 950 A D most of the regions over which the Cāhamānas ruled were certainly included in the Pratihāra dominions. It was probably Vigraharāja II (A D 978), of the Sākambharī branch who first became free from the control of the 'house

¹ The theory that *Sepādalakṣa* is derived from the word *Siwalik* a range of hills running parallel to the Himalayas from Kangra to Nainital is far from certain. See *supra*, DHNI Vol. II p. 937 fn. 3.

² EI Vol. XII pp. 199-200 1A 1911 Vol. XL pp. 239-40

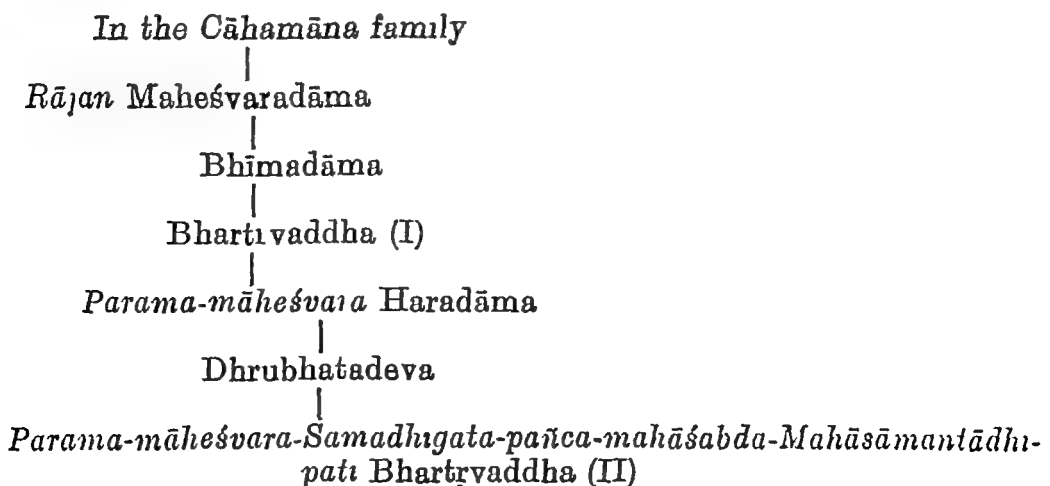
³ EI Vol. XIV pp. 180-81

of Raghu' (Pratīhāras), to whom his father Śimharāja had still paid homage ¹

The history of the Cāhamānas may be conveniently grouped round the following heads (1) *Cāhamānas of Lāta*, (2) *Cāhamānas of Dhavalapurī*, (3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh*, (4) *Cāhamānas of Sākambharī*, (5) *Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura*, (6) *Cāhamānas of Naddūla*, (7) *Cāhamānas of Jāvālpura*, and (8) *Cāhamānas of Satyapura*. Of these the last three (Nos 6, 7 and 8) were undoubtedly connected with No 4, but the relationship of the first three with each other or with the rest is at present unknown

(1) *Cāhamānas of Lāta*

The earliest reference to the existence of Cāhamānas in Lāta was revealed by the discovery of the *Hansot grant of Bhartrvaddha*. It was found in the possession of a person in the town of Hansot, in the Anklesvar taluka of the Broach district, Bombay Presidency. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with *Om Svasti*, after which comes the following 'The Cāhamāna family, exalted with a large army, who have succeeded in adorning their territory, who are a receptacle of victory, like Meru (which is lofty with large ridges, adorned with the circle of *Siddhas*, the support of Jaya, or the sun.' Then comes the genealogy of the donor



¹ *IA*, 1913, pp 58 and 62, V 19.

It is then announced that this last prince, while staying at Bhṛgukaccha (mod Broach), granted the village of Arjuna devīgrāma in the Akrūreśvara¹ viṣaya to the Brāhman Bhaṭṭa Būta (?) and two others. The grant was written by the Valabhya² Bhaṭṭa Kakka. It was issued from Bhṛgukaccha, with Bhaṭṭa Laluluva as its Dātaka, in the pravardhamānaviṣaya rājya of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka, in the (V) year 818 (A D 756)³.

This inscription gives us six generations of Cāhamānas who appear to have resided in the region of Broach. By assigning a period of 30 years for each generation Konow arrived at c 500 A D as the date of Maheśvaradāma⁴. Noticing the occurrence of names which were common to the Maṭtrakas of Valabhi⁵ and the occurrence of the epithet Valabhya (from Valabhi?) before the name of the writer of the grant, he also suspected intimate contact between the two families⁶. But the most striking feature of these princes' names is certainly the ending dāma in three of them, which is likewise found in the names of several descendants of the Western Kṣatrapa Caṣṭana. In the opinion of Rapson, it may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word⁷.

The identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gurjara Prātibhāra family is now generally accepted. The existence of a Gurjara ruling family in the Broach region till c.

¹ Probably the present Anklesvar taluka. *SI* Vol. XII, p. 201.

² From Valabhi?—*ibid* p. 204.

³ Edited by Sten Konow. *SI* Vol. XII pp. 197-201.

⁴ I would rather assign 25 years and propose c 500 A D as the date of Maheśvaradāma.

⁵ Cāhamāna Dhruvabhaṭa (=Dhruvabhata)—Maṭtraka Dhruvabhāṭa Śilāditya VII (A D 706).

⁶ It is possible that Bhartṛvājña II's sister was married to Śilāditya VI so that Śilāditya VII may have worn the name of his maternal grandfather: *SI* Vol. XII p. 199.

⁷ Spalaga-dama see Rapson *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras Kṣatrapas etc.)* 1906 p. cv. For a Kacchapaṣṭhita name ending in dāman, see my chapter on the Kacchapaṣṭhitas *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 822; also fn. 5 on the same page.

706-36 A D ¹ seems to indicate that Bhartrvaddha II may have succeeded Jayabhata III, the last representative of that family, as the viceroy of Lāṭa. Bhartrvaddha's predecessors, however, may have been settled, as Konow suggests, in Broach for a long time previously ². But the fact that they are assigned only vague praise in the grant of their successor, combined with the absence of any titles of even feudatory rank, indicates that their position as rulers of Gujarat was not very conspicuous.

For about five centuries nothing is heard of the Cāhamānas in Gujarat. The *Hammīa-mada-mardana* of Jayasimha ³ reveals the presence of the *Mahāmandaleśvara* Samgrāmarāja, also known as Samgrāmasimha, who was a contemporary of the Vāghelā Vīnadhavala (c. 1233-43 A.D.). He is said to have been the son of Sindhurāja and nephew of Simha, lord of Lāṭa-deśa. The drama represents him as in alliance with the Devagiri Yādava Sindhana (c. 1210-47 A.D.) and the Mālava Paramāra Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) against the Dholka chieftain. The allied invasion, however, failed, largely owing to the activity of the spies of Vastupāla, the able minister of Vīnadhavala. The alliance was dissolved and Samgrāmarāja was forced into an alliance with Vīnadhavala. The *Vasanta-vilāsa* of Bālacandra also contains ⁴ an account of the hostilities between Vīnadhavala and the princes of Lāṭa. It relates that Stambhatīrtha (mod. Cambay) was conquered by the Dholka chiefs from the king of Lāṭa. The latter, according to this authority, was of Cāhamāna lineage, and named Śaṅkhu. On one occasion he started from Bhīgukaccha to attack Stambhatīrtha with a cavalry force. But in the battle which followed Śaṅkhu was defeated and compelled to retire to Broach. As the father of Śaṅkhu was named Sindhurāja, he is almost certainly identical with the Samgrāmarāja of the *Hammīa-mada-mardana*. Jayasimha says of Śaṅkhu that his 'left foot was

¹ BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 177

³ GOS, No. X, 1920

² EI, Vol. XII, pp. 198 ff

⁴ GOS, No. VII, 1917

adorned with the figures of 12 *Maṇḍalādhīpatīs* on golden *dāmas*,¹ and he defeated the Yādava king Śiṛhṇa on the Narbada.

From these statements it is clear that Broach was the centre of the Cāhamāna principality. Being situated on the frontiers of the Caulukyās, the Yādavas, and the Paramāras, it was in a difficult position. Though Bālaocandra calls Saṅkhu a *bhūpati* or king, it is doubtful whether they at any time really enjoyed sovereign power. Jayasīṃha more appropriately calls him a *Mahāmaṇḍalesvara*. It is likely that, though possessing considerable power and prestige, these princes were always compelled to acknowledge, at least tacitly, the sovereignty of their stronger neighbours. The dominance of the great kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan during the period c. 750-1175 must have kept them in insignificance. It was only after the decline or downfall of the states towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century that they were given opportunities to rise in importance.

As to the relationship of the family of Bhartṛvādḍha and Saṅkhu nothing is at present definitely known. But as Broach was the base of power of both the families, it may be conjectured that they were connected by blood.

(2) Cāhamānas of Dhavalapuri

The existence of this branch was made known by the discovery of a *Stone-inscription at Dholpur*. It contains 26 lines incised on a black stone in the Residency of the Dholpur State, Rajputana. It opens with a eulogy of the Sun god (*Bhāsvat*, *Bhāskara*). Then follows the genealogy of a king named Caṇḍamahāsena.

In the *Cāhavāṇa* *vaṃśa*

Isuka

Mahīgarāma = Kaphullā performed sati when her husband died

Caṇḍamahāsena
or Caṇḍa.

This last prince lived in Dhavalapurī.¹ The proper object of the inscription is to record the building of a temple of Candasvāmin, together with a pond and a well. The date of the consecration of the temple is V S. 898 (A D. 842).²

Candamahāsena's family appear to have been feudatory princes. Possibly he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja, who had captured Kanauj sometimes before 836 A.D. The only thing known about him is that the *Mleccha* lords who were established on the banks of the Carmanvatī (Chambal) paid him homage ;³ I am unable to suggest the identification of these *Mlecchas*.⁴

(3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh.*

This branch is known from the *Partabgarh stone-inscription* of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla II,⁵ whose gift of a village for the cult of the goddess Vata-Yakṣiṇī-devī in V S 1003 (A D 946) is recorded in it. But it also contains references to earlier grants to various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Ṛṣiśvara. We are told that the provincial governor of Mahendrapāla resident at Ujain, at the request of the Cāhamāna *Mahāsāmanta* Indiarāja, granted a village for the cult of Indrādityadeva. The inscription gives the following genealogy of the Cāhamāna chief.

Princes of the *Cāhamān-ānvaya* who were a source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva.

Govindarāja
|
Durlabharāja
|
Indiarāja

¹ Identified with mod Dholpur, *ZDMG*, Vol XL, p 38.

² Edited by Hultzsch, *ZDMG*, Vol XL, pp 38-42

³ *Carmanvatī-tata-dvaya-saṁsthita-Mlechādhipa-pravarāḥ,*
ipsitanā pranatā sevām kurvanti yasyānu

⁴ Is it possible that there were during that period some Arab settlements in the Chambal valley as a result of a long series of Arab raids from the lower Indus valley? See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol I, Chapter I

⁵ Edited by G S Ojha, *EI*, Vol XIV, pp 160-61. See also *DHNI*, Vol I, pp 585 ff.

This last prince built the great temple of the Sun god, named after him (*Indrāditya*), at the village of Ghōṇṭā-Varṣika.¹ As grants are recorded to this temple in V S 999 (A D 942) it is certain that Indrarāja built the temple on or before that date.

It appears from the eulogy of Indrarāja's predecessors that his family first rose into importance in the service of Bhoja and his successors. Indrarāja was a vassal of Mahendrapāla II, and was immediately subordinate to the governor of Ujjain. This is apparent from the fact that he had to apply to the latter in order to secure a grant of land for his temple.

Nothing is known about any possible successors of Indrarāja.

(4) *Cāhamānas of Śākambhari*

The earliest inscription of this branch is still the Harṣa stone inscription² of the time of Vīgraharāja II dated in V S 1080 (A.D. 978). It carries back the genealogy of the Cāhamānas for six generations up to Gūvaka I, who as we shall presently see, was a contemporary and feudatory of the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhata II (c. 815 A.D.). The much later Bijolia rock inscription, dated in V S 1226 (c. 1169 A.D.), in the reign of Someśvara however, gives the names of 27 predecessors of Someśvara. Morison in 1893, first published a list of Cāhamāna princes from a Sanskrit work named *Prthivīrāja vijaya*,³ which on comparison was found to agree closely with the list supplied by the two inscriptions mentioned above. To these lists

¹ Said to be situated in Datapura (mod. Mandasor). The village has been identified with mod. Ghotarsi 7 miles east of Parthabgarh.

² Sometimes called *Harṣa Inscription* see *RI* Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 14 No. 82.

³ *JYZKM* Vol. VII pp. 187-99. PB now edited with Jonarāja's commentary by R. K. Belvalkar *Bibliotheca Indica* New Series No. 1400 Calcutta. The author of the work is unknown. Sarda has suggested that it may be Jayanāka, the Kashmirian poet whose entry in Prthivīrāja's court is recorded in Barga XII. As it mentions the defeat of Muḥammad Ghōrī by Bhīma I which took place in 1178 A.D. it is suggested that the work was composed between that date and about 1200 A.D. The work is incomplete.

and that given in *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra¹ H. B. Sarda² has added two more pedigrees contained in the *Prabandha-kośa*³ and the *Surjan-canta*.⁴ The last scholar has contributed a critical and comparative chart of all these genealogies, and drawn the reasonable conclusion that, in the present state of our knowledge, the lists supplied by the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* and tested by the evidence of the Bijholi inscription may be accepted as reliable.

According to the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* and all the other literary traditions noticed above, the first historical person on the Cāhamāna genealogy is Vāsudeva. The 3rd and 4th *Sargas* of the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* describe the mythical origin of the lake Sākambharī, which through the favour of the two goddesses Sākambharī and Āśāpuri was ever after to remain in the possession of Vāsudeva and his descendants, who thus became known as *Sākambharīśvara*.⁵ In his lineage was born Sāmanta-rāja, the first name on the Bijolia list. He was a feudatory prince (*Sāmanta*) and was possibly also known as Ananta. As I have already noticed, this inscription records that he was a *vipra* and born in the Vatsa-*gotra* at Ahicchatrapura. If there is any historical basis for the statement of the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* that Vāsudeva was already connected with the Sambhar region, then Ahicchatra must be located near the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States. As Sāmanta is the 12th king, counting backwards from Vigraharāja II (A. D. 973), we may perhaps assign him roughly to about the middle of the

¹ *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73

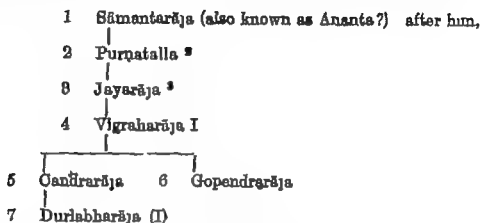
² *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 259-81

³ Of Rājasekhara. See *Gaṇḍavaho*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXIV, Introduction, p. cxxxv, Note 11, footnote. Stated to be 4 or 5 centuries old, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 265

⁴ Composed at Benares by Candrasekhara, a Bengali Vaidya (Gauda Ambaṣṭha) poet in the court of Surjan Sumha of Bundi, Akbar's Cāhamāna general. I am at present engaged in editing this *Mahākāvya* (No. 1135 of the Govt. Collection of MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

⁵ Vs. 1-5. The country round the lake was known as *Sākambharī pradeśa*, *ibid.*, V. 3. Also *infra*, p. 1099, fn. 3

7th century A. D.¹ Since the succession between Sāmanta and Vāsudeva does not appear to have been immediate, it is difficult to decide the exact time when Vāsudeva carved out his principality round Sambhar. The succession from Sāmanta to Durlabharāja I is given as follows



Practically nothing but vague praise is assigned to these princes, and they were apparently insignificant. According to the *Prithvirāja vijaya* Durlabharāja I was succeeded by his son Govindarāja. But the Bijolia inscription places Gūvaka after Durlabha. Sarda has accepted Gūvaka as an *alias* of Govindarāja. The Harṣa stone inscription of Vīgraharāja traces his descent to prince Gūvaka. Scholars agree in identifying the Gūvaka of the Bijolia inscription with the Gūvaka of the Harṣa record.⁴ They also agree that 'Nāgāvaloka the foremost of kings, in whose court Gūvaka is stated to have 'attained pre-eminence, is the Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815 A. D.)'⁵

¹ Prabandha-loka however gives V. S. 808 (A.D. 851) as the date of Vāsudeva, see *Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India* by Hultzsch Vol. III Madras 1906 No. 1966 p. 112. The MS. was found in the private library of a Maratha Brāhman of Tanjore; also *JRAS* 1913, p. 268, fn. 1.

² Sarda omits this name from his list of names given from Bijolia inscription see *JRAS* 1913 p. 270. The fact that PB (Vs. 7-8) seems to omit this name makes me a little doubtful about the reading of the transcript in *RI* Vol. XX, Appendix p. 51, No. 314.

³ Sometimes Jayantarāja, or Ajayapāla.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Śaiva temple referred to in the Harṣa inscription of Vīgraharāja (V. S. 1030) was originally constructed by Gūvaka I. *IA* 1913 p. 58.

⁵ *IA* 1911 pp. 239-40; *ibid* 1913 p. 58.

The implication of this statement of the Harsa stone inscription is no doubt that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of the powerful Pratīhāra monarch

According to the *Prthvīnāja-vijaya*, the next prince was Govindarāja's son Candrarāja II. This agrees with the Harsa inscription; but the Bijolia epigraph gives the variant Śaśinrpa.¹ His son was Gūvaka II.² According to the *Prthvīnāja-vijaya*, his sister Kālāvatī chose for her husband the king of Kānauj.³ Gūvaka's son was Candanarāja. According to the Harsa inscription, he defeated and slew in battle a Tomara prince (*Tomar-eśa*) named Rudrena,⁴ who has not yet been identified. There is reason to believe that the Tomaras were settled in the region round modern Delhi in the 9th century A. D.⁵ The north of the present Jaipur State is reported to be divided into two divisions viz., Tamvrāvātī and Sekhāvātī. The former name is said to be derived from the Rajput tribe Tamvar, who are the same as the Tomaras of the inscriptions. As Tamvrāvātī is not very far from the Sambhar region, Rudrena may have been a prince of this locality.⁶ This conflict and the death of Rudrena may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century was to extend the arms of the Cāhamānas to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. According to the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*, Candana's queen Rudrānī, also called Ātmaprabhā,⁷ set up 1,000 *lingas* on the banks of *Puskara*, 'which shone like lights in darkness'.⁷ Candana's son by this queen was Vākpatirāja, called Vappayarāja and Vindhyanrpati (?) in the Bijolia inscription. The Harsa inscription gives him the epithet *Mahārāja*, and states that he put to flight one Tantrapāla, who

¹ The meaning of both the names is the same, 'moon-king'.

² The Bijolia inscription seems to spell the name 'Gūvāka'. See *EI*, Vol XX, Appendix, p 51, No 344. *JASB*, LV, I, 41 has 'Gavāka.' *JRAS*, 1913, table on p 270.

³ Vs 30-31. She had 12 other suitors, but they were all defeated by her brother.

⁴ Kielhorn read the name as 'Rudrena'. *EI*, Vol II, p 121, V. 14. But D. R. Bhandarkar proposes to read it as 'Rudra'. *IA*, 1913, p 58, and fn 2.

⁵ See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the Tomaras. ⁶ *IA*, 1913, p. 59.

⁷ Vs 37-38. She was also probably known as Yoginī, see *JRAS*, 1913, p 268.

was 'coming haughtily towards the Ananta country to deliver a message of his overlord' The identity of the defeated prince is unknown, but it may be assumed that the kingdom of the Cāhamānas was called *Ananta gocara*, after the name of its second prince. According to the *Prthivīrāja-vijaya*, Vākpati I was a great warrior and won 188 victories. He was also a devotee of Śiva, and built at Puṣkar a temple (*prāsāda*) for Vyomakeśa (Śiva), 'which looked like Kailāsa'. He was succeeded by his son Śiṃharāja. The Harṣa inscription gives him the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja*, and states that he subdued the Tomara chief (*nāyaka*) Salavapa¹ and put to flight and captured the hosts that had gathered under his command. The princes who were captured in this struggle were kept in prison till his overlord who belonged to the 'family of Raghu, came in person to his house to liberate them'. The *Raghu kula cakravartin*² referred to in this passage is most probably one of the successors of the Pratihāra monarch Nāgabhaṭa II, to whom, as we have seen, Gūvaka I owed allegiance. It is difficult to identify the Pratihāra prince, but as we have the date 978 A.D. for the successor of Śiṃharāja, he must be either Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 946) or one of his weak successors. The fact that the overlord had to come personally to the house of his feudatory to effect the release of prisoners is sufficient evidence of the increasing importance of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and of the decline of the imperial power of Kanauj.

¹ IA 1913 pp. 58 and 62, V 16. The overlord may have been either the Pratihāra emperor Mahipāla I (c. 914-81 A.D.) or one of his immediate successors. According to some Tantrapāla may denote the designation of an individual see EI XIX Appendix p 14 fn. 4. For Ananta see also V 23.

Vs. 41-43. It was probably from Vākpati's son Lakṣmaṇa that the Cāhamānas of Naḍḍūla took their rise, see *infra* pp. 1104 ff. Vākpati had another son, named Vatsarāja see EI Vol. II p. 139.

² The passage may also mean subdued the Tomara *nāyaka*...together with Lavaṇa; see Bhandarkar IA 1912 pp. 57 ff., and Klabhorn EI Vol. II, pp. 118 ff.

³ IA 1913 pp. 58 and 62, V 19.

⁴ Rājasekhara tells us that the Pratihāra princes of Kanauj claimed descent from the Raghu-kula; see *supra* DHNI Vol. I, p. 576.

Simharāja was succeeded by his son Viṅraharāja II, for whose reign we have the *Harṣa stone-inscription*. This was found 'engraved on a large slab of black stone which lies in the porch of the temple of what is known as *Purāṇa Mahādeva* on a hill near the village Haras, situated in the Sikar principality of the Shekhawati province, Jaipur State,' Rajputana. It contains 40 lines of writing, and is somewhat damaged. It seems to open with *Om om namaḥ Śivāya*. The first verse pays obeisance to Gaṇānana; the next 10 verses eulogise Śiva, who appears to have been given the name Harisa. Verse 12 praises the 'mansion of the divine Harṣadeva.'¹ Verses 13-27 trace the genealogy of the Cāhamānas from Gūvaka I to Viṅraharāja II. The inscription then gives an account of 'a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harṣanātha,' relating that in the country of Ananta (*Ananta-gocara*) there lived Viśvarūpa, 'who was a teacher of the Lākula doctrine'² expounding *pañcārtha*. His disciple was the Brāhman Bhāvirakta, *alias* Allata, of Rāṇapallikā.³ Allata, who was like Nandin, began the building⁴ of the temple of Harṣanātha with the wealth received from pious people. The temple was completed in (V.) S. 1013 (c. 956 A.D.); but Allata died in (V.) S. 1027 (A.D. 970) before he could accomplish all his designs. The works were completed by Allata's disciple Bhāvadyota⁵ at the request of his preceptor. The architect of the temple was Candaśiva, 'omniscient like Viśakarman in the art of building houses.' The record was composed by Dhīranāga, the pious son of the

¹ D R Bhandarkar has tried to show that the description fits in well with the ruined temple where the inscription was found *IA*, 1913, pp. 57-58

² 'Lākulāmnāya, a term technical to the philosophy (*darśana*) of the Lākuliśa Pāśupata sect *ibid*, p 59

³ Identified by Kielhorn with Ranoli, 7 miles east of Harasnath, and one mile west of Shishu *EI*, Vol II, p 119

⁴ D R Bhandarkar thinks that he simply repaired the temple, which was built long ago by Gūvaka I, *IA*, 1913, p 58

⁵ D R Bhandarkar points out that Allata and Bhāvadyota are given the epithets *digamala-vasana* and *digambara* respectively. This may indicate that the sect, like their deity Lakuliśa, who is represented as *Urdha-medhra*, was naked *IA*, 1913, p 39

Karamika Thīruka Then is given a list of endowments received by the temple up to (V) S 1030 (c 978 A D) The *M* Śimhārāja, after having bathed at Puṣkara tīrtha¹ had given the villages Śimhagoṣṭha² in the Tūnakūpaka³-*dvādaśaka* in the Paṭṭa baddhaka⁴-*Viṣaya*, and Kaṇhapallikā in the Saraṅkoṭṭa⁵-*Viṣaya* his brother Vatsarāja, the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura-*Viṣaya*, king Vīgraharāja, the villages of Chatradhārā and Saṅkarāpaka, Śimhārāja's other sons, Candrarāja and Govindarāja, two hamlets in the Paṭṭabaddhaka and Darbhakakṣa⁶-*Viṣayas*, Dandhuka, an official (*Duḥśādhya*) of Śimhārāja, the village Mayurapadra in the Khattakūpa⁷ *Viṣaya* and a certain Jayanarāja, the village Kolikūpaka. Besides these fields had been given by various pious people at Madrāpurikā, Nimbadikā,⁸ Marupallikā, Harṣa and (Ka)lāvanapadra and taxes on salt and horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by traders (?) at Śākambharī and horsedealers of Uttarāpatha⁹

¹ Mod. Puṣkar near Ajmer

² Modern Sīrhot *ibid.*

³ Mod. Tuna in the Śikar principality *IA* 1913 p 60.

⁴ Mod. Patoda in the Śikar principality *ibid.*

⁵ Mod. Sargot in Marot. Jodhpur *ibid.*

⁶ Mod. Dhalas in the Śikar principality *ibid.*

⁷ Mod. Khatu in Sambhar Nizamat, Jaipur State, *ibid.*

⁸ Mod. Nimra, 4½ miles south of Harasnath near a salt lake *HI* Vol II p. 119

D R. Bhandarkar locates most of the villages mentioned in the Śikar chiefship of Jaipur State: see *IA* 1913 p 60.

⁹ Edited by Kielhorn *HI* Vol. II pp. 116-30. Re-edited by D R. Bhandarkar *IA* 1913, pp. 57-64. The record is sometimes called *Haras Inscription* see *HI* Vol XIX Appendix p 14 No. 82. The *Sakral* stone-inscription is referred by some to the reign of Vīgraharāja. It is engraved on a slab in the principal niche of the exterior of the shrine of Śākambharī at Sakral some 20 miles distant from Raghunathgarh Jaipur State, Rajputana. The record has not been properly read but it seems to refer itself to the reign of the Cākardas prince Vīgraharāja. It records that Dayikā, wife of Vatsarāja (no doubt the paternal uncle of Vīgraharāja referred to in the Harja inscription) repaired the temple of Saṅkarādevī. It is dated in *Śaṅkarsara* 55 Māgha Sudi 5. The date is taken to be a case of omitted hundreds and equivalent to V S. 1033. *ASI* IWC 1902-10 ¶ 57; in *HI* Vol XIX Appendix, p 17 No. 97 the inscription is referred apparently to the time of king Vatsarāja, successor (?) of Vīgraharāja.

This inscription gives the date (V) S. 1030 (c. 973 A.D.) for Vigraharāja. The donatory position of the record also shows that he had two brothers Candiarāja and Govindarāja, and an uncle, named Vatsarāja, brother of Śiṃharāja. It appears certain that sometime before this date the Cāhamānas had completely freed themselves from the control of the princes of 'Raghu-kula' (Gujara-Pratīhāras). The *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that Vigraharāja extended his conquests as far south as the Naimadī and defeated the Gurjara king Mūlarāja, who fled to Kanthādunga¹. He is also reported to have built a temple (*dhāma*) for the goddess Āśāpūrī on the banks of the Revā at Bhrgukaccha². The statement of the conflict between Mūlarāja and the king of Śākambharī is remarkably borne out by Merutunga's *Prabandha-cintāmanī* according to which the 'king of Sapādalaksa,' who ruled from his capital at Śākambharī, invaded Gujarat, and the distressed Caulukya was forced to take shelter in the fort of Kanthā³. The identification of this invader with Vigraharāja is generally accepted. According to the *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, the struggle ended with fatal results for Mūlarāja.⁴ I have shown elsewhere⁵ that, though it may well be doubted whether Nayacandīa is correct in his statement that Mūlarāja was killed by Vigraharāja, there is sufficient reason to believe that he was really defeated by him.

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his younger brother Durlabharāja of whom nothing more was known than the name of his minister, Mādhava, which is supplied by the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*, until the discovery of the *Kinsariya stone-inscription* of Cacca threw some welcome light on his reign. This was found 'in a temple dedicated to the goddess Kevāy mātā and situated on the summit of a hill in the vicinity of a village named Kinsariyā,

¹ Vs 50 51

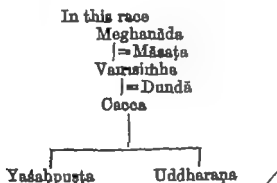
² V 53.

³ PC, pp 23 ff. See *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Caulukyas, pp 937 ff.

⁴ IA, Vol VII, p 7. See *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, p 939

⁵ *Ibid*

4 miles north of Parbatsar, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It is incised on a stone fixed in the wall of the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*.¹ It contains 23 lines of somewhat damaged writing. The first verse has peeled off. In the next four verses it invokes Kātyāyaṇī, Kālī, and another deity (name lost). Verse 6 praises the Cāhamāna race. Then it gives the names of Vākpātirāja, Śiṁharāja, and Durlabharāja. The latter, we are told, earned the epithet *Durlaṅghya meru*, as none could transgress his orders. Verse 12 represents him as having conquered the country called Āsoṣitana.² Next is given the following genealogy of a line of feudatory princes who traced their descent to the sage Dadhīca and were hence known as Dadhīca (also Dahiyaka).³



Cacca built 'this' temple of Bhavānī, no doubt the temple where this inscription was found. The *prastāva* was composed by the *Gauḍa Kāyastha* Mahādeva, son of Kalya, a poet. The date (V) *Śaṣṭi* 1056 (c. 999) is given in line 22.⁴

Durlabharāja was succeeded by his son Govindarāja, whom the *Prabandha kośa* credits with a victory over Sulṭān Maḥmūd.⁵ If the latter is the prince of Ghazni of that name, we must suppose that the Cāhamāna king won some minor success when

¹ Perhaps 'Rāsoṣitana'. *RI* Vol. XII p. 55.

² The editor identifies them with the Dahiyā Rajputs: See *ibid* pp. 57 ff. According to *Muhawwaz Nafis* they originally migrated from Thalnér on the Godavari, near Nasik into Marwar.

³ Edited by Ramakarna. *RI* Vol. XII, pp. 56-61.

⁴ *JRAS* 1913 p. 269 fn. 2. See also *Bombay Sanskrit Series* No. XXXIV Introduction, p. cxxxvi.

Mahmūd was on his way to Somnath through Jaisalmer and Mallani. But I am disposed to doubt the reliability of this statement, as it is omitted in the much more reliable *Prthvī-rāja-vijaya*.

Govindaiāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatiāja who according to the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* sent Ambāprasāda the lord (*pati*) of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama and rent his mouth with a dagger (*churikā*).¹ Āghāṭa is modern Ahar, near Udaipur station, and was the ancient capital of the Guhilas. It is therefore certain that this Ambāprasāda is to be identified with Ambāprasād or Āmrprasād who is placed in the Guhila list of princes after Śaktikumāra (V S 1034 = A D. 977).²

Vākpati II was succeeded by his son Vīryāiāma who is stated by the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* to have been killed by the (Paramāra) Bhoja lord of Avanti (c. 1010-1055 A D.)³ He was succeeded by his younger brother Cāmundarāja, who built at Narapura⁴ a temple of Viṣṇu.⁵ The next king, according to the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*, was Vīryāiāma's son Durlabharāja III, also called Vīrasimha, who is said to have been killed in battle by the *Mātangas*. The commentator Jonaiāja explains *Mātanga* by the word *Mleccha*.⁶ If this interpretation is correct, he may have lost his life in a struggle against an unrecorded invasion of the Yamīnīs from the Lahore region. Durlabha is probably the same as Dūsala of the Bijolia rock inscription, but the latter's father's name is given in the inscription as Simhaṭa. Durlabha III was succeeded by his brother Viṅraharāja III, who is probably identical with Viśala of the Bijolia inscription.

¹ V, Vs 59-60

² *JRAS*, 1913, p 268 and fn 3, also *HR*, I, pp 438-39, *ibid*, II, p 438. See also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Guhila-putras*.

³ V 67

⁴ Narwar, 'situated' in Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer, *JRAS*, 1913, p 272

⁵ V 68

⁶ *Mātanga-saṅgare* = *Mleccha saṅgrāme*. The commentator also adds that it may mean *hasti samare*, which seems to be more probable.

and Viśvala of the *Hammitra mahākāvya*. According to the Bijolia inscription Viśvala's queen was named Rājadevī. The *Prthvirāja vijaya* states that Vigraharāja gave to Udayāditya of Mālava (c. 1059-87 A.D.) a horse named Sārāṅga, with which Udayāditya vanquished the Gurjara Karna¹ (c. 1064-94 A.D.). If this statement is based on fact, we must reject the statement of Nayacandra, that Karna was killed by Viśvala's predecessor Dusala.²

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his son Prthvirāja I. The *Prthvirāja vijaya* states that this prince defeated and killed a body of 700 'Caulukyas' who had come to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmins. He is also reported to have built an *anna satra* on the road to Somanātha. The Bijolia inscription gives Rasaladevī as the name of his queen. Only one inscription has so far been noticed for the reign of Prthvirāja I. This is his *Revasa stone inscription* found in the temple of Jīṇmātā (*Jayantī mātā*) situated about six miles to the south of Revasa. The latter place is nearly 16 miles NW of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat in Shekhawati, Jaipur State. The goddess inside the temple is 'an eight-handed Mahiṣamardini' the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple is 'doubtless old, and is stated to be not later than the 10th century A.D. The present inscription is incised on the lower part of a pillar of this *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*. It is dated in V.S. 1162 (c. 1105 A.D.) in the reign of Prthvīdeva³ and records the building of the temple by one Haṭhada, son of Mohila.⁴

Prthvirāja I was succeeded by his son Ajayarāja⁵ alias Salhaṇa. According to the *Prthvirāja vijaya*, he defeated the

¹ Vs. 76-78.

² *IA* Vol. VIII p. 69. Though the author does not actually state the dynasty in which Karna belonged the inference is obvious that the Caulukya prince is meant. See *supra*, *DBNI* Vol. II pp. 872, fn. 2 and 964.

³ Prthvīdeva is the same as Prthvirāja. Another variant of the name is Prthvībhāja which we find in the case of the second prince of that name. See *infra*.

⁴ Noticed in *ASI WJ* 1909-10 p. 63.

⁵ Also known as Ajayadeva.

Mātangas (*mlecchas*?) and also Sulhana the king of Mālava. The last statement is confirmed by the Bijolia inscription which states that Ajayarāja captured in battle Sulhana, the commander-in-chief of the army, tied him to the back of his camel, and brought him to Ajmer.¹ As there was no prince ruling in Mālava during this period who bore the name Sulhana, he must be a general of one of the Paramāra kings, possibly Yasovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.) These were not the only victories of Ajayarāja. The Bijolia inscription states that he killed three kings, viz, Cāciga, Sindhula, and Yaśorāja, while another stone inscription found in the *Adhai dinkā Jhonprā*, Ajmer,² says that he conquered the country up to Ujjain.³ Besides these conquests, the most important achievement of his reign was the foundation of the city of Ajaya-meru, now known as Ajmer.⁴ The author of the *Prthvī-rāja-vijaya* eloquently describes the many temples and palaces with which the king beautified this city. No inscription of Ajayarāja has yet been published, but certain silver and copper coins of a prince of the same name bearing the figure of a 'seated goddess on the obverse' which are frequently met with in Rajputana and Mathura, have been referred to him.⁵ It is interesting in this connection to note that the *Prthvī-rāja-vijaya* actually states that he filled this world with his *rūpakas*, made of *Durvarṇa* (silver).⁶ It also states that the king's wife (*prīyā*) Somalekhā used to coin fresh (*nava*) *rūpakas* every day.⁷ In corroboration of this last statement certain silver and copper coins bearing on the obverse⁸ the legend *Śrī-Somaladevī* have

¹ *JRAS*, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5.

² Now in the Rajputana Museum.

³ *JRAS*, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5. Ajayarāja was also sometimes called Jayadeva (*JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 41, V. 14) or Jayarāja (*PB*, V, V. 89).

⁴ *PB*, p. 164, *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 272-73, *IA*, 1897, pp. 162-64.

⁵ Ojha, *IA*, 1912, pp. 209-11.

⁶ V. 88. See *infra*, inscription No. 2 of Someśvara which refers to the *Drammas* of Ajayapāla.

⁷ V, vs. 90.

⁸ Ojha calls this side of the coin 'reverse' but Mr. Allan, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, told me that it is better to accept Cunningham's practice of calling this side of the coin 'obverse' which bears the royal legend.

been referred to this queen. The silver coins bear on the reverse¹ 'a degraded representation of a king's head, while the copper coins bear the effigy of a horseman. As the Bijolia inscription actually gives Somalladevi as a variant of the name of Ajayapala's queen, it seems probable that the coins in question belonged to her.

Ajayarāja was succeeded by his son Arjorāja. Of his reign only two inscriptions have so far been noticed, viz., his *Revasa* (Jaipur State, Rajputana) stone inscriptions. These are incised on the lower part of a pillar of the *Sabbā maṇḍapa* of the same temple which bears the inscription of his grand father Prithvirāja I.² They are dated in (V)S 1196 (c 1139 A.D.) in the reign of Arjorāja (Arjorāja).³ The *Dvyāśraya* of Hemacandra states that Āna of Nāpādalakṣa bent his head before the Caulukya Jayasīma (c 1094-1144 A.D.).⁴ Someśvara's *Kṛti kaumudī* confirms this statement, and adds that, though Jayasīma defeated the Śākambharī prince, he gave his daughter as a bride to him.⁵ The marriage was no doubt intended to end an era of hostility between the two neighbouring dynasties. The *Prithvirāja vijaya* mentions two queens of Arjorāja, of whom one came from Gurjara, and the other named Sudhavā from the desert country named *Avīci*.⁶ The commentator Jonarāja tells us that the Gurjara queen was named Kāñcana devī and that she was given away by Jayasīma.⁷ Hostilities with the Caulukyas seems to have broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārāpala (c 1144-78 A.D.) to the throne of Anhilvada. The Jain chronicles record many incidents in connection with this new war. I have, elsewhere,⁸ discussed

¹ Ojha calls this side obverse but see above.

² See ante DHNI Vol. II p. 1070.

³ Noticed in ASI WC 1909-10 p. 52.

⁴ IA Vol. IV p. 268.

⁵ JRAS 1918 p. 274.

⁶ *Arīcibhāgo marubhūmi-nāma* PB p. 197. According to Bards it means Marwar see JRAS 1913 p. 274. PB p. 198

⁷ See ante DHNI Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas pp. 286 ff.

in detail the facts mentioned by them. We shall here mention only two incidents. The first is Arnorāja's invasion of Kumārapāla's territory, before the latter had consolidated his position on the throne, in support of the cause of Bāhada, the adopted son of Jayasinha ; and the second is Arnorāja's ill-treatment of his wife Devalladevī, who, we are told, was a sister of Kumārapāla. Both these incidents are given by different authorities as causes of war between Arnorāja and Kumārapāla. Recently Rai Bahadur H. B. Sarda has offered the plausible conjecture that the Jain chroniclers mention only one war while the facts suggest two distinct struggles. He supposes that the first war ended with a marriage-alliance at the beginning of Kumārapāla's career. The *Dvyāśraya* mentions that Arnorāja brought peace by giving his daughter Jalhanā to Kumārapāla. The next war may have been occasioned by the treatment of Devalladevī some time before V S. 1207 (c. 1150 A D.), the date of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadhi stone-inscription.¹

Besides these struggles, Arnorāja is reported to have engaged in other conflicts. The *Pṛthvīnāya-vijaya*² states that he defeated the *Mātangas* and once made a great massacre of the *Turuskas*. The latter, we are told, came across the desert (*Marusthalī*). By the time they reached the Cāhamāna dominions, they were so thirsty that according to Jonarāja they had to drink the blood of their horses by striking their shoulders with their weapons. Arnorāja, it is said, made a great slaughter of them, and afterwards purified the place, by constructing a lake on the battle-field by diverting the waters of the river Candia,³ which rises in *Pushkarāraṇya*. It is evident from these statements that these

¹ *IA*, 1912, pp 195-96

² *Sarga VI*

³ Acc to Sarda mod. Bandi river, which is in its lower course known as Luni, *JRAS*, 1913, p 274, fn 2. In the *IGI*, Vol XXVI (Atlas), 1931, two rivers are shown with the name Bandi, one is a tributary of the Luni, the other of the river Banas. None of these rises from near Pushkar or flows by the *tirtha*, the Luni, however takes its rise in the Sambhar lake and flows by Pushkar. Under the circumstances I prefer to identify Candia with the Luni.

Muslims must have raided the temples of the sacred Puṣkara tīrtha. This appears to be another unrecorded instance of Muslim invasion of India. Possibly the Turuṣkas were troops of the Yamīns of Lahore.

It appears from the *Prthvirāja-vijaya* that the reign of Arjorāja had a violent ending. We read that queen Sudhavā had three sons, who differed from each other as the three *gunas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*). Of these Vighraharāja was like the *sattva-guṇa*, while the eldest son is reported to have 'rendered the same services to his father as Bhṛgu's son Paraśu Rāma had rendered to his mother'.¹ This certainly indicated that this eldest son murdered his father. But unfortunately neither the *Prthvirāja vijaya* nor the Bijolia inscription mention his name. The *Hammīra mahākāvya*, the *Prabandhakōśa* and the *Surjan carita* however give the name of the successor of Anāladēva² (Arjorāja?), and the predecessor of Viśaladeva (Vighraharāja IV) as Jugadeva. It is therefore likely that the eldest prince was named Jugadeva, and that he succeeded in occupying the throne for at least some time. The *Prthvirāja vijaya* however seems to indicate Vighraharāja IV, one of the sons of Sudhavā, as his father's immediate successor. It is not improbable that before Jugadeva had time to consolidate his position on the throne, he was ousted by his younger brother, Vighraharāja. The following records are known for the latter's reign.

(1) *Ajmer stone inscription* (a) — Found in the mosque known as *Aḍhai dinkā Jhonprā*, on the lower slope of the Taragadh hill at Ajmer, Rajputana. It consists of 75 lines of writing. It contains a large portion of the 1st act, the beginning of the 2nd act, the end of the 3rd act and a large portion of the 4th act of *Lalita Vighraharāja*, a drama (*nāṭaka*) composed by the Mahā-Somadeva in honour of king Vighraharāja of Sākambhī.

¹ PB VI, pp. 197 ff., JRAS 1913 p. 274.

² In t

portion of the drama deals with the king's love for Desaladevī, the daughter of prince Vasantapāla,¹ who appears to have lived near or at the town of Indrapura (?). The end of the 3rd act contains a conversation between the king and Śaśiprabhā, a confidante of Desaladevī. Reference is then made to the king's impending 'march against the king of the Turuskas.' Two Turuṣka prisoners appear in the 4th act, and spies of the two hostile kings enter their enemies' camps to ascertain their strength and position. The Turuska spy announces that the Cāhamāna army 'consists of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses, and a million men,' while the Cāhamāna spy states that 'the Hammīra's army consists of countless elephants, chariots, horses and men.' We are also told that the camp of the Hammīra, which was a *Yojana* distant from 'Vavveraa,'² the place where Vīgraharāja was then encamped, was 'well guarded' The Cāhamāna king consults Rāja Simhabala, his maternal uncle, and the *Mantri* Śrīdhara as to the course of conduct on the impending struggle. The preserved portion ends with the arrival of a *dūta* from the Hammīra. The record was written and engraved by the learned Bhāskara³

(2) *Ajmer stone-inscription (n)* — Found as No. 1 above. It consists of 81 lines of writing, containing portions of the 2nd and 3rd acts and the concluding portions of the 5th act of the *Harakeli-nātaka*, a drama composed by the *M*-*P*. Vīgraharājadeva of Śākambharī. The drama in certain portions seems to have been imitated from the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bṇāravi. It seems to be intended as a *praśasti* to the god Śiva and his consort Gaurī. In the end the god expresses great

¹ Kielhorn suggests that he may be a Tomara chief, *IA*, Vol. XX, p. 202, fn. 1

² Kielhorn was not sure about the Sanskrit equivalent of this Prakrit form. He however suggested that this may possibly be Vyāghreraka which is mod. Bāghera about 47 miles S E of Ajmer *ibid*, fn. 3 To Barnett Vavveraa looks like Varvaraka (> Vavveraa)

³ Partially edited by Kielhorn in *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff Edited by the same in *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 1-15

pleasure with the composition of the drama, and tells the author that 'his fame as a poet is to last for ever' The inscription was written by the same as No 1 He is described here as the grandson of the learned Govinda, 'who was born in the family of Hūpa princes and was, on account of his manifold excellences, a favourite of king Bhoja' It is dated in (V) *Saṃvat* 1210 (A D 1153) ¹

(8) *Lohari stone-inscription* —Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Bhūteśvara near the village of Lohari in the Jahazpur district of the Udaipur State It records that during the reign of the illustrious Viśaladeva, in V (S) 1211 (c 1155 A D), the great Pāśupata priest Viśveśvaraprajña adorned the temple of Siddheśvara, with a *mandapa* ²

(4) *Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscriptions* —Incised on the pillar which is known as Firūz Shāh's Lātī or the Siwalik Pillar, which contains the inscriptions of Aśoka It is reported that the original site of the pillar was near Khizrabad, immediately west of the Jumna, at the foot of Siwalik mountains, whence it was removed to Delhi by Firūz Shāh (A.D 1351-88) There are three short inscriptions on the pillar The first consists of only 3 lines, giving the date (V) *Saṃvat* 1220 (A D 1164) in the reign of the Śākambharī king Viśaladeva, the son of Annalladeva ³ The second inscription, of four lines, contains a short *prastāva* of king Viśraha or Viśraharāja The third inscription, in six lines, also contains a *prastāva* of the 'ornament of the Cāhamānas, Viśala also called Viśraharāja of Śākambharī, who is said to have conquered the whole region from the Vindhya to the Himalayas and repeatedly exterminated the Mlecchas It is dated in (V) *Saṃvat* 1220 (A.D 1164), and was written at the king's command in the presence of the

¹ Partially edited by Kielhorn in *IA* Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff Edited by the same in *Göttinger Festchrift*, 1901, pp 16-30.

² Now known as Bhūteśvara

³ Noticed in *BMR* 1923 p. 2.

⁴ A variant of Arpūrāja see *RI* Vol. XIX, p 45 fn. 2. Kielhorn read the name as Avalladeva

astrologer Tilakarāja by the *Gauda Kāyastha Śrīpati*, when the *Rājaputia* Sallakṣana was serving as the *Mahā-mantri*.¹

These inscriptions range from V S 1210 to 1220 corresponding to c. 1153 to 1164 A.D. The last of them shows that by 1164 A.D. the Cāhamāna dominions had spread northwards to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, and perhaps may have included a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. This extension of power in the Punjab must have brought Viṅraharāja IV, into repeated conflict with the Yamīnīs of Ghaznī and Lahore. It is therefore natural that the inscriptions should refer to repeated victories over the *Turuskas* and *Mlecchas*. The success of his aims was no doubt largely due to the rapid decline of the Yamīnī power² during the administration of Khusrau Shāh Mu'izz ud-Daulah (A.D. 1152-60) and Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (A.D. 1160-86). The Bijolia inscription of Someśvara refers to the conquest of Dhīlikā and Āśikā by Viṅraharāja,³ while the Siwalik pillar inscription claims that the Cāhamāna prince made *Āryāvanta* 'once more the abode of the Āryas' by exterminating the *Mlecchas*. According to some inscriptions of the 14th century, the town of Delhi and the neighbouring region, then known as the 'land of Hariyānaka,' were conquered by the Cāhamānas from the Tomaras⁴. In the S.W. Viṅraharāja's arms appear to have reached the valley of the river Sukri. The Bijolia inscription seems to state that he reduced Pallikā and Naddūla⁵ and burnt the town of Jāvālpura, which is to be identified with modern Jalor in

¹ Edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215-19. First noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, 1788, Vol. I, pp. 379-82, and then in 1801, *ibid*, Vol. VII, pp. 179-81. Lines 1-4 of the 3rd inscription are quoted in Sārangadhara's *Paddhati*, Peterson's Ed., Nos. 1255 and 1256. See *IA*, Vol. XIX, p. 216, fn. 5.

² *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 111-115, *TA*, Trans., pp. 37-38. *TF* (Briggs' Trans.), Vol. I, pp. 155-59. *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 37 ff. and 688.

³ V 22, see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 276, fn. 1. *JASB*, 1886, Part I, pp. 31 and 42. *Āśikā* is sometimes spelt *Āsikā*, see *infra*, p. 1078.

⁴ See *EI*, Vol. I, p. 93, *JASB*, Vol. XLIII, Part I, pp. 104-10; and *EI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 17-27. Also *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Tomaras.

⁵ See *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 62, fn. 4.

Jodhpur State¹ Whether his power really extended so far south as the Vindhya is more than doubtful For though the Paramāras during this period could offer no effective resistance to his arms, his reign synchronised with that of the powerful Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla (c 1141-73 A D) for whom we have epigraphic records in Kirādu, Ratanpur and Bhatund in Marwar, Chitor in Mewar, and Udayapur in the Gwalior State It rather seems that, seeing on his southern frontier such a formidable rival, he turned his whole attention to the northern region, where the fortunate decline of the Yamīnīs assured him of success The capture of Delhi and the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej made his dynasty the guardian of the gates to the Ganges-Jumna Valley,² and, as subsequent history shows, the Cāhamānas had to bear the first shock of the revived Muslim power that was gradually issuing out from the hills of Ghūr³

By his combination of military gifts with literary merit Vīgraharāja seems to have revived the memory of such rulers as Muñja and Bhoja But, unlike them, he seems to have escaped a tragic end The *Prthivīrāja vijaya* declares that with his death the name of 'the friend of the poets' disappeared⁴ He was succeeded by his son Aparā-Gāṅgeya⁵ and the latter by Prthivībhata, the son of the eldest son of Sudhavā (i e, Jugadeva?) The following inscriptions are known for this prince's reign

(1) *Hansi stone-inscription* —Originally found on the wall of a building at Hansi, in the Hissar district of the Punjab It contains 22 lines, opening with salutation to an unspecified goddess

¹ V 21. *JASB* 1886, Part I, pp 31 and 42.

² *JL* 1927 Vol. XIV pp 8-9

³ The Shansabānīyah dynasty of Ghūr is now regarded by some as of Iranian origin see *OHI* Vol. III, p. 38. Though this may possibly be so, there is little doubt that the most important officers and the bulk of the men who entered India with the Ghūrids were of Turkish origin.

⁴ *JRAS* 1913, p. 276.

⁵ See *JRAS* 1913 p. 278 Abu'l Faṣl (*AAH* Vol. II p. 228) possibly gives a variant of this name as Amr Gangā. The *Prabandha-Loka* also gives the name as Aparā-Gāṅgeya. *Reports on Sanskrit MSS in S India* by Hultzsch, No. III, 1905 p. 111.

Then follows a verse invoking Murāri. V. 2 refers to the Cāhamāna king Pr̥thvīrāja and his maternal uncle, Kīlhana; V. 3 informs us that the latter belonged to the Gūhīlauta tribe. The verse following tells us that thinking of Hammīra who had become the cause of the anxiety of the world, the king put Kīlhana in charge of the fort of Āsīkā.¹ The proper object of the inscription was probably to record that Kīlhana erected a *prātoli* (or gateway) and near it two *koṣṭhakas* or granaries. The flag on the *prātoli*, we are told, 'set Hammīra as it were at defiance.' The rest of the inscription is devoted to a *praśasti* of Kīlhana, comparing him to Hanumān and Pr̥thvīrāja to Rāma. V. 11 'refers to his having burnt Pamcapura² and captured but not killed its lord' The record was composed by Laksmana of the Doda³ race, a servant of Kīlhana. The date (V) *Samvat* 1224 (c. 1168 A.D.) comes at the end.⁴

(2) *Menal stone-inscription* — Found at Menal in Udaipur State, Rajputana. 7 lines, opening with *Svasti*, followed by the date, (V) *Samvat* 1225 (c. 1168 A.D.). It refers to some endowments made by *Mahārājñī* Suhavadevī, queen of Pr̥thvīrāja II, to the god Suhaveśvara.⁵

(3) *Dhod stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Rūthī Rānī at Dhod, in the Jahazpur district of Mewar. It is dated in (V.) *Samvat* 1225 (c. 1169 A.D.) and records that during the reign of P.-Pb. Pr̥thimvideva (Pr̥thvīdeva), the lord of Śākambharī, his feudatory *Adhirāja* Kumārapāla, son of *Tha(kkura)* Maṅgalarāja erected the temple of Nityapramoditadeva,⁶ at Dhavagattā.⁷ Kumārapāla is said to be the chief of Upamavāla Antarī.⁸ The record mentions

¹ According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is doubtless Hansi. *IA*, 1912, p. 17

² Identified with 'Pāchapattana' on the Sutlej, *ibid*, p. 18

³ One of the recognised 36 royal races of Rajasthan. Bhandarkar thinks that they are the Dods or the Dodias, a clan of the Paramāras, *ibid*

⁴ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1912, pp. 17-19. First published in the *Asiatic Researches*, by Captain E. Fell, Vol. XV, pp. 443-46

⁵ Noticed in *ASI, WC*, 1906, pp. 59-60, No. 2191.

⁷ Mod. Dhod

⁶ Now known as Rūthī Rānī's temple.

⁸ *Upamāla Āntarī* ?

Rājñī Suhavadevī, apparently a queen of the Cāhamāna prince¹

(4) *Menalgarh pillar inscription*.—Found on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace in Menalgarh in Mewar. It records the erection of a monastery (*maṭha*) by Bhāva Brahma, while the Cāhamāna Prthivīrāja was reigning in V S 1226 (A D 1170)²

These inscriptions range from 1224 to 1226 V S, corresponding to c 1167-1170 A D. As the last recorded date of his predecessors is A D 1164 and the first of his successors A D 1170 Prthivībhata's reign appears to have been short. It has been assumed that his succession to the throne was not peaceful. The Dhod stone inscription mentioned above is reported to contain a statement that he won a victory over the king of Sakambhari by the strength of his arms³. This seems to indicate that Aparagāṅgeya, who according to the *Prthivīrāja vijaya* died unmarried, was forcibly removed from his throne by him. The only important point in Prthivīrāja's reign is his conflict with the Muslims, which is revealed by the Hansi stone-inscription. If the identification of 'Pañcapura' with 'Pāchapattana' on the Sutlej is accepted, he must have had some success in these conflicts against the Yamini prince Khusrav Malik Tāj ud Daulah (1160-86), who is described by Minhāj as 'of excessive mildness and beneficence but addicted to pleasure'⁴.

Prthivīrāja was succeeded in 1170 A D by his uncle Someśvara, son of Kāśīcanadevī, the daughter of the Caulukya Jayasinha Siddharāja. According to the *Prthivīrāja vijaya*, the interval between his father's death and his own accession to the throne was spent by Someśvara in the court of the Caulukyas Jayasinha and Kumārapāla. We are told that the former, hearing that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rāma,

¹ RMR 1923, p. 2.

² Noticed by Bhyamal Das JASB 1886 Vol. LV Part I pp. 15-16 and 46

³ JRAS 1913 p. 276 fn. 2.

⁴ TN, Vol. I p. 114

took away his grandson to his own capital.¹ After his death his successor Kumārapāla continued to favour the Cāhamāna prince, so much so that his name 'protector of Kumāra' became a significant one.² In the course of Kumārapāla's campaign against Konkan, Someśvara is said to have cut off the head of the prince of that country.³ While living in the court of Kumārapāla he appears to have married the daughter of a Kalacuri prince of Tripurī.⁴ According to Jonarāja, the commentator, the name of the princess was Karpūradevī.⁵ By her he had two sons, Pithvīnāja and Harirāja. The former was born at the end of Vaiśākha, when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Jupiter in Pisces, the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini.⁶ Harināja was born in Māgha, Śudī, 3. It is said that these sons were born when Vīgraharāja IV was still on the throne. After the death of Prthvīnāja II the ministers brought him to the Sapādalaksa country and placed him on the throne. It is therefore likely that on his accession he was already a man of mature years. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) *Bijolia*⁷ rock-inscription — Found in the village of Bijolia in Mewar about 100 miles from the capital (Udaipur). It appears to be a Jain record, and opens with salutations to Pāśvanātha and other Jain divinities. Vs 10 to 26 are devoted to the Cāhamāna genealogy which is traced from

¹ PB, p 198, JRAS, 1913, p 274.

² PB, p 235, JRAS, 1913, p 275

³ But see *ante*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the *Caulukyās*, p 991, where the credit is given to Āmbada

⁴ Tripurī-puram(da)ra. The tribal name is given as Kalicurya. The name of the father is Acalarāja, see JRAS, 1913, p 277. I am unable to identify this prince of Tripurī. See DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the *Haihayas*, pp 751 ff. I fear it was an exaggeration of the poet to represent him as a ruler of Tripurī. He may have been a petty chief in the Caulukya court who claimed Haihaya lineage and relationship with the Tripurī branch.

⁵ PB, Fasc III, p 237. Sarda wrongly gives the name as Kārpuradevī. The marriage and the correct name of the queen are also mentioned in *Hammīra-mahākāvya*, see Text, p 16.

⁶ The position of Venus, the ascending and descending nodes, are lost through damage to the MSS. JRAS, 1913, p 275.

⁷ Sarda calls it 'Bijolian,' Kielhorn spells 'Bijholi' and D R Bhandarkar 'Bijolia.'

Sāmanta to Someśvara V 27 seems to state that the last ruler had the *biruda Pratāpa Lankeśvara* V 28 states that he gave the village of Rewna to the 'self existent Pārśvanātha' Vs 29-30 apparently give the genealogy of the person who built a temple to house the deity It is dated towards the end in (V) *Saṃvat* 1226 (A D 1170) ¹

(2) *Dhod stone inscription (i)* —Engraved on a pillar in the Rūthī Rānī temple at Dhod in Jahazpur, Mewar It records that in (V) *Saṃvat* 1228 (c 1171 A D), during the reign of *Pb M -P* Someśvara, the *Karamika* Brāhman Mahantama Cōhaṇa, son of Vijai, sold his house to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for 16 *drannas* (coins) of Ajayadeva ²

(3) *Dhod stone inscription (ii)* —Found as No 2 above It records that in (V) *Saṃvat* 1229 (c 1172 A D), when *Pb -M -P* Someśvara, was ruling at Ajayameru-durga in the county of Sapādalakṣa, *Bhaṭṭāraka* Prabhāsarāśī built a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of *Kāpāhka* ascetics from foreign countries ³

(4) *Revasa stone inscription* —Incised on a pillar in the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Jīn Mātā, about 16 miles N W of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat of Shekhawati, Jaipur State It records that in (V) *Saṃvat* 1230 (c 1174 A D), in the reign of Someśvara, one Ālhaṇa, son of Udaīrā, rebuilt the *maṇḍapa* of the temple ⁴

(5) *Anvalā stone inscription* —Engraved on a *Satī* pillar It is dated in (V) *Saṃvat* 1234 (c 1177 A D) and records that during the reign of *M* Someśvara the memorial stone was erected in honour of Sindarā(ja), son of Doda Rā(o) Singharā(ja) ⁵

These five inscriptions noticed above range from V S 1226 to 1234, corresponding roughly to c 1169-1177 A.D. As we have an inscription of his successor, dated in V S 1233 (A D

¹ Badly edited by Kaviraj Bhyamal Das in *JASB* 1886 Vol. XL, Part I pp 14-15 28-32 and 40-45. The record ought to be re-edited. For the date see *IA* 1891 p. 133, No. 114 and fn. 21

² Noticed in *RMR* 1922 p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Noticed in *ASI IVO* 1910 p. 52.

⁵ Noticed in *RMR* 1923 p. 2.

1180), Someśvara's reign must have ended sometime before that date. Besides these inscriptions, coins of billion or copper of the 'Bull and horseman type' of Someśvara are known.¹ The obverse bears the figure of a horseman with the legend *Śrī-Someśvara-deva*, and the reverse the figure of a humped bull and the legend *Āśāvārī śrī Sāma (ntadeva)*. It seems from the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* that when Someśvara died his eldest son Prthvīrāja III was still a minor. 'So before leaving this world he had appointed the *Devī* or the queen (*Kaipūradevī*) to protect his son in his childhood'.² The author of the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* gives eloquent description of the prosperity of the Cāhamāna kingdom during the Queen's regency. It appears that she was ably assisted in her administration by the minister Kādamba Vāsa.³ On his reaching the age of discretion Prthvīrāja seems to have been assisted by another officer named Bhuvanaikamalla, who is reported to have come to the Cāhamāna court to find out how 'the son of his elder brother's daughter' was protecting this earth. While Kādamba Vāsa is compared with Hanumān, Bhuvanaikamalla is described as a veritable Garuda, who served Prthvīrāja and his brother Haurāja, the two incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmana. 'Just as Rāma, with the help of Garuda and Hanumān crossed the sea and did other things, so Prthvīrāja, with the help of Hanumān-like Kādamba Vāsa and Garuda-like Bhuvanaikamalla, did many things for the welfare of the people'.⁴ The following records are so far known for the reign of this prince

(1) *Lohari stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a *Satī*-pillar. It is dated in (V) *Samvat* 1236 (c. 1180 A D), and records that during the reign of Prthvīrāja, the memorial was set up in honour of Jalasala, son of Vāgadī Salakhana, by his mother Kālhī. It contains the names of 9 ladies who became *Satī* on this occasion.⁵

¹ CCIM, pp 257 and 261

² JRAS, 1913, p 277

³ Or Kadamba Vāma. See JRAS, 1913, p 277 and fn 1

⁴ JRAS, 1913, pp 278-79

⁵ Noticed in RMR, 1923, pp 23, see also ASI, WC, 1906, p 62, No 2235, IA, Vol

(2) *Madanpur stone inscriptions* — These are three in number, and were found in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur, which is situated at the head of one of the principal passes leading from Saugor (C P) to Lalitpur, Jhansi and Gwahior. It is 24 miles to the S E of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S S E of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Saugor. Inscription No (i) records the name of Pṛthvirāja of the Oāhumāna varṇa, who came to the country of king Paramardī. No (ii) gives the genealogy of Pṛthvirāja as grandson of Arnorāja and son of Someśvara. We are then told, that in (V) *Samvat* 1239 (c 1182-83 A D) he conquered the country of Jejāka bhukti. No (iii) gives the names of Candrasekhara, Tryambaka and Tripurāntaka indicating that the temple where his inscription was placed was a Śaiva shrine.¹

(3) *Udaipur stone inscription* — Engraved on a *Satī* pillar dated in (V) *Samvat* 1244 (c 1188 A D) in the reign of M Pṛthvirāja.²

(4) *Visalpur stone inscription* — It was found on a pillar in the temple of Gokarṇanātha at Visalpur near Rajmahal in the Jaipur State. The temple, as well as the town, is said to have been founded by Visaladeva (Vigraharāja IV). The record is dated in (V) S 1244 (c 1187-88 A D), in the reign of P^b - M P Pṛthvirāja. The object is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokarṇa at Vīgrahapura,³ in the *Sapādalakṣa* country.⁴

(5) *Bajta image inscription* — Found 'engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeśa, kept in a niche in a temple of Mām Mātā near Bajta, in the Estate of Savar, Rajputana. It records that the image was made by one Rājala, son of Mahām Rāmvata, an officer of Pithmadeva (= Pṛthvīdeva = Pṛthvirāja) in (V) *Samvat* 1245 (c 1189 A D).⁵

¹ *ASR* Vol. XX Plate XXXII Nos. 9-10 and 11 *ibid* Vol. XXI, pp 173-74 Nos. 9-11

² Noticed in *ASI IVC* 1906 p 69 No. 2234. The stone is now in Victoria Museum

Udaipur (Mewar)

³ Same as mod Visalpur or Bhisalpur

⁴ Noticed in *ASR* Vol VI p 156 Plate XXI. Also in *ASI IVC*, 1921, p 52

⁵ *RMR* 1911: 12 p. 2.

These inscriptions range from V S. 1236 to 1245 corresponding to c. 1179 to 1189 A. D. Besides these records, silver and billion coins of the usual 'Bull and horseman' type, which were first imitated by his father, have also been discovered for his reign.¹ I have elsewhere² discussed the stories of Prthvīrāja's hostility with the Candīātreya Madanavarma and the Gāhadavāla Jayaccandīa. The story of the *Svayamvara* of the latter's daughter Samyogitā and her abduction by Prthvīrāja as told by the *Prthvīrāja Rāso* of Cand Baidāi,³ reads more like romance than history. The chronology of this Hindi Epic has been shown to be full of absurdities,⁴ and undoubtedly in its present state it contains much un-historical matter. Nevertheless there is good ground to believe that the facts narrated by him, though exaggerated, have an historical kernel. Thus the Madanpur inscriptions of Prthvīrāja really show that he was on hostile terms with the Candella monarch, and had invaded and plundered, if not annexed, a large portion of the Candella territory beyond the Betwa. Whether Prthvīrāja actually captured Mahoba and plundered Kalinjar, as Cand says, is more than can be admitted at present. But I have shown from the Candella records that there was friendship between the Gāhadavālas and the Candellas,⁵ and the struggle which according to Cand was opened with the battle on the Pahuḥ may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cāhamānas on the other. The *Vyāyoga Pārtha-parākrama* indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cāhamāna Prthvīrāja and the Caulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241

¹ CCIM, pp 261-62

² See *supra*, DHNI, Vol III, pp 719 ff, chapter on the Candīātreyas, also *ibid*, Vol I, p 541

³ The Benares edition (1913) of this work, brought out by Mohanlal Vishanlal Pandia and Sham Sundar Dass, is useful but a more critical edition, with historical and geographical notes and an index, would be very valuable for the history of this period

⁴ See Kaviraj Syamal Das in JASB, 1887, Vol LV, pp 565, also Halder in JBRAS, 1927, pp 203-211

⁵ *Supra*, DHNI, Vol I, p 541, *ibid*, Vol II, pp. 711 and 720, also TN, Vol I, p 466, 1927, p 49, fn 16

A D) We are told that the Ābu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the lord of Anahillapāṭaka repulsed a nocturnal attack of the king of Jāṅgala¹ The *Prthvīrāja vijaya* mentions a victory of the Cāhamāna prince over one Nāgārjuna, who had besieged Guḍpur. Unfortunately neither the prince nor the locality mentioned can at present be identified. But it contains significant allusions to the rise of a 'beef-eating mleccha' named Ghorī in the North West who had captured Garjanī (Ghazni).

The last of the Yaminīs, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud Daulah (1160-86 A D) whose dominion had so long separated the leader of this new horde of invaders from the Cāhamānas, had been removed. The Ghurī and the Cāhamāna now stood face to face. The Muslim knew that the wealth of the rich cities and temples in the Jumna Ganges valley and beyond could only be secured by the destruction of this Hindu power which held the key of the Delhi gate. The Cāhamāna knew, and expected no quarter. The *Prthvīrāja-vijaya* tells us that hearing of the activities of the Mleccha Ghurī, he vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas. The Muslim chief, we are told, hearing of this vow, sent an ambassador to Ajmer. This man "had a wide forehead but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard eyebrows and the eyelashes was of the grapes that came from Ghazni and his speech was like that of the wild birds, it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long coga. Rājās took shelter in fortress in fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men took possession of Nadul (Nadol), the warriors of Prthvīrāja took up their bows and arrows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay the Ghurī's glory in the dust. But his *Pratihāra* soon brought the welcome news that the king of Gujarat had utterly destroyed the 'Ghurī' forces². This Muslim invasion is no doubt the same as that which was undertaken by Mu'izz ud Dīn Ghūrī in A. H. 574 (A. D.

¹ GOS No. IV 1917 pp. 11 and 3. For a traditional story of hostilities between the Cāhamāna and the Caulukya princes, see *Ras* Vol I, pp. 203 ff.

² *JRAS* 1913, p. 279

1178), and which was beaten back by the young Bhīma, the Caulukya king of Anhilvada.¹ It is clear from the account of the royal *prasastikāra* that the Cāhamāna offered no material assistance to his cousins at Naddūla or to the Caulukya king Bhīma. It was very fortunate for the Hindu principalities that the Muslims were beaten back this time. But this policy of the Indian States which kept their efforts against their common foe isolated and prevented them from offering a concerted front, was soon to bear disastrous results. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, in 587 A. H. (1191 A. D.) Sultān-i-Ghāzī (Mu'izz ud-dīn) "caused the forces of Islām to be organised, and advanced against the fortress of Tabarhindah² and took that stronghold, and made it over to the charge of the Malik Ziyā-ud-dīn, the Kāzī Muhammad-i-'Abd-us-Sallām, Nisāwī, Tūlakī. They selected 1,200 horses from the forces of Hindūstān and Ghaznīn, all men of Tūlak and the whole of them were ordered to join his *khayl* (band or division) and were located within that fortress under the stipulation, that they should hold it for a period of eight months, until the Sultan-i-Ghāzī should return again from Ghaznīn; but the Rāe Kolah³ Pithorā, however had arrived near

¹ TN, Vol I, pp. 451-52, TA, Trans, p. 36, see *supra*, DHNI, Vol II, pp 1016 ff, chapter on the Caulukyas

² See TN, Vol I, p 457, fn. 3 Some MSS have Tabarhindh. But Raverty notes that the printed text has Sirhind. *Mir'āt-i-Jāhān-Numā* and *Khulāsat-ut Tawārīkh* also have Sirhind. Rāe Pithorā, Gazetteer of India, London, 1886, (p. 872), Sirhind is the name of the tract "consisting of the N. E. portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jumna and the Sutlej river, and Ferozpur, together with the nbt. It includes the British Districts of Umballa, Ludhiana and Patiala, Jind and Nabha, in the historical sense it embraces the level plain between the Himalayas and the Desert of Bikaner, the Sutlej and the Jumna." Budā'unī 10 has Pathindah or Bhatindah et al. has Tarbindāh, and says it was Jaipāl's capital. Firsihta The *Lubb ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind* says 'Tabarhindah, now at Bhatinda, in the Patiala State' 458, fn. 6 Raverty shows that *golah* (corrupted into *golah* or *kolah*) means an illegitimate son of Pithorā. Raverty holds that this seems more likely, because he has not said a single word about Pithora's son having been set up by the Musulmans at

at hand and the Sultān marched to Tarā in to meet him. The whole of the Rānās¹ of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah. When the ranks were duly marshalled the Sultān seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Govind Rāe Rāe² of Dihli, was mounted and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultān, Ghāzi, who was the Haidar of the time and a second Rustam, charged and struck Govind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultān of Islām and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound. The Sultān turned his larger head round and receded and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islām so that it was irretrievably routed and the Sultān was nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which a lion hearted warrior, a Khalj stripling, recognised the Sultān and sprang up behind him, and supporting him in his arms urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the battle. On the Muslim forces not seeing the Sultān lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place of safety where the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels.³

The Muslim army thus returned to Ghazni, seemingly without being seriously troubled by the

¹ In some MSS Rāas others perhaps with modification. The TA (Trans p. 89) gives the name as Khandi Rai. TF (Briggs Trans. Vol. I p. 179) gives Chawand Ray. Cand calls him Rai Govind. See T1 Trans. p. 89, in 1 TN.

² TN Vol. I, pp. 457-63. TA Trans pp. 33-33. T stake. Briggs (Pirahita) gives the place of battle as "Varain 11 miles from Thanesar and 80 miles from meant by his Trowry the place p. 450 (n.) pointed out that Briggs had committed a graphical edition of the text of Pirahita revised. But Raverly (TN Vol. I The name on the litho- is clearly given as Thanesar as Arima.

Tarā in as in the TN. It is not unlikely that mentioned by Mirza Mughal Beg on the royal ros Talāwari.

Cāhamānas. This was a great blunder. Pithvīrāja soon after his victory invested the fort of Tabarhindah, and after a siege of 13 months compelled the Qāzī of Tūlak to capitulate and hand it over. After this success Pithvīrāja pitched his camp 'in the neighbourhood of Taiā'in'. In the meantime Mu'izz ud-Dīn had completely reorganised his forces, and 'in the following year' (i.e., A.H. 588 = A.D. 1192) appeared in the field of Taiā'in with a cavalry force one hundred and twenty thousand strong, 'arrayed in defensive armour.' Minhāj tells us that the Sultān left 'the centric division of the army, the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of state and elephants,' several miles in the rear. He then advanced in a leisurely manner with the more mobile section of his troops. "The light-armed and unencumbered horsemen he had directed should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides; and the Sultān had commanded, saying 'It is necessary that, on the right and left and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play, and when then elephants, horsemen and foot advance to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them'¹ The Musalmān troops acted according to these instructions, and having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, Almighty God gave the victory to Islām, and the infidel host was overthrown. Rāe Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled from the field until in the neighbourhood of (the) Saisutī,² he was taken prisoner, and they

¹ The object was no doubt to harass the Indians and to induce them to break their order. Raverty quotes from another authority that the Sultān divided his army into 5 divisions, four of which with 10,000 light and horse mounted archers were to attack the enemy from all sides, often pretending flight. This went on from 9 A.M. to the afternoon, when, finding the enemy tired and worn out, he charged them with the fifth division of 12,000 horse, the flower of his army, and carried everything before him. *TN*, Vol I, p 468, fn 2. *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, pp 176-77.

² Sarasvatī, probably the river of that name, see Thornton, *Gazetteer*, p 820. It rises in the Sirmur State in Lat 30° 23', Long 77° 19', and flows through Ambala and Karnal. There was also a city of this name on its banks, see *TA*, Trans, p 39, fn 2.

despatched him to hell, and Govind Rāe of Dihli was slain in the engagement. The Sultān recognised his head through those two teeth which had been broken. The seat of government, Ajmir, with the whole of the (territory), such as Hānsi, Sursuti¹ and other tracts were subjugated. These events took place, and this victory was achieved, in the year 588 H. and the Sultān placed Malik Kutb-ud Dīn, Ibak, in the fort of Kuhram, and returned home.²

Hasan Nizāmī, almost a contemporary, adds some interesting details of this conflict. We are told that on reaching Lahore Mu'izz ud Dīn sent an officer calling upon Pithora Rāe "to embrace the Musalmān faith and acknowledge his supremacy. The Chohan prince sent an indignant reply, and having received aid from most of the Rājās of Hind, with 300,000 horse advanced to meet him. Pithora Rāe sent a message to the Sultān, saying 'It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own country, and we will not follow thee. The Sultān in order to deceive him, and throw him off his guard replied "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign that I come here and endure trouble and pain, give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind (Tabarhindah), the Panjāb, and Multan shall be ours, and the rest of the country thine. The leaders of the infidel forces from this reply, accounted the army of Islam as of little consequence, and without any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness. That same night the Sultān made his preparations for battle, and, after the dawn of the morning, when the Rājputs had left their

¹ Ibn-i-Bajūjah calls Sursuti a great city. In Akbar's time Sursuti was one of the Mahallas of Sirkar Santhal. *TN* Vol. I p 468 fn. 3

² *TN* Vol. I pp 465-69. *TA* Trans. p 39. Briggs Trans. Vol. I pp 173-78. Firishta gives the number of the Cāhamāna army as 800,000 horse and 3 000 elephants and the number of princes assembled in the camp as 150.

camp for the purpose of obeying calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing ablutions, he entered the plain with his ranks marshalled. Although the unbelievers were amazed and confounded, still in the best manner they could, they stood to fight and sustained a complete overthrow."¹ As Ḥasan Nizāmī was almost contemporary, and as the story is also repeated in *Firishta*,² I am disposed to believe that there may be some truth in it. It is quite possible that Mu'izz ud-Dīn really attacked the Hindu camp during a truce which the Cāhamāna generals accepted as genuine.

This battle practically put an end to the sovereignty of the Cāhamānas of Śākambhaī. After this battle Qutb ud-Dīn appears to have captured Ajmer from 'Kola,' who according to Elliotts' interpretation of *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir*³ was the 'natural son' of the Rāi of Ajmīr. He appears to have been taken prisoner but 'managed to obtain his release or at least immunity from punishment.' But on account of his 'ancient hatred against the Musulmans' which was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart, he 'appears to have been detected in some intrigue.' Orders were therefore issued for his death and 'the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body.' "The son of Rāi Pithaura," continues Ḥasan Nizāmī, "in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness was appointed to the government of Ajmīr." Delhi and Meerut were captured soon after. Everything seemed to have been settled now so far as the Cāhamānas are concerned. But Nizāmī tells us that Qutb ud-Dīn soon received intelligence "from Rantanbor that Hirāj, the brother of the Rāi of Ajmīr, had gone into rebellion and had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor and that the son

¹ Quoted from *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* by Raverty in *TN*, Vol I, p 466, fn 1

² *TF*, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, pp 175-76 ³ *Elliott*, Vol II, pp 214-15

of Pithaurā, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, "Kuṭb ud Din" departed for Rantanbor, passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope. When Hirāj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards, he placed the hand of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for the fear of the blade of the scimitar fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army. The son of Rāi Pithaurā was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindnesses, and in return for his friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the state, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon'.¹ The Rāi who had fled from Delhi had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain. Kuṭb-ud Din pursued him and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Delhi, which had been his residence and capital.²

The statement of Hasan Niẓāmī shows that a son of Pṛthvirāja had been installed to succeed his father as the feudatory of the Muslims. The yoke of bondage, it seems, did not fit in well with the pride and traditions of the Cāhamānas. The rebellions of 'Hirāj, the brother of Pṛthvirāja, and of 'the Rāi from Delhi were the last attempts of the Cāhamānas of Sambhar to regain their independence. The Rāi who raised the standard of rebellion after escaping from Delhi was probably a scion of Govinda, presumably the feudatory of Pṛthvirāja who was killed in the second battle of Tarāin. Unfortunately the Muslim chroniclers do not give us the names of either this prince of Delhi or of the son of Pṛthvirāja who became a feudatory of the Muhammadans. There are also discrepancies about the correct name of the brother of Pṛthvirāja who gave so much trouble

¹ Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 219-20. See T^r Briggs Trans. Vol. I pp. 179 and 183-84.

² Elliot, Vol. II p. 220. Firāhta refers to Hemrāj's brave general Jhūtrī Jay. Was he a son of Govinda Rāja?

to his nephew Firishta gives the name of the prince as Hemrāj, and states that he 'expelled Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Raj, from Ajmer?'¹ He has apparently mixed together two distinct episodes. Hasan Nizāmī refers to two separate expeditions by Qutb ud-Dīn. One of these, as we have seen, was undertaken against 'Kola,' the other when Prthvīrāja's son was in great distress at Ranthambhor owing to the rebellion of 'Hirāj'. Elliot perceived that 'Hirāja' is not a common Indian name and suggested that it was probably an 'abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Prhvāj*, a potentate.'² The *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayacandra however seems to indicate that the name of this prince was really 'Haimāja'. That Someśvara had another son named Haimāja is proved by the *Prthvīrāja-vijaya*. According to Nayacandra, Prthvīrāja was succeeded by Haimrāja, who ruled for sometime before he was destroyed by Shihāb ud-dīn.³ The *Tantoti image-inscription* discovered in the estate of the same name, in the district of Ajmer, dated in V.S. 1251 (c. 1194 A.D.), in the reign of Haimrāja⁴ shows the correctness of the tradition recorded by Nayacandra. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image, which is broken off, and contains four lines. It records that the village of Tamtūthī (mod. Tantoti) was in the fief of Pratāpadevī, the queen of Haimāja. Nayacandra also seems to indicate that the name of Prthvīrāja's son who was ousted by Haimāja, was possibly Govindarāja.⁵

¹ *TF*, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 179

² *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 219, fn. 1

³ *IA*, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-72. Firishta (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I) also says that Hemrāj was killed in the second engagement.

⁴ Noticed by G. H. Ojha in *RMR*, 1911-12, pp. 2 and 5. It is now in the Rajputana Museum.

⁵ Sarda accepts Govindarāja as the name of Prthvīrāja's son, see *JRAS*, 1913, p. 268, fn. 16. In his *Hammīra mahākāvya* Nayacandra seems to describe Govindarāja as the 'grandson (*pautra*) of Prthvīrāja,' who was banished from the kingdom by his father, Text, Ed. by N. J. Kirtane, Bombay, 1879, p. 28, IV, 24, *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 62. But I have a suspicion that he has committed a mistake. The verse of Nayacandra is as follows

Tatrāsti Prthvīrājasya prāk pitṛto nṛsītaḥ

Pautro Govindarājākhyāḥ svasāmarthyātta-vaibhavaḥ

(5) *Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura*

According to the *Hamnīra mahākāvya* of Nayacandra the Ranastambhapura (Ranthambhor) branch of the Cāhamānas was established by Govindarāja after the death of Harirāja. I have quoted from Hasan Nizāmī to show that Hirāj (Harirāja), after throwing off the yoke of the Muslims, besieged his nephew in the fort of Ranthambhor. When Quṭb ud Dīn recovered Ajmer after defeating Harirāja, Govindarāja apparently continued to rule in Ranthambhor as a feudatory of the Muslims. The *Hamnīra mahākāvya*, of course, does not hint at these differences between Harirāja and Govindarāja, though it makes some disparaging remarks about Harirāja's fondness for pleasure and dancing girls, which, it is alleged, made him an easy prey to 'Sabābadīna. When attacked by the Muslim prince he was so enfeebled that he could not resist him and committed Sak with his whole family. He left no son and so his followers and retainers retired and assembled round Govindarāja at Ranthambhor.¹

According to Nayacandra, Govinda was succeeded by his eldest son Bālhaṇa and the latter by his eldest son Prahlāda. The Manglana stone-inscription dated in (V) S 1272 (c 1215 A D) seems to show that Vallanadeva (i.e. Bālhaṇa) was still a feudatory of the Hamīra Samasādāna (Shams ud Dīn Iltutmish) of the city of Joginī. The marble stone bearing this inscription was found at Manglana, 19 miles W of Maroth in Marwar. It records the construction of a step-well by Vallana's feudatory, the Dadhīca Mahārāja-putra Mahāmandaleśvara Jayatrasīmha.² Prahlāda's younger brother Vāgbhaṭa served him as his prime-minister. Prahlāda died in a lion hunt, and was succeeded by his

This presupposes that Prthvirāja's son exiled Govindarāja before the latter founded his principality in Ranthambhor. But Muslim accounts show that Prthvirāja's son was already in that fort hard pressed by Harirāja. It is thus possible that *putro* is a mistake for *putra*. See also JHAS 1913 p. 208, fn. 10. EI Vol. XIX, p. 47.

¹ Text, III, 78-83. IV 1 19. IA Vol. VIII p. 61. I have already pointed out that Kirtana's summary mentions Govindarāja as the grandson of Prthvirāja but probably he was the unnamed son of Prthvirāja mentioned by the Muslims. See EI Vol. XX Appendix p. 89 fn. 1.

² IA 1912, pp. 85-88.

son Vīranāīyana, who is reported by Nayacandra to have been decoyed to Yoginīpura (Delhi) and poisoned the Śaka (Muslim) prince Jallāladīna. I am unable to identify this Delhi Sultān. The only prince bearing that name in the 13th century is Fīūz (A D 1290-96), the first of the Khaljī kings of Delhi; but his date forbids identification with him. It seems extremely probable that by 'Jallāladīna' Nayacandra really meant Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), whose officers according to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* took the impregnable fort in 623 A H. (1226 A.D.).¹ Vāgbhata, Vīranāīyana's uncle, we are told, was absent from Ranthambhor at the time of his nephew's tragic death; he had been insulted by him, and consequently he had retired to Malwa in dudgeon. The Muslim king, according to Nayacandra, sent instructions to the prince of Malwa to kill Vāgbhata, but the latter was too much for him. Having learned the evil intentions of the Malwa ruler, Vāgbhata killed him, and with the assistance of the 'Khaipūrās' attacked and captured Ranthambhor, which was presumably in Muslim hands at the time. This must have happened during the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmish. According to Nizām ud-Dīn the fort was recovered by the Hindus during the reign of Sultān Raziyya (1236-40 A D), shortly after the death of Iltutmish.² It is difficult to identify the Malwa prince slain by Vāgbhata, for the history of that area during the last quarter of the 13th century is extremely obscure. I am also unable to suggest the region where these 'Khaipūrās' dwelt. The name bears resemblance to the name of the Khaiparika tribe who are reported by Hārisena to have paid taxes and obeyed the commands of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.³ Kūtane seems inclined to accept them as Khakars, a Mongol tribe who invaded India about this time. There is as yet no means to verify all the details of the above account of the successors of Prthvīājā given by Nayacandra.⁴ But that Vāgbhata, a descendant of Prthvirāja actually ascended the throne

¹ TN, Vol I, pp 610-11, TF, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, p 210, CHI, Vol III, p 515.

² TA, Trans, p 76 TF, Briggs' Trans, Vol I, p 219 ³ GI, p 8, line 22.

⁴ See above Manglana inscription (1215 A D) of the time of Bālhaṇa

of Ranthambhor is proved by the recently discovered Balvan stone inscription of Hammīra, the last Cāhamāna of this line.¹ This Vāgbhata has been identified with 'Bāhar deo (Bāhaḍa deva) of Ranthambhor, who is described by Minhāj as 'the greatest of the Rāis of Hindūstān'.² He was attacked in A H 646 (A D 1248) by Ulugh Khān,³ who met with indifferent success, losing one of his nobles, Malik Bahā ud Dīn Aibak in a battle under the fort of Ranthambhor.⁴ The Khān's soldiers, we are told, "showed great courage and fought well, they sent many of the infidels to hell, and secured great spoil, after which they returned to the capital. This happened in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud Dīn Mahmūd (1246-66 A D). The attack seems to have been renewed in A H 651 (A D 1253), when Ulugh Khān led a Muslim force from Nagor in the direction of Ranthambhor and Chitor. Minhāj relates that "Bāhar Deo, Rāi of Ranthambhor, the greatest of the Rāis, and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindūstān, assembled an army to inflict a blow on Ulugh Khān. But although the Rāi's army was large and well appointed with arms and horses it was put to flight and many of its valiant fighting men were sent to hell. The Musulmāns obtained great spoil and captured many horses and prisoners (*burda*). They then returned safe with their booty to Nāgor, which in consequence of Ulugh Khān's presence, had become a place of great importance.⁵ It is clear from these accounts that the Cāhamānas of Ranthambhor being aided by the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmish (1211-36 A D), had again consolidated their position to such an extent that their chief was regarded as the most powerful of all the Hindu princes of Hindustan.

¹ *BI* Vol. XIX, p. 49 V 6.

² *Elliot* Vol. II, p. 367. *TA Trans.* p. 87. *TF Briggs Trans.* Vol. I, p. 233. *BI* Vol. XIX, p. 47. The *CHI* Vol. III pp. 60 and 516 gives the name as Nahār Deo.

³ A title of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban who acted as the Vizir of Nāṣir ud-Dīn, and then succeeded him as Sulṭān of Delhi in A.D. 1266. See *TF Briggs Trans.* Vol. I p. 235.

⁴ *TN* Vol. II pp. 684-85.

⁵ *Elliot* Vol. II pp. 370-71.

According to Nayacandra, Vāgbhata died after a reign of 12 years.¹ His successor was his son Jaitrasimha. According to the Balvan inscription of Hammīra, Jaitrasimha harassed a certain Jayasimha of Mandapa and killed the Kūma king (*Kūrma-ksitīśa*) and a king of Kaikāṭālagiri.² He is also said to have 'defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the king of Mālava at Jhampānthāghaṭṭa, and kept them as prisoners at Ranastambhapura'³ (Ranthambhor). I have suggested elsewhere that this Jayasimha of Mandapa (Mandu) was possibly the Paramāra (?) Jayavarman II, for whom we have the dates ranging from c. 1256-60 A D.⁴ The Kūma king may have been a member of the Kacchapaghāta (or Kacchapāri) family, an off-shoot of the Gwalior branch, which was slowly carving out a principality round Amber in the Jaipur State.⁵ According to Nayacandra, Jaitrasimha had three sons, viz., Hammīra, Surat rāna, and Vīrama. Of these the eldest, Hammīra was born from his beautiful queen Hīrādevī. In course of time 'finding that his sons were now able to relieve him from the burden of government, Jaitrasimha one day talked over the matter with Hammīra, and, after giving him excellent advice as to how he was to behave, he gave over the charge of state to him, and himself went to live in the forest. This happened in *Samvat* 1339 (A D 1283)'.⁶

We have the following published records for Hammīra's reign

(1) *Balvan stone-inscription* — Found engraved on a stone slab built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple

¹ If we may believe the Muslim chroniclers, then Ranthambhor was captured by the Hindus, possibly under Vāgbhata's leadership shortly after Ilututmish's death in 1236 A D, during Raziyya's reign (1236-40 A D). Twelve years' reign from the last year of Raziyya would give Vāgbhata a reign-period extending from 1240-52 A D. But see *ante* Bihar Deo was fighting with Ulugh Khān in 1253 A D.

² *EI*, Vol XIX, pp 46 and 49-50, Vs 7-8

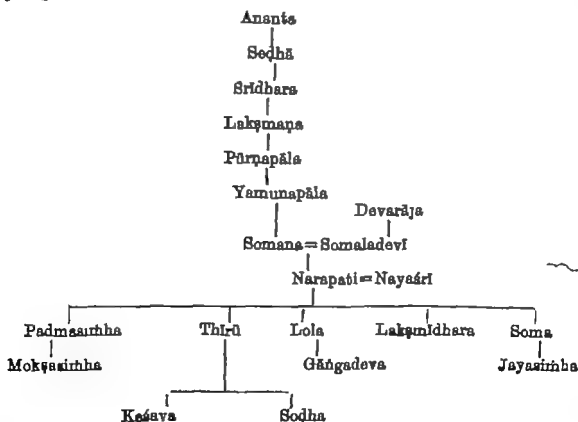
³ *Ibid*, V 9

⁴ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, pp 904 ff, also *EI*, Vol XIX, p 47

⁵ It has been suggested that he may be a descendant of Pajjuna, who according to tradition was a vassal of Prthivīrāja III, see *EI*, Vol XI^v, p 47. In this connection Dr Barnett points out that *Kūrmācala* or the like is a regular term for Kumaon.

⁶ *IA*, Vol VIII, p 64. The text is *nava-vahni-vahni bhū*. 1330 A D is apparently a printer's mistake.

of Kavalji (Kapāliśvara), in the Balvan estate of the Kotah principality of Rajputana. It contains 39 lines of writing which open with invocations to Gaṇeśa and Kapāliśvara (Śiva). Then follows a description of the surroundings of the temple, close to which, we are told, flow the rivers Cakraṭaṇī,¹ Mandākinī² and Ketumukhā. Next follows the name of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja (Vs. 4-5). In his family was Vāgbhatadeva (V. 6), after him (*tato*) Jaitrasīṃha (Vs. 7-8), then came Hammira (Vs. 9-12). The next verses describe the family of the Kāṭariyā Kāyastha Narapati, who had originally migrated from Mathurā and had served as the chief minister (*mantri-mukhya*) of both Jaitrasīṃha and Hammira (V. 35). Their pedigree is as follows —



Both Narapati and his wife Nayaśri were eminent for their many acts of charity. The *prafastī* was composed by

¹ Modern Chākana which flows to the left of the Kavalji's temple: *SI* Vol. XIX pp. 45-47.

² Modern Madākana which flows behind the temple, *ibid.*

Vaijāditya, who was the *Paṇḍita* in the court of Hammīra (V. 39). Then come the date (V.) *Samvat* 1345 (c. 1289 A.D.), and lastly the name of the *Sūtiadhāra* Gājuka, who had engraved the record.¹

(2) *Gadha memorial-tablet*.—This was found at Gadha, in Sheopur District, Gwalior State. It belongs to the reign of M. Hammīra-deva.²

According to Nayacandra, Hammīra ascended the throne in V S. 1339 (A.D. 1283), and was killed by 'Alā ud-Dīn (A.D. 1296-1316) in the 18th year of his reign (A.D. 1301). He is represented by the author as a great conqueror.³ During the course of his warlike expeditions he is said to have defeated Arjuna of Sarasapūra, the prince of Gaḍhamandala¹ and Bhoja of Dhārā, 'the friend of poets.' After defeating Bhoja he is said to have reached Ujjain, where his army bathed in the Kṣiprā (Śiprā?), and he offered his devotions at the shrine of Mahākāla. From Ujjain Hammīra marched to Cītrakoṭa (Chitor) and after ravaging Medapāta (Mewar) went to the Arbudādri (Mt. Abu). Here he worshipped at the temple of Rṣabhadeva, and having bathed in the Mandākinī paid his devotions to Acaleśvara. The king of Abu, though a brave warrior, had to submit to Hammīra. Leaving Abu, he arrived at Vardhanapura (Wadhwan), which he plundered. Then he proceeded by way of Ajayameru (Ajmer) to Puskara, where he worshipped the Ādivaiāha. From Puṣkara he repaired to

¹ First noticed in *RMR*, 1921, pp 2-4. Now edited by R. R. Halder in *EI*, Vol XIX, pp 45-52.

² Noticed in *ASI*, 1916-17, Part I, p 20.

³ Sārṅgadhara in his *Paddhati* refers to the Cāhuvāṇa king Hammīra of Sākambharī-deśa as follows —

*Purā Sākambharī deśe Śrīmān-Hammīra bhūpati
Cāhuvānānvaye jātāḥ khyātāḥ sauryaḥ varjuna,*

Sārṅgadhara-paddhati, Ed. by Peter Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No XXXVII, p 1, Sloka 2. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. G. Majumdar of the Presidency College, Calcutta. The anthology was composed in 1363 A.D. Sārṅgadhara's grandfather Rāghava-deva was a courtier of Hammīra. Sārṅgadhara is credited with the composition of a *Kāvya* named *Hammīra rāso*, but no copy of this work has yet been discovered.

⁴ Must be the Gond ruler of that place, see *CHI*, Vol III, p 516, also *DHNI*, Vol II, p 735.

Sākambharī, and after plundering some other places on the route reached his capital, where the great officers of the State, headed by Dharmasimha, received him¹. After finishing this triumphal march of conquest and after consultation with his spiritual guide Viśvarūpa as to the efficacy of the *Koṭi yajña*, he performed that sacrifice and sumptuously feasted the Brāhmins and gave them liberal *dakṣiṇās*. In the meantime Allāvadīna ('Alā ud Dīn), who had ascended the throne of Delhi, finding that Hammīra had ceased to pay the tribute which Jaitrasimha used to pay instructed his brother Ullukhāna (Ulugh Khān) to invade the Cāhamāna territory. Nayacandra then describes in great detail the various conflicts between the armies of 'Alāud-Dīn and the Cāhamānas. In one of the early conflicts, after gaining some minor advantages Bhīmasimha, one of Hammīra's two generals, was defeated and killed by Ulugh. The other general, Dharmasimha whom the king accused of deserting Bhīma was disgraced, blinded, and castrated. He was then superseded by Bhoja, a natural brother of the king. This was the beginning of dissensions and treachery in the Cāhamāna court. When Dharmasimha, through the assistance of the courtesan Rādhādevī succeeded in recovering his position, Bhoja was disgraced, and in disgust joined the Muslim side. Treachery combined with the repeated attacks of Alā ud Dīn at last brought about the downfall of Hammīra. He was killed, after a desperate resistance, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, in the 18th year of his reign².

Nayacandra's story of Hammīra's victories is unsupported by reliable evidence, with the possible exception of one incident, his victory over Arjuna of Sarasapura. In his Balvan inscription mentioned above Hammīra is credited with a victory over one Arjuna, 'thereby depriving Mālava of the fame and glory which it then enjoyed'. Probably the Arjuna of the

¹ IX 15 ff.

² IA Vol. VIII, 64 ff.

³ EI Vol. XIX, pp 45 ff. For details see IA Vol. VIII, pp 65 ff.

Hammīra-mahākāvya is identical with the Aijuna of the inscription. I have already tentatively accepted him as a Paramāra ruler, and probably the predecessor of Bhoja II of Dhārā.¹ But it is not impossible that both of them were contemporaries ruling over different portions of the disintegrated Paramāra dominions.

But though there is hardly any evidence for the alleged victories of Hammīra, Nayacandīa's account of the conflicts between Hammīra and 'Alā' ud-Dīn and the tragic end of the Cāhamāna after a stubborn resistance, is, substantially attested by Muslim evidence. A contemporary Amīn Khusrau in his *Ta'rikh-i 'Alā'* describes in some detail the siege of Ranthambhor. The 'Saturnian Hindus,' says the writer, 'bravely resisted all the attempts of the Muslims to capture the fort,' till "no provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold." Seeing no hope of success, "one night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zī-lka'da A. H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Rāi. Jhāin was also captured, 'an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and a new city of the people of the faith arose.' The temple of Bāhir Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all rased to the ground."² The account of the desperate resistance of Hammīra is also found in Baranī's *Ta'rikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*.³ Baranī relates that the attack on

¹ *Supra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Paramāras, pp 906-07 and 928

² *Elliot*, Vol III, pp 74-76

³ *Ibid*, pp 146 ff and 171 ff. Both Baranī and Nizām ud-Dīn (*TA*, Trans, p 163) use the word *nabīshah* to express the relationship between 'Hamīr Deo' and 'Rāi Pithaura of Delhi'. It is usually translated as 'grandson'. Elliot (Vol III, p. 171, fn 2) pointed out that it is probably loosely used to mean a 'descendant'. See also *TA*, Trans, p 163, fn. 2

Ranthambhor began as early as the reign of Jalāl ud Dīn Firūz (1290-96 A D) The Sultān in A H 689 (A D 1290) led an army to Ranthambhor The Rāi of the place with his Rāwats and followers, together with their wives and children, all took refuge in the fort of Rantambhor The Sultān wished to invest and take the fort He ordered *manjaniks* to be erected funnels to be sunk and redoubts to be constructed, and the siege to be pressed But after reconnoitring the fort, he found that it could not be taken without sacrificing the lives of many Musalmans So he raised the siege and next day departed for Delhi ' 'Alā ud Dīn (1296-1316 A D) soon after his accession renewed the efforts of his uncle to take the fort The immediate cause of his attack was the asylum which Hamīr Deo, its chief, gave to a body of 'new Musalmāns who had rebelled against the Sultān after the conquest of Gujarat in 1297 A D During the first attempt in 1300 A D, when Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān were besieging the fort, the latter was fatally wounded by a stone shot from a *maghribi* in it, and died two or three days after It was only after repeated attempts that "the Sultān succeeded in reducing Rantambhor with much bloodshed and difficulty He slew Hamīr Deo, the Rāi and all the new Musalmans, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujarat, and had taken refuge with him The fort and all its territories and appurtenances were placed under the charge of Ulugh Khān, and the Sultān returned to Delhi ' ' This account is fully corroborated by Firishta,² who adds the information that after the death of Nuṣrat Khān, Hamīr Deo³ "marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected within a short time 200,000 men

¹ *Elliot* Vol. III, pp 178-79 For a Rajput tradition that Hammīra had a son who fled to Mewar after the capture of Ranthambhor by Alā ud-Dīn see *Mahārāj-gaia-prakāśa* pp. 14-15 also *IHQ* 1931 p. 201 and fn. 2 on the same page.

² *TF* Briggs Trans. Vol. I, pp. 301-02 and 337 ff.; see also *TA* Trans. pp. 163 ff

³ Briggs spells the name as Hambur Dew

With this force he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayin,¹ with great loss.”

Before concluding the account of the Cāhamānas of this branch, I would briefly refer to the prince called by Minhāj, ‘Chāhar-i-Ajār’² who ruled contemporaneously with Nāsir ud-Dīn Mahmūd, the Sultān of Delhi (A. D. 1246-66). Minhāj describes him as ‘the greatest of all the Rāes’ in the tract of country known as, ‘Gwāhyūn, Chandīrī, Nuiwur and Mālwah.’ He had ‘about 500 horsemen well trained to arms, and 200,000 footmen.’ The Hindu prince, we are told, was defeated, ‘and the fortress which had been constructed by him, among defiles and passes was taken and plundered’ This happened in A. H. 649 (A. D. 1251). Firishta names the newly built fort ‘Nuiwar’³ This prince has been identified by Cunningham⁴ with Cāhada Deva of Narwar, for whom as well as for his son Asaladeva, we have inscriptions in the fort of Narwar. The coins of Cāhadadeva, discovered by Cunningham, range from V. S. 1294 (?) to 1311 (c. 1237-54 A. D.) The coins of his son Asaladeva range from V. S. 1311 to 1336 (c. 1254-79 A. D.). The Kuharas *Satī* pillar-inscription of his time is dated in V. S. 1327 (A. D. 1270). The names of two successors of Asaladeva, his son Gopāla and his grandson Ganapatī, are known from the Narwar inscription of the last prince, dated in V. S. 1355 (A. D. 1298). Cunningham guessed that Ganapatī’s principality must have been annexed to the Muslim empire during the vigorous reign of ‘Alā ud-Dīn (c. A. D. 1296-1316). The family name of Cāhada and his descendants was unknown to Cunningham. It seems now to be revealed by the fortunate discovery of the fragmentary *Rataul grant* of *Mahākumāra* Cāhadadeva,⁵ found by

1 Jhāin (Ujjain)

2 *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 690-91, also fn. 1 on p. 690

3 *TF*, Briggs’ Trans., Vol. I, p. 239. Briggs spells the king’s name as ‘Jahir Dew.’

4 *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 314-16, *CMI*, 92-93

5 Edited by D. R. Sahni, *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 221-24.

diggers at the village of Rataul, Tahsil Baghpat, District Meerut. The preserved portion of the genealogy mentions the Cāhamāna Arṣorāja and Prthvirāja. The last verse preserved begins with 'Prthvirājasya. As the name of Mahākumāra Cāhaḍadeva is engraved on the top of the plate, he was apparently the donor of the grant, and may possibly have been a descendant of Prthvirāja III. In the annals of Tod one Cāhaḍadeva is given as the brother of Prthvirāja.¹ At present it would perhaps be idle to try to guess the exact relationship, but it seems possible that the Cāhaḍadeva of the grant and that of the coins and inscriptions of Narwar are identical, and were probably connected by blood with the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. Sahni has pointed out the resemblance of the coins of Cāhaḍadeva and the Cāhamānas.² I am unable to say what connection, if any, Cāhaḍadeva had with the Ranthambhor line.

(6) Cāhamānas of Naddūla³

The existence of this branch, which is generally known as the Naḍḍiā, and its connection with the Śākambharī family was first established by Kielhorn,⁴ on epigraphic foundations by the publication of a number of valuable inscriptions. Since then Bhandarkar has made additions to our stock of knowledge by his supplement to the work of the German scholar.⁵ The epigraphic records of this branch trace its genealogy to one Lakṣmaṇa, who is said to have established himself at Naddūla. The Nadol grant of Rājaputra Kīrtipāla (V S 1218)

¹ *IA* Vol. VII p. 59.

EI Vol. XII p. 224.

The name is spelt in different ways: Naḍḍūla, Naḍḍiā, Naḍḍiā pura, Naḍḍiā pura and Naḍḍiā. Kielhorn regards Naḍḍiā (*Kīrti-Kaṇṇodī*, II, 60 *EI* Vol. I p. 96 V 14) as a mistake. See Kielhorn *EI* Vol. IX, p. 62 fn. 4. It is identified with mod. Nadol in the Jodhpur State of Rajputana.

⁴ *The Cāhamānas of Naddūla* *EI* Vol. IX pp. 62-83 153-59.

⁵ *The Cāhamānas of Narwar* by D. R. Bhandarkar *EI* Vol. XI pp. 26-78.

informs us that Lakṣmana was the son of the Cāhamāna king Vākpatirāja of Śākambharī¹ As Kīrtipāla is 11th in lineal descent from Vākpatirāja, the latter is undoubtedly identical with the first prince of that name in the Śākambharī branch, who ruled about the middle of the 10th century A D The connection of Lakṣmana with this branch is also established by the fact that he is called *Śākambharīndia* in the Sundha hill inscription of Cāciga (V. S. 1319).² The epithet may mean prince of Śākambharī, as Kielhorn supposed, but it may contain a veiled hint that he was also a claimant for the ancestral throne when his brother Simharāja succeeded then father. This may be one of the reasons which led him to migrate from his ancestral home in search of a new dominion No inscriptions of Lakṣmana have yet been published. But Tod refers to two of his records dated in V S 1024 (c. 967 A D) and 1039 (c 982 A. D) An inscription on the *Sūraj-pol* at Nadol, which is reported to have been erected by him, contains his name, showing the authenticity of the tradition that he really established himself in that town. The fort of Nadol, which bears his name, and which is also said to have been constructed by him, also connects him with Naddūla.

Lakṣmana was succeeded by Sobhita³ who is stated in the Sundha hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of *Himādri-bhava* (i e., Mount Abu)⁴ This probably indicates that he won victories over one of the predecessors of the Paramāra Purnapāla (c 1042-45 A.D.) The next prince was Sobhita's son Balnāja, who claims to have defeated an army of Muñjarāja,⁵ no doubt the Mālava Paramāra of that name (c 974-95 A D) This conflict, as I have already pointed out, must have

¹ *EI*, IX, pp 66 ff

² *Ibid*, pp 70 ff

³ Also known as Sohita, Sōhiya and Sōbhita , see *EI*, Vol IX, pp 64, 67, 68n, 71 and 80

⁴ *EI*, Vol IX, p 75, V 7 , see fn 6 on p 71 for *Himādri-bhava-nātha*

⁵ *Ibid*, p 75, V 8

taken place when Muñja invaded this area, attacked Medapāta and destroyed Āghāta.¹ Bahrāja was succeeded by his cousin Mahendra,² the son of his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. This Mahendra has rightly been identified with the prince of that name who is reported to have been protected by the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi.³ (c 997 A.D.) when the former was harassed by the (Caulukya) Durlabharāja (c 1110-22 A.D.). According to the *Dvyāśraya* of Hemacandra, Durlabha and his brother Nāgarāja married two daughters of the Naddūla prince Mahendra.⁴ This matrimonial alliance was probably intended to put an end to the growing hostility between the two powers, caused no doubt by the expansion of Caulukya power in Marwar. Mahendra was followed by his son Āśvapāla. The Śiva temple of Āśaleśvara or Āśapāleśvara was probably either founded by him or named after him by one of his successors.⁵ The next ruler was his son Ahīla, who according to the Sundha hill inscription defeated an army of the Gurjara king Bhīma.⁶ (c 1022-64 A.D.) This shows that the conflict between the two powers was again renewed. Ahīla was succeeded by his paternal uncle Anahīla, a son of Mahendra. The hostilities with the Caulukyās apparently continued during his reign. The Sundha hill inscription⁷ credits him with having defeated a king named Bhīma, no doubt the Caulukya Bhīma I. In addition to this, he is also reported to have taken Śākambharī, killed Śāḍha a general (*Dandādhiśa*) of the Mālava king Bhoja (c 1110-55 A.D.) and the Turuṣka.⁸ The simultaneous struggle with these three powerful neighbours,

¹ See *supra* DHNI Vol. II, p. 955 chapter on the Paramāras; also *BI* Vol. X p. 20 V 10.

² Also called Mahīndu see *BI* Vol. IX, p. 75 V 2.

³ See *supra* DHNI Vol. I p. 561 *BI* Vol. X p. 20 V 11 also *ibid* p. 18.

⁴ The bride of Durlabharāja was named Durlabhadevi. *IA* Vol. VI pp. 112-113; also DHNI Vol. II *supra* chapter on the Caulukyās p. 945 and fn. 5 on the same page.

⁵ *BI* Vol. XI p. 40 line 30 also *ibid* p. 68.

⁶ *BI* Vol. IX, p. 75 V 13. See *supra* DHNI Vol. II p. 962.

⁷ *BI* Vol. IX, p. 75 V 14.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 75 V 17.

their cousins at Sambhar, the Caulukyās of Anhilvada, and the Paramāras of Malwa, must have been a terrible strain on the Cāhamānas of Nadol; and it was not long before they succumbed to one of them. The claim of victory over the Turuska, must refer to some minor success which Anahilla possibly achieved when, in 1024 A.D., Mahmūd of Ghazni was advancing towards Patan on his way to Somnath through the Lunī and the Sukū valley. The temple of Śiva Anahileśvara was probably built and named after himself by Anahilla.

Anahilla was succeeded by his son Bālaprasāda. The Sundha hill inscription states that he forced king Bhīma to release from prison a prince named Kṛṣṇadeva.¹ Kielhorn has suggested that this Kṛṣṇa is to be identified with the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇarāja II, the successor of Puṇnapāla, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1060-67 A.D.² This incident may indicate that the Paramāras of Abu and the Cāhamānas of Naddula were trying to act in concert so as to check the progress of Caulukya imperialism. Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja.³ Only one record, dated in (V)S. 1132 (c. 1075 A.D.), and discovered in the Kāmeśvara Mahādeva temple at Āuwā in the Sojat district of Jodhpur State, has so far been referred to his reign.⁴ The name of the prince in this *Auwa temple inscription* is unfortunately written as Khindrapāla, which in the opinion of some scholars is a mistake for Jindrapāla a variant of the name of Jindurāja. According to the Sundha hill-inscription he 'fought victoriously at Sandera,' which place is identified with modern Sanderao in the Jodhpur State, S.W. of Nadol.⁵ The name of the defeated prince is however unknown, and in view of the hostile relations of this branch with practically all their powerful neighbours, it is useless to make

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76, V. 18

² See *supra*, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 912-13, chapter on the Paramāras

³ Also known as Jesaladeva, Jīmda, Jendrarāja and Jindrapāla

⁴ Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 68-89 and fn. 9, p. 68. If the identification is accepted then this must be the earliest inscription of the Naddūla Cāhamānas

⁵ *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 20.

any guess. The temple of (Śiva) Jendrarājesvara was apparently founded by Jindurāja.¹ His successor was Prthvipāla who is reported to have defeated an army of the Gurjara king Karṇa.² no doubt the Caulukya prince of that name who ruled in Anhilvada (c 1094-1144 A D). Prthvipāla was succeeded by his brother Jojalla³ who appears to have continued the successful war against the Caulukyas. The Sundha hill inscription tells us that he occupied by force Anahillapura, the capital of the Caulukya Karṇa to which I have referred elsewhere.⁴

The two following inscriptions are known for his reign

(1) *Sadadi stone inscription* —Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgesvara at Sadadi, in Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing, and refers to the management of the festivals of the gods Lakṣmaṇasvāmin⁵ and others. It is dated in (V)S 1147 (c 1091 A D), in the reign of *Mahārāja Jojaladeva* and records a king's order, that when a festival (*yātrā*) of any particular god commences the ladies (*pramadākula*) attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *Sulapālas*.⁶

(2) *Nadol stone inscription* —Incised on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol in the Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. Contents almost identical with No. 1 same date. The title of the king is here given as *Mahārāja dhīrāja*. It contains 13 lines of writing.⁷

¹ EI Vol. XI p. 40 lines 26-27.

² EI Vol. IX, p. 76 V 22. See *supra* DHNI Vol. II, pp. 934-55.

³ Also known as Yojaka or Jojaladeva.

⁴ See *ibid.* chapter on the *Caulukyas* p. 935.

⁵ Probably named after Lakṣmaṇa the founder of the Nadol branch.

⁶ First noticed by Kielhorn EI Vol. IX p. 158 then edited by D. B. Bhandarkar in EI Vol. XI pp. 23 ff. The editor suggests that the temple where this inscription was originally attached was in Nadol.

⁷ Noticed and edited as No. 1 above.

Jojalla was succeeded by his brother Āśvāīāja, also called Āsarāja, Aśvarāja (II) or Āśvaka. Of his reign we have the three following inscriptions —

(1) *Sevadi stone-inscription (i)* — Incised on the lintel of the doorway of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sevadi, a village about 5 miles to the S E of Bah, the principal town of the district of the same name in Godwal, Jodhpur State. It contains only 3 lines, and is dated in (V)S. 1167 (c 1110 A D), when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhuāja* and Katukaiāja, the *Yuvarāja*. It records a grant of barley equal to one *hārika*¹ from every one of the wells (*arhata*) belonging to the villages of Padiādā, Medraṁcā, Chechadiyā² and Maddadī for the daily worship of Dharmānāthadeva in the temple of Samvīpātī³ by the *Mahā-Sāhaniya*⁴ Uppalāika⁵.

(2) *Sevadi stone-inscription (ii)* — Incised on the lintel of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Māhavīra at Sevadi. It contains 8 lines of writing, opening with the invocation of the Jain Tīthankara Śāntinātha. It then traces the genealogy of Katukaiāja from the Cāhamāna Anahila through Jinda and Aśvarāja, his son and grandson, and records that Katukaiāja made an annual grant of 8 *drammas* on the *Śivarātri* day in (V)S. 1172 (c 1115 A D), to the Jain Thallaka, belonging to the Shanderaka⁶-*gaccha*, for the worship of Śāntinātha in the *Khattaka* (niche) of *Balādhīpa* Yaśodeva, the grandfather of the donee. Śāntinātha was apparently

¹ According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the Marathi word *hārā*, a large basket often used in measuring corn.

² Mod. Chechli, about 4 miles to the north of Sevadi.

³ Mod. Sevadi. The donee was probably established in the temple where the inscription is incised.

⁴ According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the *deśī* word *Sāhanī*, meaning master of stables.

⁵ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI* Vol. XI, pp. 28-30.

⁶ Mod. Sanderav, 10 miles N. W. of Bah.

established in the temple of Viranātha (Mahāvīra), which, we are told, was situated in the *bhukti* ¹ of Kaṭukarāja ²

(3) *Bali stone-inscription* — Engraved on the lintels of the pillars of the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of the Bōlā, *alias Bahuguna mātā* It contains 6 lines It is dated in the victorious reign of M Jayasīmhadeva in (V) S 1200 (c 1143 A D) and refers to *Mahārāja Āśvaka* as 'subsisting on his lotus-feet' ³ On this date the village of Vālahī, ⁴ was being enjoyed as *grāsa* by the *Rājñi Tihunaka* The grant of 4 *drammas* by one Bopapavastabhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahu ghr̥ṇa and some other endowments which are not quite clear, are recorded ⁵

These three inscriptions give us dates from 1167 to 1200 V S, corresponding to c 1110 to 1143 A.D., for Āśārāja The third inscription shows that he was a feudatory of Jayasīmha, no doubt the Caulukya Siddharāja Jayasīmha of Anahilapātaka (c 1094-1144 A.D.) All his three inscriptions, it will be observed were found around Bali When Bhandarkar wrote his paper on this branch he accepted Āśārāja as the successor of Jojalla at Naddula Since then the publication of the *Sevadī grant of Ratnapāla* has shown that Naddula was in possession of this prince in V S 1176 (c 1119 A.D.) This inscription was also found at Sevadī, in the Bali district of Godwar It contains 60 lines incised on 3 plates It opens with an obeisance to the god Brahman Then follows the following genealogy of the donor —

From a person who issued from the eye of Indra, the lord of the east, the *Oāhamāna varṇa*

¹ This shows that Kaṭukarāja was still a *Yavardja*. The temple of Viranātha is apparently the temple of Mahāvīra where the inscription was found.

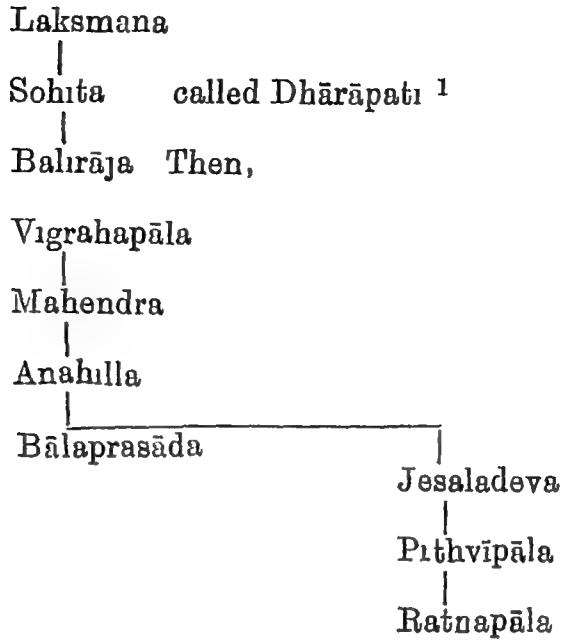
² Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *RI* XI pp. 80-82

³ Mod. Ba'li in Godwar

⁴ Mod. Gīrā signifying the landed possession of a ruling tribe.

⁵ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *RI* Vol. IX pp 32-33.

In this family



We are then told that when *Mahārājādhirāja* Ratnapāla was reigning at Nadūla, he renewed from his camp at Nahurā-gīrama² when (V) S. 1176 (c. 1119 A.D.) had elapsed, the grant of the Brāhmaṇa village of Guṇḍakuṇḍā³ in *Sapta-śata-Vīsaya* to the Brāhmanas resident in that village. The grant was originally made by *Mahārāja* Jendīarāja⁴.

It is thus clear that Ratnapāla had either ousted his uncle Āśārāja from Nadol sometime between c. 1110 and 1119 A.D., or that he had succeeded his uncle Jojalladeva sometime after c. 1090 A.D. In the former case, which appears more likely, we have an adequate motive for his subordination to Jayasīma. Apparently from his base round Balī he was trying to recover his throne with the assistance of the Caulukyās. The following inscriptions of his son the *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapāla,

¹ May mean that in a conflict with the Paramāras, he temporarily occupied Dhārā in Mālava. His son and successor Balirāja actually claims victory over Muñja, see *ante*, pp. 1105-06.

² Mod. Bamanēn rō Nōrō, in Jalor district, 11 Kos west of Gundoch.

³ Mod. Gundoch.

⁴ Same as Jesaladeva of the genealogical table, see *ante*, p. 1107, fn. 3. The inscription was edited by Ramkarna in *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 304-13.

bearing dates from 1189 to 1202 V S (c 1132-1145 A D), which were discovered not far from Nadol, seems to indicate that this prince held it during those years

(1) *Nadlai stone-inscription (i)* —Found engraved on the lintel of two pillars in the *Sabhā maṇḍapa* of a Jain temple of Ādinātha at Nadlai, 8 miles to the N W of Desuri in Godwar. It contains 6 lines. It is dated in (V) S 1189 (c 1132 A D), and records a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla, sons or the M Rāyapāla in conjunction with their mother the Rājñī Mānaladevi. The gift consisted of 2 *palikās* of oil from out of the share due to the royal family from each oil mill (*ghānaka*). The donees were the (Jain) ascetics in and outside of Naḍūlaḍāgikā.¹

(2) *Nadlai stone-inscription (ii)* —Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines. After obeisance to Neminātha, it gives the date, (V) S 1195 (c 1138 A D), and refers itself to the reign of M Rāyapāla over Naḍūlaḍāgikā (Nadlai), and then records the gift of one-twentieth part of the income (*abhāṇya*) derived from the loads leaving or entering Naḍūlaḍāgikā by the Gubila *Thakura* Rājadeva for the worship of Neminātha. Then comes the sign manual of the donor, *Rāu (ta) Rājadeva*.²

(3) *Nadol stone inscription (i)* —39 lines, engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol, about 10 miles N W of Desuri, in Godwar. It opens with the date (V) S 1198 (c 1141 A D), in the victorious reign of M -Rāyapāla, and then refers to 16 Brāhman representatives, 2 from each of the 8 wards of the town of Dhālopa,³ with Devāica as intermediary (*madhyaka*), who solemnly promised to find out by means of *Caukaḍika* (pañcāyat system) whatever should be lost

¹ Mod Nadlai. The record is edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *SI* Vol. XI pp. 34-36.

² Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *SI* Vol. XI pp. 37-41.

³ Mod village of the same name 4 miles S W of Nadol.

or snatched away from the *Bhāta*, *Bhattaputia*, *Dauvārīka*, *Kāripātīka*, *Vanujjārīka* and others on their way. If the goods were lost in any particular ward, the representatives of that ward were to find out the lost property. *Mahārāja* Rāyapāla supplied the money and arms necessary for carrying on the investigations ¹

(4) *Nadlai stone-inscription (u)*.—Engraved in the temple of Ādinātha at Nadlai. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 (A.D. 1143) in the reign of *M* -Rāyapāla when the *Rāuta* Rājadeva was the *Thakura* of Naduladāgikā. It records some benefactions to the temple of Mahāvīra ²

(5) *Nadol stone-inscription (u)* —8 lines ; found at Nadol.³ It is dated in (V) S. 1200 (1144 A.D.) in the reign of *M* -*P* Rāyapāla ⁴

(6) *Nadol stone-inscription (u)*.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 in the reign of Rāyapāla and records that Bhanana, a Karnāta *Rānaka* freed the dancing girls (*pramadākula*) of all the gods of Usapapattana from *daśa-bandha*, which was possibly a kind of tax equal to one-tenth of their income.⁴

(7) *Nadlai stone-inscription (v)* —5 lines engraved on a lintel in the temple of Ādinātha. It opens with the date (V) S. 1200 (c. 1143 A.D.), in the reign of *M* -Rāyapāla, and records that *Rāuta* Rājadeva made a grant of one *vimsopaka* ⁵ from the *pālās* ⁶ accruing to him and 2 *palikas* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghānaka*.⁷

(8) *Nadlai stone-inscription (v)* —5 lines, on the same lintel as No. 4. It opens with the date (V) S. 1202 (c.

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 37-41. Noticed by Kielhorn in *ibid*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

² Transcribed by P. C. Nahar in *Jaina Inscriptions*, Part I, pp. 213-14.

³ Noticed by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. IX, p. 159.

⁴ Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in *ASI*, *WC*, 1908-09, p. 45.

⁵ Probably a kind of coin.

⁶ A kind of weight 4 *pālā* = 1 *pāyalī*, 5 *pāyalī* = 1 *mānā*, 4 *mānā* = 1 *sē*, 2 *sē* = 1 *mar*.

⁷ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 41-42.

1145 A D) in the reign of *M* Rāyapāla, and when the *Rāuta* Rājadeva was the *Thakkura* of Naḍula-ḍāgikā¹

These eight inscriptions, as we have said, show that during the period c 1182-45 A D Rāyapāla held Nadol and the neighbouring districts. The relationship of Rāyapāla with Ratnapāla (c 1119 A D) is indicated by a Mandor stone-inscription² which gives the following genealogy of one Sahajapāla



The identification of this Rāyapāla with the Rāyapāla of Nadol shows that he was probably the immediate successor of his father Ratnapāla. The efforts of Asvarāja (c 1110-43 A D) to recover Nadol therefore appear to have been futile. But the *Sevadī* stone inscription of his son Kaṭudeva³ dated in (Śiṃha) *Samvat* 31 (c 1148 A D) shows that the latter succeeded in capturing the ancestral seat, at least for some time between c 1141 and 1143 A D. This inscription was found incised on a piece of stone surmounted by the figure of a cow and her calf at *Sevadī*, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvīra. It contains 11 lines. The record is mutilated but gives the date (Śiṃha) *Samvat* 31, when *M* Kaṭudeva was reigning at Naḍula and while *Śaṃipāṭi* was being enjoyed by (his son) the *Yuvarāja* Jayatasīha⁴. The use of the Śiṃha era seems to indicate that Kaṭudeva was, like his father, under the influence of the Caulukyās. But the fact that he omits the name of his sovereign lord Jayasīṃha (c 1094-1144 A D) may indicate a tendency to

¹ Edited by same *ibid* pp. 42-43.

² Noticed in *HI* Vol. XI, p. 69 fn. 1 also *ibid* p. 307

³ Same as Kaṭukarāja of the records of Āśārāja; see *ante* p. 1100

⁴ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *ibid* pp. 33-34.

assert his independence. If this was so, it met with immediate punishment; during the period V S 1203 to 1218 (c 1146-61) not a single inscription of the Cāhamānas has been discovered in Godwar, and instead of them we find the records of one Vājalladeva¹ (V S 1210-1216), the *Dandanāyaka* of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A.D.) ruling at Nadūla (Nadol)². It has been suggested that the Cāhamānas were supplanted for their partiality towards the Śākambharī prince Arnorāja (c 1139 A.D.), with whom Kumārapāla was on hostile terms³. In any case, the inscriptions of the Caulukya sovereign⁴ and those of his officer clearly testify that the power of the Nadol Cāhamānas was for some time in abeyance, if not suppressed. But by the year A.D. 1161 they again appear in possession of their ancestral capital. The course of events seems to be indicated by the following inscriptions of Ālhanadeva, also known as Ālanadeva, and Āhlādana, the son of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Āśārāja (1110-43 A.D.)

(1) *Kiradu stone-inscription* — Found in a Śaiva temple in the ruins of Kiradu near Hathma, about 16 miles N_W of Barmer, the principal town of the Mallani district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21 lines, opening with the date (V.) S 1209 (c 1152 A.D.), when *M - P - Umāpati-vara-labdha-prasāda-praudha-pratāpa* Kumarapāla (Kumārapāla) was reigning and Mahādeva was carrying on the business of the seal. We are then told that (*Mahā*) *rājā* Ālanadeva, who had obtained Kirātakūpa,⁵ Lātarhada⁶ and

¹ Also named Vājā and Vayajaladeva. He was also a Cāhamāna but his relationship with the Nādol branch is unknown, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp 981, 1000 and 1003

² See *EI*, Vol. XI, p 70, fn 4

³ Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Rājapāla may have been supplanted for this reason by Kumārapāla, *EI*, Vol. XI, p 70

⁴ Note his inscriptions at Kiradu, Palī, Ratanpur and Bhatund (1209-11 V S), see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, pp 978ff

⁵ Modern Kiradu

⁶ Modern Raddhada, which was the original name of the district round Nagor Gundha in Mallani, Marwar

Sivā through the favour of his sovereign (*prabhu*), on the above date, which was a Sivarātri day, issued injunctions to the *mahājanas*, *tāmbulikas*, and other subjects forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the 8th, 11th, and 14th days of both fortnights of every month in the three towns mentioned above, on pain of capital punishment. This edict, which is called *Amāri rūḍhi* (edict of non slaughter), then specified a scale of punishment for Brāhmanas, priests, ministers and others. It was issued by the king with the approval of *Mahārājaputras* Kelhana and Gajasīmha.¹

(2) *Nadol grant (i)* — Found at Nadol. It contains 38 lines, opening with *Om namah Sarvajñāya* and a verse addressed to Mahāvīra. It then records the genealogy of the Cāhamānas of Naddūla from Lakṣmaṇa to Ālhanadeva, omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla. In the formal part it registers that Mahārāja Ālhanadeva of Naddūla in (V) Sam 1218 (c 1161 A D), after worshipping the sun and Isāna and making gifts to Brāhmanas and *gurus*, granted to the (Jain) temple of Mahāvīra in the Saṇḍeraka gaccha at the holy place (*Mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla a monthly sum of 5 *drammas* to be paid from the custom house (*Sulka mandapikā*) in the Naddūla talapada. The *Dātaka* of the grant was the *Mahāmātya* Lakṣmīdhara of the Prāgavāta race. It was composed and written by Śrīdhara, and ends with the sign manual.²

(3) *Nadol grant (ii)* — Found at Nadol. 34 lines, incised on two plates, opening with *Śvaśti* and invocations, to Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Saṅkara, 'who always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās'. It then traces the genealogy of the Naddūla Cāhamānas from Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari to Rājākula Ālhanadeva (omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla) and his three sons Kumāra Kelhanadeva, Gajasīmha and Kirtipāla.

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *EI* Vol. XI pp. 43-46

² Edited by Kielhorn *EI* Vol. IX pp. 68-69. It was first obtained and noticed by Tod, who presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society then noticed by Dhruva in *JBRAS* Vol. XIX, pp. 25-34. Re-edited by Ramkrishna, *IA* Vol. XL pp. 146 ff

by his *Rāstrāṇḍa* queen Analladevī. We are then told that Ālhaṇa and Kelhana were pleased to give to the *Rājaputia* Kīrtipāla 12 villages, appertaining to Naddūlāi (mod Nadlai in Godwar). In (V) S 1218 (A D. 1160), after bathing at Naddūla and worshipping the Sun and Maheśvara, Kīrtipāla granted a yearly sum of two *drāmmas* from each of his 12 villages to the Jina Mahāvīra at Naddūlāi.¹

(4) *Jhamvara stone-inscription* — Found inscribed on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaisnava temple lying outside the village of Jhamvara, about 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. Contains 15 lines of corrupt Sanskrit, opening with date (V.) S 1219 (c 1162 A D). It mentions the *Mahārāja-putia* Gajasimha in connection with the city of Māndavyapura (mod Mandor). It records that his general the *Saulunkī* Jasadhavala, son of Dāmodara, granted to the god Vāsudeva one *dramma* from the income of his generalship of Jhamara (mod Jhamvara). In its concluding portion, the epigraph records the grant of one *kalaśa* of oil from the oil-mills for lighting a light in the temple by the same donor. The grant (together with another record of the time of Kelhana) were made in the presence of 4 representatives of the 4 *padānas* of Māndavyapura.²

Of these four inscriptions the first shows Ālhaṇa as a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla. In the Sundhahill inscription he is stated to have aided the Gurjara king in putting down disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (*Girau Saurāstre*).³ It was probably for this faithful service to his sovereign that he got a small principality in the region now known as Mallani. His second inscription shows that by the year 1161 A D he had so much pleased Kumārapāla as to be restored to his ancestral principality of Nadol. Though his grant does not mention

¹ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol IX, pp 66-70

² Edited by Tessitori, *JASB*, 1916, pp 101-02

³ *EI*, IX, pp 72 and 77, Vs 32-33, also Nadol grant of Kīrtipāla, *EI*, Vol IX, pp 67 and 69, V 5. See also *DHNI*, Vol II, *supra*, chapter on the *Caulukyās*, p 992.

Kumārāpāla's name, we must assume that Ālhaṇa still continued to be subservient to him. His humble title of *Mahārāja* is inconsistent with sovereign authority. This recovery of Nadol must have occurred sometime between V S 1216, the last date of Vajalladeva in Godwar, and V S 1218, the date of Ālhaṇa's Nadol grant.

Ālhaṇa was succeeded by Kelhaṇa, his son by his queen Annalladevi,¹ a Raṣṭraūḍa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) princess probably of the Hathundi branch in Godwar. The following inscriptions are known for Kelhaṇa's reign.

(1) *Bamnara grant* (i) —A single plate, reported to have been found at Bamnara in the Jodhpur State, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station, while the foundations of a building were being dug. It opens with the date (V) S 1220 (c 1168 A D), in the reign of Kelhaṇa, son of M-Ālhaṇa deva. It registers a grant of land by Ajayasinhha, son of *Mahārājaputra* Kumārasihha, to a Brāhman named Nārāyaṇa at a place called Koreṣaka,² the *Dataka* being Cāmuṇḍarāja. It ends with the sign manual of *Rājaputra Kirtipāla*.³

(2) *Sanderav stone inscription* (i) —4 lines, engraved on a lintel in the *Sabhā maṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanderāv, about 10 miles north west of Bali, in Jodhpur State. It is dated in V S 1221 (c 1164 A D), in the reign of Kelhaṇa deva, and records that Annalladevi, the queen mother (*Matr rajñi*), granted one plough (*hāḍa*) of land⁴ to the *Tīrthanāhara* Mahāvīra, *Mūla-nāyaka* of the *Śaṁḍeraka gaḥa*.⁵

(3) *Bamnara grant* (ii) —Found as No (i) above. 13 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. It is dated in V S 1228 (c 1166 A D) in the reign of M Kelhaṇadeva, the ruler of Naḍūla-*Maṇḍala*, and registers the grant of a well situated

¹ The same as Annaladevi.

² Mod. Koria, a village, some distance to the north of Bamnara.

³ Edited by M B Garde *RI* Vol. XIII pp 207-08.

⁴ As much as could be ploughed in a single day by one plough.

⁵ Edited by D B Bhandarkar *RI* Vol. IX, pp. 46-47.

in the property of *Rājaputra* Ajayarāja in Koramtaka¹ to the donee Nārāyaṇa. The sign-manual is that of M.-Kelhanadeva.²

(4) *Bamnera grant (m)*.—Found as No. (2) above It refers itself to the reign to M.-Kelhanadeva, and registers the grant of a well (*dhiko*) to the Bīāhman Nārāyaṇa at Korentakasthāna by Ajayasīha, son of *Rāja* Kumvarasīha, on the holy occasion of the *Deva-utthāpanī-ekādaśī*. It is undated³

(5) *Nadol stone-inscription*.—9 lines, engraved on the Suraj-pol in the centre of the village of Nadol It opens with the date (V.) S. 1223 (c. 1167 A. D.) in the reign of (the Cāhamāna) Kelhaṇa reigning at Nādūla The last 5 lines of the record is rather illegible but it contains the date (V) S 1039 for Lākhana (Laksmāna), founder of the Naddūla branch of the Cāhamānas.⁴

(6) *Jhamvara stone-inscription*.—10 lines, engraved on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaiṣṇava temple, outside the village of Jhamvara, 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur It is written in corrupt Sanskrit and opens with the date (V) S 1227 (c 1171 A.D) in the reign of M -P.-Kelhanadeva at Nādūla, the chief town in the Śapta-śata-bhūmi. Next it mentions the rule of *Mahānājaputīa* Cāmundarāja over Māndavyapura Lastly it registers the grant of one *diamma* made by the Rāstauda Nāmnada from the amount of some cess at Jhāmara (mod. Jhamvara), one the four *pādīas* in the *bhūmi* of Māndavyapura⁵

(7) *Nadlai stone-inscription* —Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about a mile south-west of Nadlai. It contains

¹ Mod Korta, north of Bamnera

² Edited by Garde, *EI*, Vol XIII, pp 208-10 Kielhorn probably notices this grant in *ibid*, Vol IX, p 61, fn 1, from a rubbing

³ Edited by Garde, *EI*, Vol XIII, pp 210-11

⁴ Noticed by D R Bhandarkar, *ASI, WC*, 1908-09, p 45

⁵ Edited by Tessitori, *JASB*, 1916, Vol XII (N S), pp 103-04 *Śaptaśata-bhūmi* of this record is the same as *Śaptaśata-viṣaya* of the Sevadī grant of Ratnapāla, see *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol, II, p 1111 According to the editor "the expression designated the whole of the territory then held by the Cāhamānas," but I would like to qualify this by 'territory then held by the Naddūla branch only.'

3 lines, which open with the date (V) S 1228 (c 1171 A D), during the reign of Kumvarapāla (Kumārāpāla), while Kelhaṇa was ruling at Nādūlya, and the Rājā Lakhmaṇa at Varipadyaka, and Annasīha was the Thākura of Sonāṇā. It records that the *mandapa*, *aḥśasāma* and *dama* of the temple of Bhivaḍeśvara were constructed by Pāhini, son of the *Sūtradhāra* Mabaḍūa, at a cost of 380 *dramma*s¹

(8) *Lalrai stone inscription (i)*—Found amongst the ruins of the Jain temple at Lalrai, 5 miles south east of Bah. It contains 18 lines of damaged and fragmentary writing. It is dated in (V) S 1233 (c 1176 A D), when Kelhaṇadeva was ruling at Nādūla, and states that the *Rājaputras* Lakhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla the owners (*bhokṭṛ*) of Sinaṇava and sons of Kīrtipāla, made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibala devī, in the presence of the village *paścākula*, for celebrating the festival of the god *Sāntinātha*. The grant consisted of barley weighing one *hāraka* as used in (the country of Gurjaratrā, from the well (*araḡhaṭa*) of the village Bhāḍiyāuva²

(9) *Lalrai stone inscription (ii)*—Found as No 8 above contains 13 lines. It is dated in (V) S 1238, and speaks of the *Rājaputras* Lakhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla as the *bhokṭṛ*s of Samānāka. It then records that the cultivators Bhivaḍa, Āsadhara and others granted for their spiritual merit four *Sṭis* of barley from (the field called) Khāḍisira to the *Tīrthaṅkara* Sāntinātha in connection with the festivals of the Gujars³

(10) *Sanderav stone-inscription (ii)*—Found as No 2 above, incised on a pillar in the *Sabhā mandapa* of the temple. It is dated in (V) S 1236 (c 1179 A.D), in the reign of M - Kelhaṇadeva of Nādūla, and records the gift of a column and a house to the *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha, worshipped at Samḍeraka (Sanderav), in the *Bhukṭi* of the queen Jālhana by Rālha

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *SI* Vol. VI pp. 47-48

² Mod. Badva, 5 miles south west of Lalrai. The record is edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *SI* Vol. XI pp. 49-50.

³ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *SI* Vol. XI, pp. 50-51.

and Pālḥā. Those residing in the house must pay 4 *dhāḥlas* to the God.¹

(11) *Paladi stone-inscription*.—Found at Paladi in the Sirohi State. It is dated in the reign of Kelhana in V S. 1249 (c. 1192 A. D.)²

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1249 V. S., corresponding to c. 1163-1192 A. D. Inscription No. 7 shows that Kelhana was in c. 1171 A. D. still a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A. D.). During his rule, as in the reign of his father, his brother Kīrtipāla apparently shared in the administration of the kingdom. This is evident from the Nadol grant of Kīrtipāla dated in V S. 1218 (c. 1160 A. D.) and the Bamnera grant (i) of Kelhana dated in V S. 1220 (c. 1163 A. D.). The second inscription ends with the sign-manual of Kīrtipāla. The Sundha hill-inscription states that Kelhana defeated the 'Southern king Bhīlma,' who has rightly been identified with the Devagiri Yādava Bhīlma (c. 1187-91 A. D.), whose Gadag inscription is dated in A. D. 1191.³ The dates on the records of Kelhana show that he was also a contemporary of Mu'izz ud-Dīn Muhammad Ghūlī (1173-1206 A. D.). He may therefore possibly have come into conflict with Mu'izz ud-Dīn in A. H. 574 (A. D. 1178), when the latter advanced from Multan through Rajputana on his way to Gujarat.⁴ Nizām ud-Dīn relates that Mu'izz ud-Dīn marched through the desert before he was met and defeated by the Caulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A. D.).⁵ The *Prthvī-rāja-vijaya* actually states that before the Muslim invader was defeated by the Gujarat king, he took possession of Nadūla, and that all the princes on his route of advance took shelter in forts.⁶

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 51-52.

² Noticed in *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73.

³ *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77, V. 34, *BG*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 519.

⁴ *TN*, Vol. I, pp. 451-52. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p. 1017.

⁵ *TA*, Trans., p. 36.

⁶ *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 278-79, see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamānas*, p. 1086.

Kelhana's conflict with the Muslims is further attested by the Sundha hill inscription which states that the Cāhamāna prince, "after destroying the Turuṣkas, erected a golden *torāṇa*, like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someśa¹ Apparently then Kelhana may have won some success against the hosts of Mu'izz ud Dīn when the latter was disastrously defeated by the Caulukya Bhīma II and retreated to his capital amidst considerable difficulties. We may assume that Kelhana recovered his capital after the departure of the Turuṣkas. But it seems that he was not allowed to end his days in peace. Quṭb ud Dīn Aibak, the general of Mu'izz ud-Dīn after his capture of Ajmer in c 1194 A D from the Cāhamāna Harirāja, came into hostile conflict with the Caulukya Bhīma II. In the first battle, which took place in A H 591 (A D 1195), Quṭb ud Dīn was severely defeated and driven back into the fort of Ajmer. After receiving reinforcements he again advanced towards the Gujarat frontier from Ajmer in A H 598 (A D 1197). Hasan Niṣāmī relates that when "he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musalmāns and had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Dārābaras in great numbers at the foot of the Mount Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter".² Prof D R Bhandarkar has suggested the identification of these two generals of Bhīma II with the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvaraṣa (c 1164-1219 A D) and the Naddūla Cāhamāna Kelhana.³ Whether we accept the identification of "Rāi Karan" with Kelhana or not it is certain that after the victory of Quṭb ud Dīn the position of the Cāhamānas became increasingly difficult, and before long they were compelled to abandon Nadol and seek a new base for their struggle with the Muslims. For all practical purposes I am

¹ *RI* Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77 V 34.

² *Elliot*, Vol. II, 235 ff; See also *also DHNI* Vol. II chapter on the Caulukyas p. 1019.

³ *RI*, Vol. XI, p. 71

disposed to regard Kelhana as the last prince of this line who ruled from Nadol. Bhandarkar has however pointed out an inscription¹ of his son Jayatasīha (Jayantasimha) dated in V. S. 1251 (c. 1194 A.D.), which is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgeśvara at Sādādī in the Desūī district of Jodhpur, and which according to him 'originally belonged to some temple at Nādōl.' In this inscription the prince is given the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja*. Another inscription discovered in Bhinmal gives to the *Mahārājaputra* Jayatasīha the date V. S. 1239 (c. 1182 A.D.).² If we are to accept Bhandarkar's conclusion that Jayatasīha succeeded his father at Nādol sometime before 1194 A.D., we must give up his suggestion that "Rāī Kāran" is the same as "Kelhana," for the former was one of the leaders of the Caulukya forces in 1197 A.D., and is reported by Ḥasan Nizāmī to have escaped from the battle-field after the defeat of his army. The subsequent history of the descendants of Kelhana and Jayantasimha is not clear. In V. S. 1283 (c. 1226 A.D.) we find the region now known as the Balī district in Godwar under the Cāhama (Cāhamāna) Dhāndhaladeva, son of Visadhavala who was a feudatory of the (Caulukya) Bhyivadeva (Bhīma II).³ It is at present uncertain whether these two rulers had any connection with Kelhana and Jayantasimha.

(7) *Cāhamānas of Jāvālpura*

The Cāhamānas of this branch, who are generally known as the *Sonagarās*,⁴ trace their descent to Kīrtipāla, also known as Kītū. He was a brother of Kelhana, and, as I have noticed, already enjoyed some control in the administration of his father and brother. His Nadol grant, dated in

¹ *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 73 and fn. 2 on the same page

² *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 474, No. 4

³ *ASI*, WC, 1908, p. 49, see *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyās*, p. 1011

⁴ Sometimes spelt Sōngirā or Sonagarā. The name is said to be derived from Songar (Suvāṇagiri), the name of the hill fort of Jalor, *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 79.

V S 1218 (A D 1160), which was issued during his father's reign, shows that he at that date held 12 villages, appertaining to Naddūlāi (mod Nadlai in Godwar). The Sundha hill inscription tells us that 'he defeated a Kirātakūṭa chief named Āsala and at Kāsahrada routed an army of the Turuṣka'.¹ Kirātakūṭa has been identified with modern Kiradu, a small village about 16 miles N N W of Barmer in the Mallani district of Jodhpur State. In V S 1235 (c 1178 A D) Kiradu region was under the rule of Madanabrahmadeva, a feudatory of the Caulukya Bhīma II.² It is uncertain whether this Āsala was related to Madanabrahma. The other place, Kāsahrada, where Kirtipāla is said to have defeated 'an army of the Turuṣka, has been identified by Bhandarkar with Kayadram, or Kasadram, a village in the Sirohi State, at the foot of Mt Abu.³ The same scholar has also suggested that this conflict with the Turuṣkas was the engagement which Quṭb ud Dīn fought with the Caulukya armies in A D 1197. It is however not unlikely that Kirtipāla's success was achieved in the earlier expeditions which was undertaken by Mu'izz ud Dīn in A D 1178 when the Muslims were defeated. The Sundha hill inscription, after referring to his victory over the Turuṣkas, makes the significant statement that 'as ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla Kirtipāla took up his residence at Jāvālpura'.⁴ This shows that Kirtipāla, who appears to have died some time before 1182 A D, and was therefore a contemporary of his brothers Kelhapa⁵ (c 1163 to 92 A D), removed his seat of residence to Jalor during the latter's life time. If so, then his claim to have taken up his residence at Jalor as 'ruler of the kingdom of Naddula' may indicate that he

¹ *BI* Vol. XI pp. 72 and 77 V 36.

² *BI* Vol. XI p. 72 see also *DHNI* Vol. II, chapter on the *Caulukyas* p. 1006.

³ *BI* Vol. XI, p. 72 see also Vol. IX, p. 73.

⁴ *BI* Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77 V 36. Jāvālpura (sometimes spelt Jābālpura) is mod

⁵ The Sundha hill-inscription omits Jayantasaṁbha. *BI* Vol. IX pp. 70 ff.

was a claimant for the throne of Nādōl. According to Muhanota Nainsī he took Jalor from the Paramāras.¹ An unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription seems to indicate that Kīrtipāla temporarily ousted the Medapāta Guhila Sāmantasimha sometime between c. 1171 and 1179 A.D., but was himself driven out of Mewar by Sāmantasimha's brother Kumāra with the assistance of the king of Gujarat.² It is possible that these incidents took place after his capture of Jalor.

Kīrtipāla was succeeded by his son Samarasimha. He had two other sons, viz., Lākhanapāla and Abhayapāla and a daughter named Rudaladevī who built a temple of Śiva at Jalor. The two following inscriptions of the reign of Samarasimha are so far known.

(1) *Jalor stone-inscription (i)* — 7 lines, incised on two lintels of an old mosque, now used as the *topkhānā*, and opens with an invocation to Nābheya (Rṣabhanātha). It is dated in (V.) S. 1239 (c. 1182 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārāja Samarasimhadeva*, son of *Mahārāja Kīrtipāla* and grandson of *Mahārāja Ālhana*. It records that a *mandapa* was constructed by the Seth Yaśovīra of the Śrīmāla family who was joined in this work by his brother and all the members of the *Gosthī*.³

(2) *Jalor stone-inscription (ii)* — Incised on a lintel in the second storey of the same mosque as above. It contains the statement that the Kuvāra (Kumāra)-*vihāra* was rebuilt by the *Bhāndārī* Yaśovīra in accordance with the orders of the Cāhamāna *Mahārāja Samarasimha* in (V.) S. 1242 (c. 1185 A.D.).⁴

¹ *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 74

² See *infra*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Guhila putras*. The identification of Kīrtipāla with the founder of the Jalor branch of the Cāhamānas was first made by Ojha, *HR*, II, pp. 451 ff.

³ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 52-54

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. XI, p. 55

These inscriptions give the dates of 1182 and 1185 A D for Samarasimha, and show, as I have already noticed, that his father Kirtipāla must have established himself in Jalor some time before 1182 A D and must have died sometime before that date. According to the Sundha hill inscription, Samarasimha built extensive ramparts on the Kanakācala or 'golden hill,' and founded the town of Samarapura. The latter place has not yet been identified, but Ojha's suggestion that Kanakācala is the name of the fort of Jalor¹ is generally accepted. This conclusion is supported by the phrase *Śrī-Jābālī purīya kāñcana giri gaḍhasyopari* which occurs in Samarasimha's second inscription². Kielhorn identified this Samarasimha with the *Oahu(māna)-rāna(ka)* Samarasimha, whose daughter Lilādevī was married to the Caulukya Bhīma II³.

According to the Sundha hill inscription Samarasimha was succeeded by his son Udayasimha. But an Abu inscription speaks of Mānavasimha, son of Samarasimha, as the eldest brother of Udayasimha⁴. Possibly this brother preceded Udayasimha as ruler of Jalor. The *Devdā* (Deora) branch of the Cāhamānas trace their descent to Mānavasimha, who is also known as Mahanasimha⁵. From his grandson Viṣaḍa-Deśasyandana, known in the bardic chronicles as Viṣaḍa and Devarāja, the name of this section of the Cāhamānas is said to be derived⁶. The Abu inscription noticed above is built into the wall outside the porch of the Acalesvara temple on Mt Abu. It contains 82 lines, and gives the following genealogy of Mānavasimha's descendants —⁷

¹ *KI* Vol. IX p. 78.

² Locally known as Sonagarh or golden fort.

³ *BI* Vol. XI, p. 55 line 1; *ibid* p. 74.

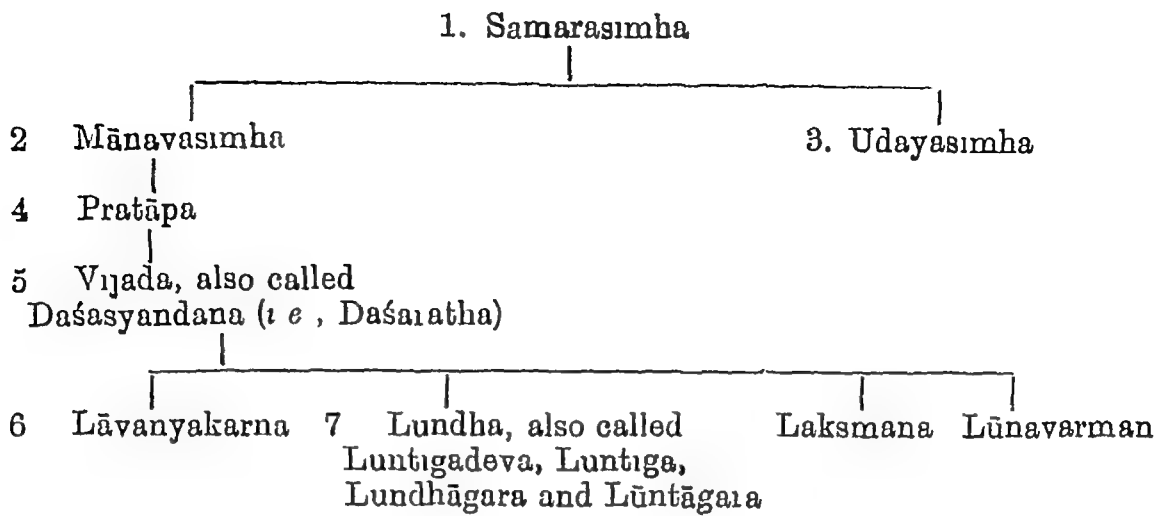
⁴ *IA* Vol. VI pp. 194 ff; *BI* Vol. IX, p. 73.

⁵ *BI* Vol. IX p. 80, fn. 6.

⁶ *BI* Vol. XI table facing p. 78.

⁷ *Ibid*, fn.

⁸ I omit the names of the predecessors of Samarasimha given in the inscription.



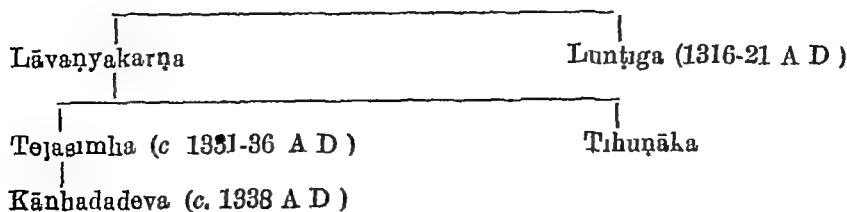
It is dated in V. S. 1377 (c. 1321 A.D.), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Lūntāgara, who resided at (Vū ?)hundha, belonging to Candrāvātī,¹ and it definitely states that Luntiga 'conquered and ruled all countries particularly Candrāvātī and the divine territory of Arbuda' I have already pointed out elsewhere² that it was about this period that Luntiga and his kinsmen supplanted the Paramāras of Candrāvātī. The *Devdā* Cāhamānas are up to the present day the rulers of Abu (Sirohi State).

The *Devdā* branch was probably founded by Vijāda-Devarāja some time after the succession of Udayasimha about 1262 V. S. (c. 1205 A.D.). The history of the *Sonigarā* branch continued uninterrupted through Udayasimha and his descendants. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Udayasimha.

(1) *Bhinmal stone-inscription* (i).—14 lines, incised on the upper face of the lower square section of a pillar (of the temple

¹ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, IX, pp. 79 ff.

² See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the *Paramāras*, p. 919. Kielhorn (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 82) pointed out from epigraphic evidence the following successor of Luntiga in Abu —



of Jagasvāmi) at Bhinmal. It opens with *Oṃ namaḥ Sūryāya*. Then comes the date, (V) S 1262 (c 1205 A D), in Śrīmāla, in the reign of M-Udayasinha, during the term of office of the *Pañc* committee consisting of Aśvapasi and others. It records the grant of 40 *drammas* by Vilhāka, the *Veṭaka* in the treasury of the god Jagasvāmi.¹

(2) *Bhinmal stone inscription (ii)* — 8 lines, incised on a pillar on the west face of the third right hand pillar in Bārāji's rest-house at Bhinmal. It is dated in (V) S 1274 (c 1218 A D), in the reign of the same as in No 1, during the term of office of the *pañc* consisting of Sa° Depāla and others. The inscription is damaged, but records a grant for the offering of a *navedya* to the god Jagasvāmi.²

(3) *Bhinmal stone inscription (iii)* — 15 lines, damaged, on the south face of the fifth right pillar on the right hand of Bārāji's rest-house. It is dated in (V) S 1305 (c 1249 A D), in the reign of the same as in No 1 during the term of office of the *pañc* consisting of Maha° Gajasinha. It records the grant of 50 *drammas* to the treasury of the god Jagasvāmi.³

(4) *Bhinmal stone inscription (iv)* — 25 lines, in the walled enclosure of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva, about 3 miles from the town of Bhinmal, in the Jaswantpura district of Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V) S 1306 (c 1249 A D) in the reign of the same as in No (1) during the term of office of the *Mahanta* Gajasinha and others. It registers two gifts of 55 *drammas* to the god Jagasvāmi.⁴

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1262 to 1306 V S, corresponding to c 1206-1249 A D. Udayasinha apparently was the most successful ruler of this branch. The Sundha hill inscription⁵ tells us that he ruled over Naddūla,⁶

¹ Edited in BG Vol. I Part I, pp 474-75 No. VII

² Edited *ibid* pp 475-76 No. VIII.

³ Edited *ibid* pp. 476-77 No. IX.

⁴ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar EI Vol. XI pp. 55-57

⁵ EI Vol. IX, pp 73 and 79 V 43.

⁶ Mod. Nadol. This place as well as others mentioned on the next page are in Marwar

Jāvāhpuṇa,¹ Māṇḍavyapura,² Vāgbhatameru,³ Sūiācanda,⁴ Rātahṇada, Kheda,⁵ Rāmasainy,⁶ Śiīmāla,⁷ Ratnapura,⁸ Satyapura⁹ and other places. This list of places indicates that his territories extended from Sanchor and Jalor in the south to Mandor in the north, including Nadol, the old seat of his ancestors. The Sundha hill-inscription further informs us that he curbed the pride of the Turuska, was not conquered by the Gurjara kings and put an end to the Sindhurāja.¹⁰ D. R. Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that he is identical with the Marwarī Udayasimha who is mentioned in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* as assisting the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavalā (c. 1219-44 A.D.) against a Muslim invader.¹¹ Sindhurāja has also been identified by the same scholar with the Lāṭa Cāhamāna Sindhurāja, whose son Samgrāmarāja is represented in the same drama as in league with the Yādava Simhana (c. 1210-47 A.D.) and the Parāmarā Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) against Vīradhavalā.¹² The conflict of Udayasimha, who extended his territories as far north as Mandor, with the Turuskas was inevitable. I have already suggested that the invasion of the *Mīlacchīkāna* in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* was probably the military campaign of the Delhi Sultān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), which he undertook in A. H. 624 (c. 1226 A.D.)¹³ and in which he

¹ Mod Jalor

² Mod Mandor, north of the Jodhpur town

³ Mod Barmer in Mallani

⁴ Mod Suracand

⁵ Mod Kher, between Tilwara and Balotra

⁶ Mod Ramsen

⁷ Mod Bhinmal

⁸ Mod Ratanpura

⁹ Mod Sanchor

¹⁰ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 73 and 78, V 46

¹¹ *EI*, Vol XI, p 76, see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1021

¹² *Ibid*, see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Caulukyas*, p 1031. The word Sindhu-rāja may also mean king of Sindhu which country was not very far from the boundary of Udayasimha's kingdom

¹³ *TN*, Vol I, p 611, see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1021, fn 7

captured 'Mandawar (Mandor) within the limits of the Siwālīkh (territory)'. But Udayasinha appears to have also come into conflict with the Delhi Sultān earlier than that date. Ḥasan Nigāmī relates that sometime between 1211 and 1216 A D "they represented to his Majesty (Shams ud Dīn) that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewār (Jalor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, 'and once or twice mention of evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shams ud Dīn accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by 'a number of the pillars of the states such as Rukn ud-Dīn Hamza 'Izz ud Dīn Bakhtiyār Nasīr ud Dīn Mardān Shāh Nasīr ud Dīn 'Alī and Badr ud Dīn Saukar tūgīn,' valiant men and skilful archers, took the way to Jālewār. By reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design. 'Udī Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewār, an extremely strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror. When the place was invested by Shams ud Dīn Udī Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came 'with his head and his feet naked and placed his forehead on the earth' and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rājā presented respectfully an hundred of camels and twenty horses in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. The Sultān then returned to Delhi."

But the struggle still went on, and about 1226 A D Iltutmish undertook another campaign, in which he is reported to have captured Mandor which according to the Sundha hill inscription

was one of Udayasimha's possessions. According to the Sundha inscription, Udayasimha was 'a scholar, conversant with the great works of Bharata¹ and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jāvālipura. His queen was Pihlādanadevī who bore him two sons Cācigadeva and Cāmundarāja.² A Bhinmal inscription shows that Udayasimha had another son named Vāhadasimha,³ while the Jain writers indicate that he had also a daughter who was married to Vīrama, the eldest son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavalā.⁴ A MS of Rāmācandra's *Nubhayabhīma-vyāyoga* is dated in (V) S 1306, in the victorious reign of *Mahārājakula* Udayasimhadeva.⁵ At the end of his work entitled *Vivekavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyada family, who was looked upon as son by Devapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Cāhavāna dynasty and the lord of Jāvālipura.⁶

According to the Sundha inscription Udayasimha was succeeded by Cācigadeva, also known as Cāca. This record describes Cāciga as "destroying the roaring Gūṛjara lord Vīrama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Pātuka, depriving of his colour Sanga and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara."⁷ Kielhorn has suggested the identification of the 'Gūṛjara lord Vīrama' with the elder son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavalā, who according to the Jain writers Rājasekhara and Harsa Gani was prevented from succeeding his father Vīradhavalā by the intrigues of the minister Vastupāla.⁸ As these writers assert that he was

¹ *Viz*, Bharata's *Nāṭya śāstra*

² *EI*, Vol IX, pp 73 and 78

³ *BG*, Vol I, Part I, pp 481 ff

⁴ *IA*, Vol VI, p 190

⁵ *EI*, Vol XI, p 76, Paterson's *First Report* (1882-83), p 156

⁶ *EI*, Vol XI, p 76, Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit MSS for 1883-84*, p 156

⁷ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 73 and 78, V 50

⁸ *EI*, Vol IX, p 73, see also *IA*, Vol VI, p 190 and *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, chapter on the *Caulukyās*, pp 1032-33

poisoned at his father in law Udayasimha's court at Jāvāhpura, and as Viradhavala died when Udayasimha was still reigning, it has been suggested that Cāciga, may have brought about his death during his father's reign¹ The other princes cannot be satisfactorily identified²

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Cāciga

(1) *Sundha hill stone inscription*—Found on the Sundha hill,³ about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura, in the district of the same name in Jodhpur State It contains 50 lines of writing The record opens with two verses invoking the moon on the forehead of Sambhu (Śiva) and Pārvatī, and then traces the genealogy of the family from 'the hero Cāhamāna, a source of great joy to the Rāj Vatsa to Cāciga It is a *prāsaśti* of Cāciga composed by the Jain Sūri Jayamaṅgala, and is dated in (V) S 1319 (A D 1262) Cāciga is stated to have remitted certain taxes at Śrīmāla, granted funds at Rāmasaṅya for the worship of the god Vīgrahāditya, and visited the Sugandhādri, where he established a *maṇḍapa* at the temple of the goddess Cāmunḍā, known by the name of Aghaṭṣavārī⁴

(2) *Kareḍa stone inscription*.—Found at Kareḍa in Mewar It is dated (V) S 1326 (c 1269 A D) in the reign of Cācigadeva⁵

(3) *Bhīnmal stone-inscription* (i)—Incised 'on the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars (of Jayasvāmī's temple) at Bhīnmal It contains 24 lines, and is dated in (V) S 1330 (c 1274 A D) It records some donations to the god Jayasvāmī by one

¹ *HI* Vol. XI p. 76.

² For suggestions, see *ibid.*

³ In the inscription it is called *Sugandhādri*

⁴ Ed. by Kielhorn *HI* Vol. IX, pp. 70-79

⁵ Noticed in *HI* Vol. XI pp. 76-77

Subhata for the spiritual benefit of *Rājādhīrāja* Udayasimha and himself.¹

(4) *Bhimmal stone-inscription (ii)*.—25 lines, incised in a fallen pillar on the bank of Jaikop lake at Bhinmal, and is dated in V S. 1333 (c 1277 A.D.) at the holy Śīmāla, in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Ca(?)cigadeva, during the term of office of the *Pañc* consisting of *Maha*. Gajasīha and others. It registers some grants by the Naigama *Kāyastha* Subhata for worship and services to the Tīrthaukara Mahāvīra²

(5) *Bhimmal stone-inscription (iii)*.—13 lines, incised on the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north part of dome pillars (of the temple of Jagasvāmī) at Bhinmal. It is dated in (V) S 1334 (c 1278 A.D.), in the reign of the same as in (4), and records donations to the treasury of the god Jagasvāmī by one *Maha* Dedaka.³

These five inscriptions give us dates from V S. 1319 (A D 1262) to 1334 (c 1278 A D.) for the reign of Cāciga. From an inscription originally found at Butia (Budhatia), but now deposited at the Ajmer Museum it appears that Cācigadeva, or Cāca, as he is called, had a queen named Lakṣmīdevī from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādevī⁴. There is some doubt as to his successor. We have inscriptions dated in the years 1339 to 1355 V S (c 1282-1298 A D.) for a prince named Sāmantasimha which were discovered at Bhinmal, Sanchol, Jolor and the neighbouring regions⁵. But unfortunately none of these mention the name of his father Rajput

¹ BG, Vol I, Part I, pp 478-80. The record is damaged, and though it evidently belongs to the reign of Cāciga, does not mention his name. Another Bhinmal inscription (iv) of Cāciga, dated in V S 1328, is noticed in EI, Vol XI, p 77.

² BG, Vol I, Part I, pp 480-81, No XII.

³ Ibid, pp 481-83, No XIII.

⁴ EI, Vol IV, p 312-14. Ibid, Vol XI, p 77. She was married to the Guhila (?) Tejasimha (c 1260-67 A D). See *infra*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the *Guhila* putras.

⁵ See BG, Vol I, Part I, pp 483-84, No XIV, pp 484-86, No XV, pp 486-88, No XVI, EI, Vol XI, pp 57-59, pp 59-60, pp 60-62, p. 60, fn 10.

bardic traditions however unanimously speak of Sāmantaśiṃha as the son of Udayasiṃha¹ As the dates and provenance of his records also show that he must have succeeded Udayasiṃha in the region over which the latter ruled, he may be accepted as his son Rūpādevī² of the Burtra inscription (V S 1340=A D 1284) was therefore a sister of Sāmantaśiṃha A Jalor inscription of Sāmantaśiṃha, dated in V S 1358 (c 1296 A D) gives the name of Kāṇhaḍadeva “as subsisting on the lotus feet of the Oāhamāna prince and bearing the burden of administration” This probably indicates that Kāṇhaḍadeva was a son of Sāmantaśiṃha who was acting as the *Yuvārāja* at the time of the inscription This conclusion is supported by the bardic chronicles of Rajputana³ This Kāṇhaḍadeva is certainly to be identified with “Kaner Deo,” the Raja of Jalor who was a feudatory of ‘Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (A D 1296 1316)⁴

(8) Oāhamānas of Satyapura

The existence of this branch, the *Sāncōrās*, was known from the *Khyāta* of Muhaṇota Nainsī⁵ who traced their descent from ‘Rāva Lāhara through Vijaisī the son of Ālhaṇa This last prince must be identified with the Ālhaṇa of the Nadol branch (c 1152 1160) According to Nainsī it was Vijaisī who first conquered Sanchor and he gives the following list of Vijaisī’s successors —

¹ *BI* Vol. XI p 77

² She married Tejasiṃha possibly the Guhlis prince of Aghāṭa of that name and had by him a son named Kṣetrasiṃha; *BI* Vol. IV pp. 312 ff.

³ *BI* Vol. XI, pp 60 ff.

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ See *BI* Vol. XI p 77 *TF* Briggs Trans. Vol. I pp 370 ff According to this authority Naher Deo (Kaner Deol) was killed and his fort was taken sometime before 709 A. D (A D 1309) See also *OHI* Vol. III p 111. For the successors of Kāṇhaḍadeva compiled mainly from Muhaṇota Nainsī, see D. R. Bhandarkar in *BI* Vol. XI, pp. 77 ff. Two inscriptions one of Vanavīra (V S 1394) and one of his son Ranavīra (V S 1443) are known, see *ibid* pp 62-64

⁶ Muhaṇota Nainsī in *Khyāta* (Prathamā bhāga) Hindī Trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dagaḍa, pp. 171 ff also *BI* Vol. XI p 73.

Vijāsi (Vijayasīmha)
|
Padama-sī (Padmasīmha)
|
Sobhrama
|
Sālo
|
Vikāma-sī
|
Pātō

This Pātō has been identified with the Cāhamāna Pratāpasimha whose stone pillar-inscription dated in (V.) S 1444 (c 1387 A. D.) was found at Sanchol¹. This inscription gives the following genealogy of Pratāpasimha, whom it represents as reigning at Satyapura (mod Sanchol)

In the family of the Cāhamāna king
Lakṣmanasīmha of Nadūla

Virasīha of
 Karpūradhārā
 |
 King Mākada
 |
 Vairisālya
 |
 Subhata
 (Suhadaśalya)
 |
 Kāmlladevī =

Sobhita
 |
 Sālha liberated the people of
 Srīmala from the Turuskas
 |
 Vikramasimha
 |
 Samgrāmasimha Bhima
 |
 Pratāpasimha

It will be seen on comparing this list with that supplied by Nainsī that the two generally agree, the only differences are that the latter omits Samgrāmasimha, the father of Pratāpasimha (Pato). Combining the two documents we may conclude that like Kīrtipāla, another son of Ālhana, who conquered Jāvālipura (Jalor) and founded the *Sonigairā* branch, Vijayasimha conquered Satyapura (Sanchoi) and became the founder of the *Sāncoirā* branch of the Cāhamānas. The Sundha inscription shows that during the reign of the Sonigairā

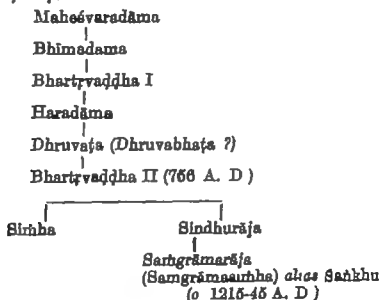
¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 64-67.

Udayasimha (c 1206-49 A D) Satyapura was within his dominions. A stone inscription of Sāmantasimha, Udayasimha's grandson, dated in V S 1345 (c 1288 A D), has also been found in Sanchor. We may therefore conclude that during this period (c 1206-88 A D) the *Sāncorās* were feudatories of the *Sonigarā* branch.

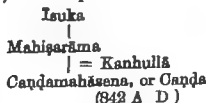
GENEALOGICAL TABLES¹

(Dates approximate)

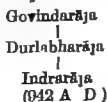
(1) *Cāhamānas of Lāṭa*



(2) *Cāhamānas of Dhavalapura*

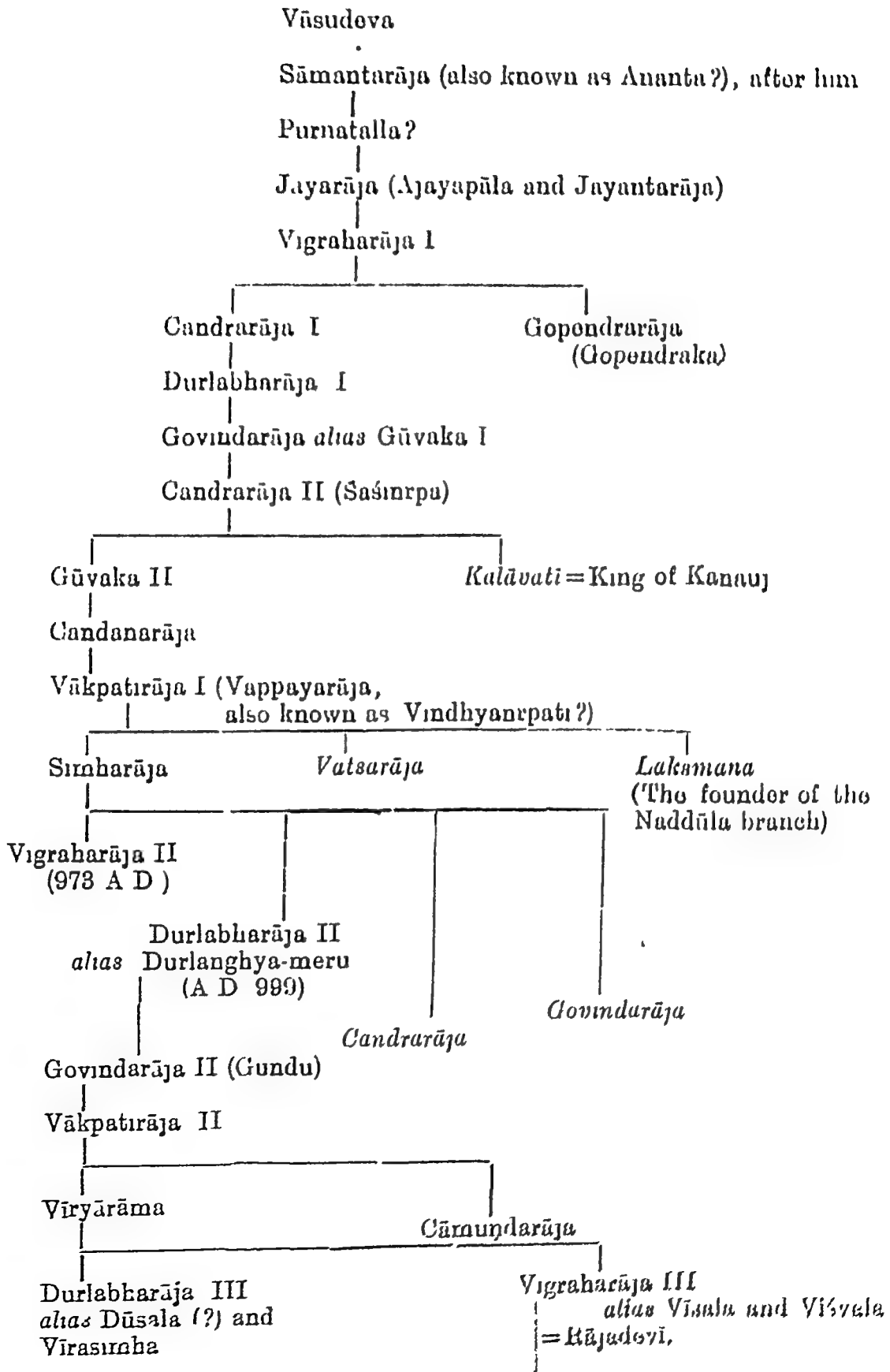


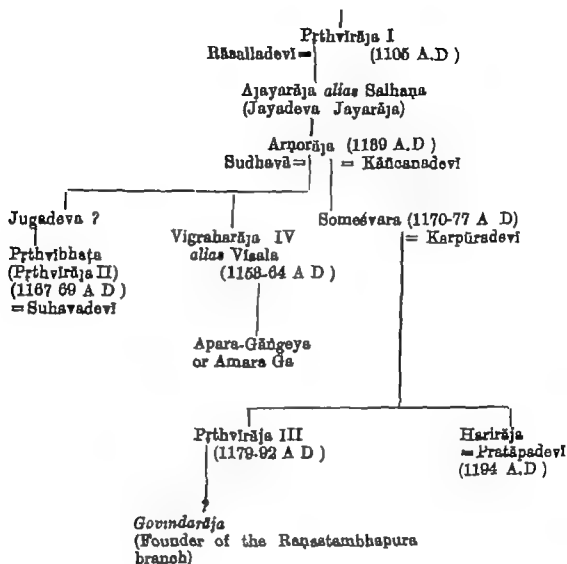
(3) *Cāhamānas of Partabgarh*



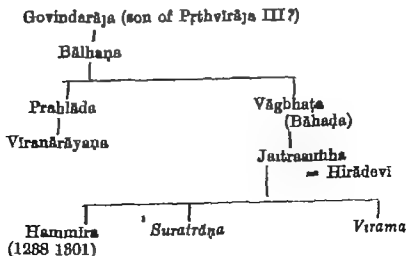
¹ Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is ordinarily indicated by vertical dots.

(4) *Cāhamānas of Sākambharī.*





(5) Cāhamānas of Rajastambhapura

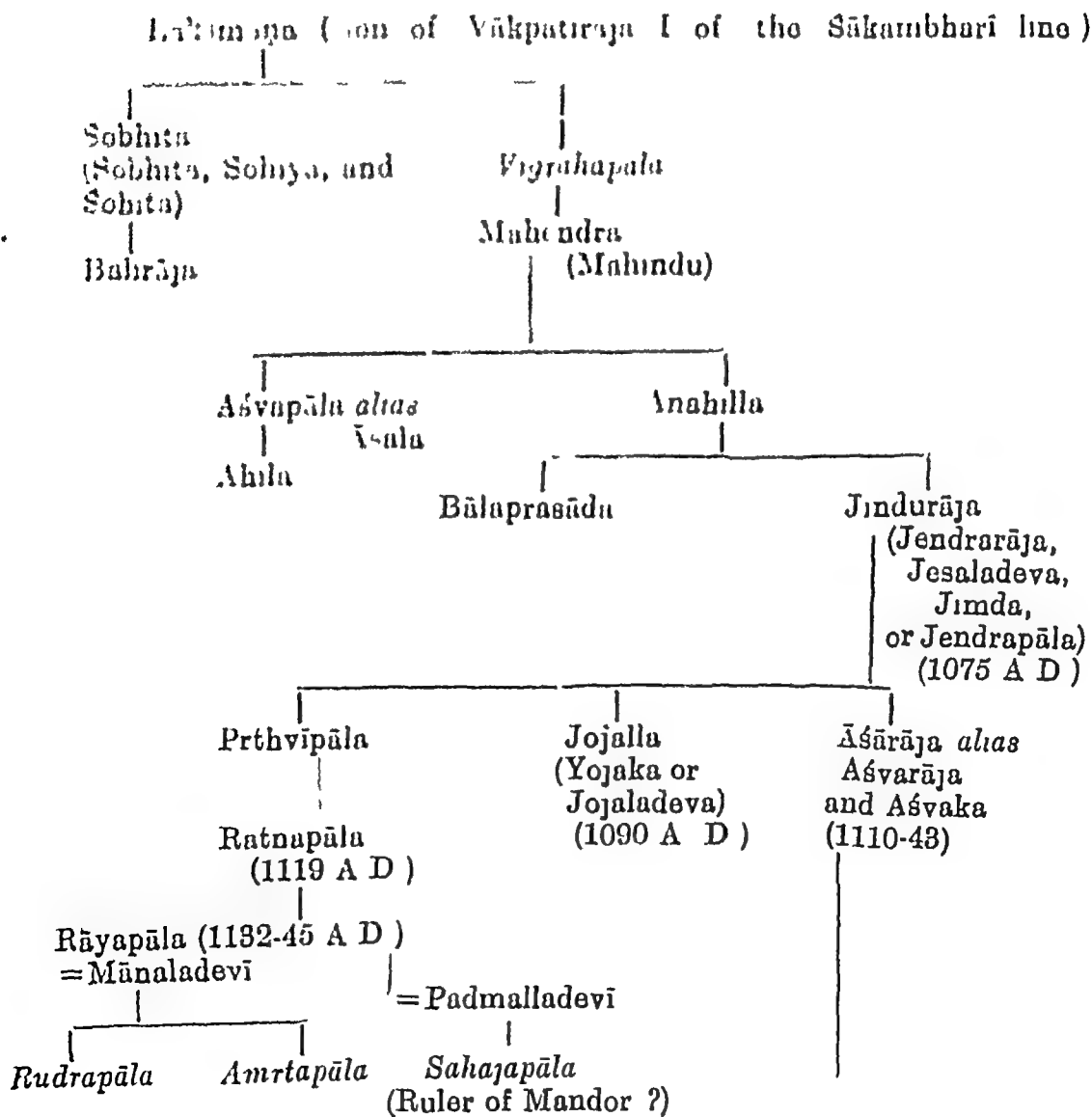


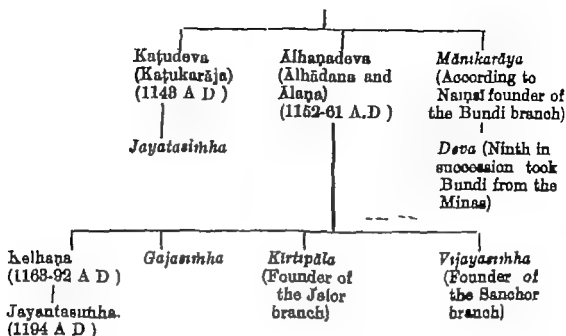
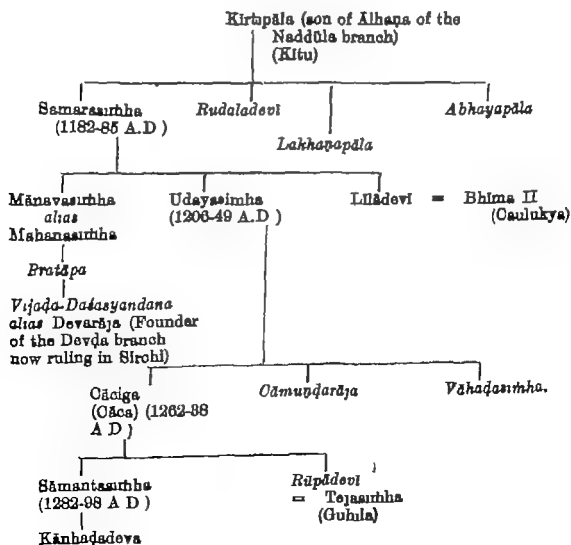
(6) *Chahamanas of Naddar (?)*

Prthvirāja III

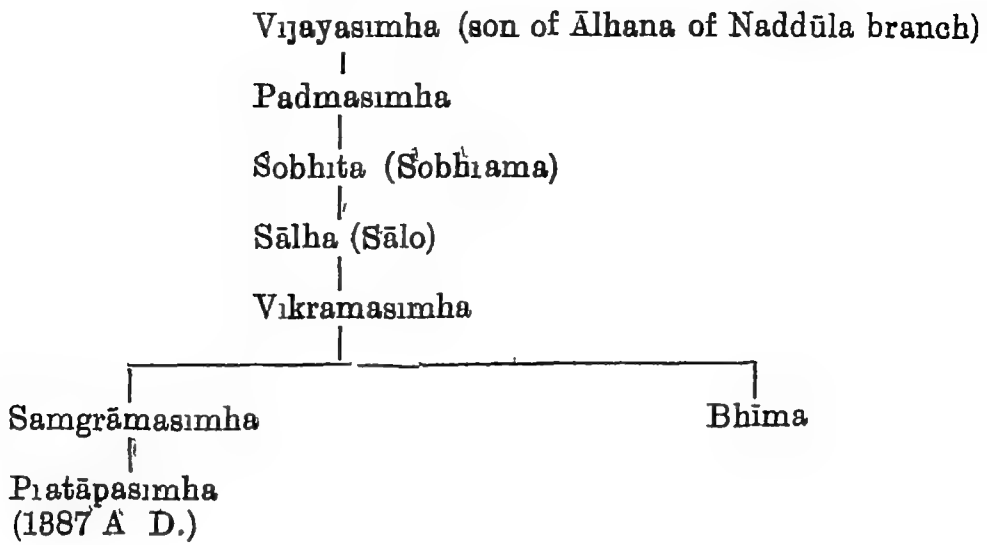
?
Cāhāda
| (c. 1237-51 A.D.)
Vaaladeva
| (c. 1251-79 A.D.)
Gopāla
|
Gopapati
(1298 A.D.)

(6) *Chahamanas of Naddar*



(7) *Odhamānas of Jāvalipura*

(8) *Cāhamānas of Satyapura.*

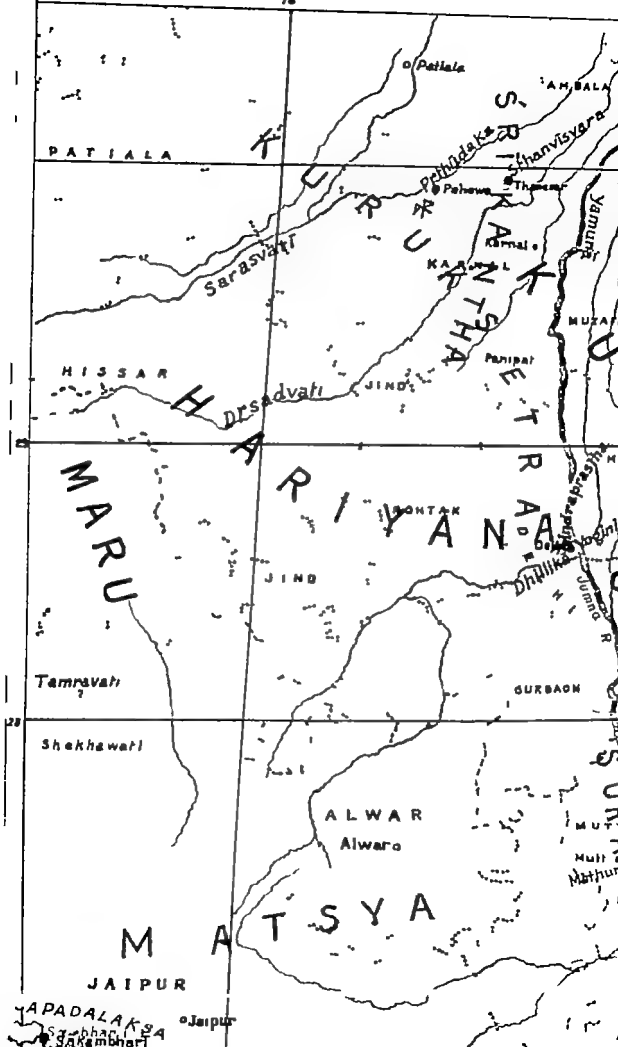


Bibliography

- 1 *Prthvirāja-vijaya* of Jayānaka (?) (with the commentary of Jonarāja), Edited by S K Belvalkar, *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series No 1400
- 2 *Some Account of the Genealogies in the Prthvirāja-vijaya* by James Morrison, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1893, Vol VII, pp 187-92
- 3 *Prthvirāja-vijaya* by H B Sarda, *JRAS*, 1918, pp 259-81
- 4 *Hammīra mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri, Ed by N J Kirtane (with an introduction), Bombay, 1879. Also the 'Introduction' reprinted in *IA*, Vol VIII, pp 55-73
- 5 *Hammīra mada mardana* of Jayasimha, *GOS*, No X
- 6 *Vasanta vilāsa* of Bālacandra *GOS*, No VII
- 7 *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga Ācārya, Trans by C H Tawney, Calcutta, 1901
- 8 *Dvayaśraya kāvya* of Hemacandra, outline of the narrative portion in *IA*, Vol IV, pp 72 ff
- 9 *Lalita vīgraharāja* of Somadeva, *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp 1-16
- 10 *Harakeli nāṭaka* of Vīgraharāja *Ibid*, pp 16-30
- 11 *Prthvirāja Rāso* of Cand Bardai, Ed by Mohanlal Vishanlal Pandia and Sham Sundar Das, Benares, 1913

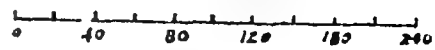
12. *The Antiquity, Authenticity and Genuineness of the Epic called the Prithī Rāj Rāsā, and commonly ascribed to Chand Bardai*, by Kaviraj Syamal Das, *JASB*, 1887, Vol. LV, pp. 5-65
13. *Some Reflections on Prthvīnāja Rāsā*, by R. R. Haldar, *JBRAS*, 1927 (Vol. III), pp. 203-11.
14. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, Trans by Raveity, Vol. I. Also Extracts, Trans in *Elliot*, Vol II, pp. 259 ff
15. *Khazāin ul Futūh* (also known as *Tārīkh-i-‘Ālāi*) of Amīr Kusrau, Ed. by S M Haq, Aligarh, 1927. Extracts, Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol III, pp. 67 ff. ; for a more correct translation of the text, see Habib, *Journal of Indian History*, 1929.
16. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Ākbarī*, Trans by B Dey.
17. *Tawārīkh-i-Firishta*, Trans by Briggs, Vol. I
18. *Tāj’ul-Ma’āthir* Extracts, Trans. in *Elliot*, Vol II, pp 204 ff
19. *Ta’rīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* of Barani Extracts, Trans in *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp 93 ff. Also translated by Major A. R. Fuller, *JASB*, 1869, Part I, pp. 181 ff
20. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Parts I and II
21. *Cāhamānas of Naddula*, by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol I, pp. 62 ff.
22. *Cāhamānas of Marwar*, by D. R Bhandarkar, *EI*, Vol XI, pp. 67 ff.
23. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, by V. A. Smith, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906.

- 24 *Coins of Mediaeval India*, by Cunningham, London, 1894
 - 25 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Tod, Ed by Crooke Milford, 1920
 - 26 *Ras Mala*, by Forbes, Ed by Rawlinson, Oxford
 - 27 *Hamnira of Ranthambhor*, by H B Sarda
 - 28 *Surjan carita of Candrasekhara* (Unpublished Govt MS, No 1135, preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal)
 - 29 *Hammir Rāso*, by Jodhrāja (a Gauḍīya Brāhman, composed in 1885 V S in the court of Cāhuvāna prince Cāndravāna of Nīmarānā in Alwar) Published by Nāgarī pracārini Sabhā, Benares, 1906
 - 30 *Muhanota Namsi ki Khyāta (Prathama bhāga)* Hindi Trans by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dugaḍa, Nāgarī pracārini Sabhā, Kāśī, *Samvat* 1982
-



TOMARAS OF DELHI

English Miles

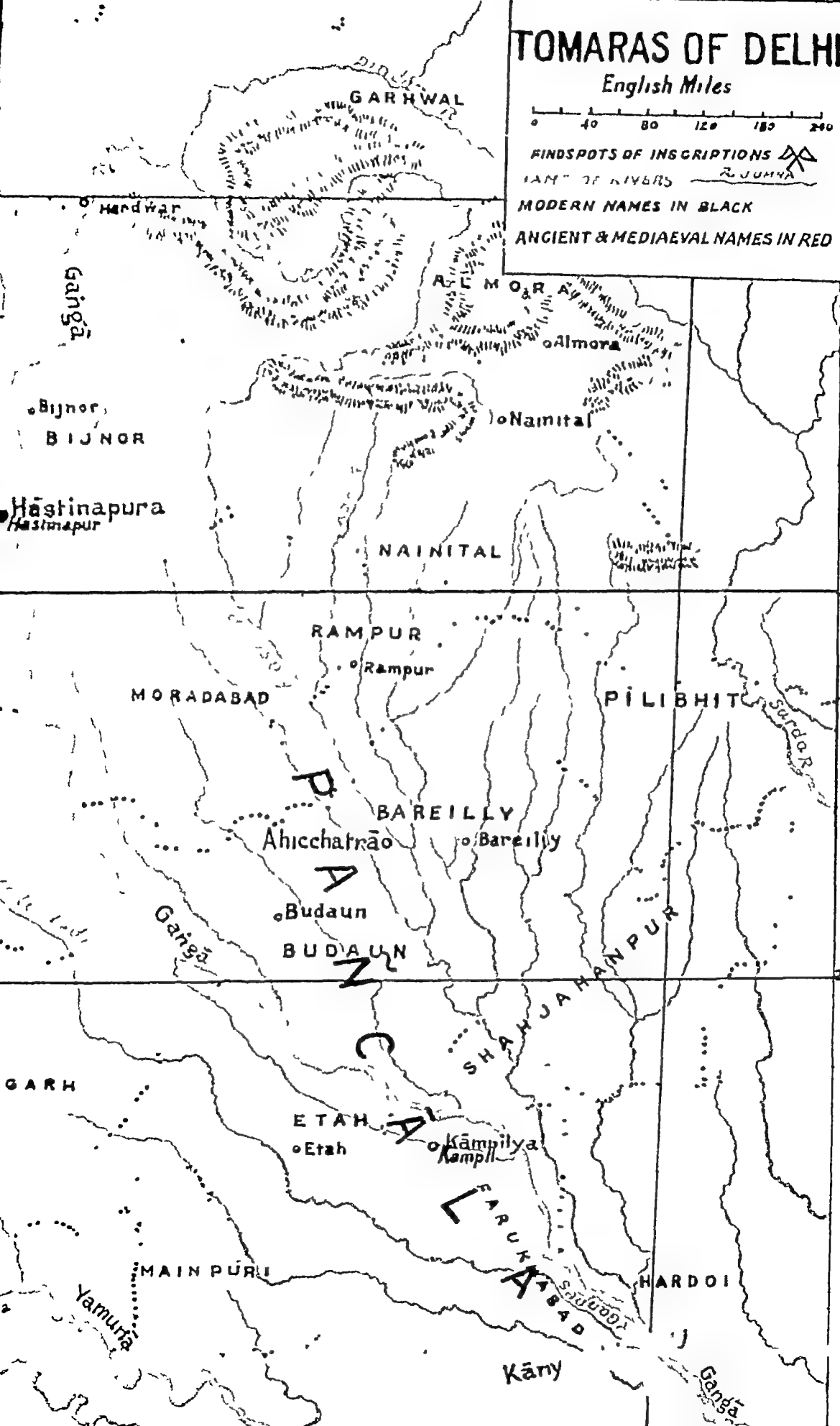


PLACES OF INSCRIPTIONS

NAME OF RIVERS

MODERN NAMES IN BLACK

ANCIENT & MEDIAEVAL NAMES IN RED



CHAPTER XVII

THE TOMARAS (TUARS) OF DELHI

The Tomaras ¹ are recognised as one of the 36 celebrated Rajput tribes. According to the bardic tradition, 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V S. 792 (A D. 736)² and established the Tomara dynasty, which came to an end when the 20th prince, another Anangapāla, abdicated in favour of his grandchild the Cauhān Prthvīrāja (c. 1182-92 A D).³ It is difficult to estimate the element of truth in this tradition. But the statement that Delhi passed under Cāhamāna control in the reign of Pīthvīrāja is certainly wrong. The Delhi Siwalik pillar-inscriptions of Viśaladeva-Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī show that Delhi was already under the rule of the Cāhamānas in 1161 A D.⁴ It is however likely that the Tomaras were in control of the region round Delhi before Viśaladeva conquered it in the middle of the 12th century. A Delhi Museum inscription dated in 1328 A D. in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq ⁵ (1325-51 A.D.), tells us :

“ There is a country called Hariyāna, ⁶ a very heaven on earth there lies the city called Dhīlikā ⁷ built by the Tomaras.

Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Cāhamāna kings intent on protecting their subjects established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down

¹ Also known as *Tuar* and *Tonwar*, see *AR*, Vol I, p 104

² *CMI*, p 81, Tod gives the date as S 848 (A D 792) See *AR*, Vol I, p 104. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 'Delhi is the old city built by idolators' *Elliot*, Vol III, p 589

³ *AR*, Vol I, pp 38, 104ff

⁴ *IA*, Vol XIX, p 218 See also *DHNI*, Vol II, *supra*, p 1076

⁵ Edited by Eggeling, *EI*, Vol I, pp 93-95

⁶ Identified by Kielhorn with mod Hariyana in the Hissar district of the Punjab

⁷ Mod Delhi Dhīlī-pura "was renowned under the name of Yoginipura," see *JASB*, Vol XLIII, Part I, pp 106 and 109, also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1094 But see *EI*, XXI, 281

CHAPTER XVII

THE TOMARAS (TUARS) OF DELHI

The Tomaras¹ are recognised as one of the 36 celebrated Rajput tribes. According to the bardic tradition, 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V.S. 792 (A.D. 736)² and established the Tomara dynasty, which came to an end when the 20th prince, another Anangapāla, abdicated in favour of his grandchild the Cauhān Prthvīrāja (c. 1182-92 A.D.).³ It is difficult to estimate the element of truth in this tradition. But the statement that Delhi passed under Cāhamāna control in the reign of Prthvīrāja is certainly wrong. The Delhi Siwalik pillar-inscriptions of Viśaladeva-Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī show that Delhi was already under the rule of the Cāhamānas in 1162 A.D.⁴ It is however likely that the Tomaras were in control of the region round Delhi before Viśaladeva conquered it in the middle of the 12th century. A Delhi Museum inscription dated in 1328 A.D. in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq⁵ (1325-51 A.D.), tells us :

"There is a country called Hariyāna,⁶ a very heaven on earth · there lies the city called Dhillikā⁷ built by the Tomaras.

Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Cāhamāna kings intent on protecting their subjects established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

¹ Also known as *Tuar* and *Tonwar*, see *AR*, Vol I, p 104

² *CMI*, p 81, Tod gives the date as S 848 (A D 792) See *AR*, Vol. I, p 104. According to Ibn Batūṭa 'Delhi is the old city built by idolators' *Elliot*, Vol III, p 589

³ *AR*, Vol I, pp 38, 104ff

⁴ *IA*, Vol XIX, p 218 See also *DHNI*, Vol II, *supra*, p 1076

⁵ Edited by Eggeling, *EI*, Vol I, pp 93-95

⁶ Identified by Kielhorn with mod Hariyana in the Hissar district of the Punjab

⁷ Mod Delhi Dhilli-pura "was renowned under the name of Yoginipura," see *JASB*, Vol XLIII, Part I, pp 106 and 109, also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p 1094 But see *EI*, XXI, 281

Thereupon the *mleccha* *Sāhavadīna*,¹ having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force ”

The Palam Baoli² inscription dated in V S 1337 (c 1280) in the reign of Balban (1266-87 A D) also says

“ The land of Hariyānaka was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Cauhānas . It is now ruled by the Śaka kings

First came Sāhavadīna, then came Khuduvadīna,³ then Asamasadīna,⁴ then Pheruṣa sāhi,⁵ became king ”

On the basis of these inscriptions we may perhaps conclude that the Cāhamāna Visaladeva conquered Delhi from the Tomaras sometime before 1164 A.D and that it was the Tomaras who really founded Delhi . The capture of Delhi by Visaladeva in the middle of the 12th century was probably the culmination of a series of struggles between the Tomaras and Cāhamānas . This is revealed by the Harṣa stone-inscription of Viṅraharāja, dated in V S 1080 (A D 979) ⁷ We are told that his great-grandfather Candana (c 900 A D) secured the fortune of victory by slaying on the battlefield the proud Tomara lord (Tomareśa) king (bhūpa) Rudrena ⁸ The struggle between Tomara and Cāhamāna did not apparently cease with the death of Rudrena . For we are told further on in the same inscription that Śiṅgharāja (c 950 A.D) Viṅgharāja's father, defeated another Tomara leader (Tomara nāyaka) ⁹

¹ Shihāb ud-Dīn Ghūrī (died March 15 1206 A.D)

² From the village of Boher in the Rohtak district Panjab Hence sometimes called Boher Palam Baoli inscription

³ Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak (1206-1210 A D)

⁴ Shams ud Dīn Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D)

⁵ Bakn ud Dīn Firīs (1236 A D)

⁶ Edited by R. L. Mitra, *JASB* Vol. XLIII, pp 104-10 see also *EI* Vol V Appendix p. 34 No. 239

⁷ *EI* Vol II, pp 116E. See also *DHNI* Vol II, *supra*, pp 1164-66.

⁸ Rudrapāla? See *HI* Vol. V p. 7 No. 44.

⁹ See *HI* Vol. II, p. 131 fn. 34 and p 127 V 19 It must be clearly understood that my assumption of the connection of these Tomaras with Delhi is mere guess. There is no definite proof

An earlier inscription which seems to show the settlement of Tomaras in the Karnal district of the Punjab is the undated Pehowa¹ *prāśasti* of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahendrapāla (c 893-90 A.D.)² Verses 6-19 of this record gives the following account of a local Tomara family who were apparently feudatories or officials of the Pratīhāra emperors. The pedigree of the family is given as follows :—

In the exalted Tomara-vamśa

Rājā Jāula (Vs 6-8)

Vajrata = Mangaladevī (Vs 9-10)

Nāyikā = Jajjuka = Cand.ā
(Vs 11-13)

Pūrnarāja (Vs 15-16)	Devarāja (Vs. 17-19)	Gogga (V. 14) <i>bhūnātha</i> .
-------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------------

As Jāula is called a *rājā* and is said to have 'obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king,' it is possible that he was either a petty feudatory chief or a high official, in the employment of some powerful king. The identity of this sovereign is very doubtful, as we do not know how many generations intervened between him and the next mentioned prince, Vajrata. But from the statement that his race continued to be the 'home of joyful prospering intimates of princes' we may perhaps conclude that the successors of Jāula continued to prosper. Vajrata, we are told, 'gained a lofty exaltation through the most pure business transactions.' It seems likely from the subsequent description of the record that Jajjuka with his three sons entered the military service of their sovereign. We are next told that Jajjuka's three sons founded at Prthūdaka,

¹ Ancient Prthūdaka, in Kurukṣetra. It is situated in Lat 29° 59'N and Long 76° 35'E, in Kaithal *tahsil*, Karnal district, 16 miles west of Thanewar, *IGI*, Vol. XX, p 100

² *EI*, Vol I, pp 242 ff

on the bank of the Sarasvatī, a triple temple of Viṣṇu in the reign of Mahendrapāla

This inscription seems to show that these Tomaras were settled in the Karnal area and were in the employ of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla. But, as Kielhorn noticed¹ long ago, it is impossible to be positive, "for Prthūdaka was a place of so great sanctity, that even pious men from distant countries may have built temples there, and if strangers did so, their inscriptions as a matter of course would mention the ruling king of the country." It is again impossible to venture any definite opinion about the relationship of these Tomaras with the Tomaras of Delhi who were defeated by the Cāhamānas. But in view of epigraphic fact and bardic tradition, which connect the Tomaras with Delhi, we may perhaps be allowed to guess that members of Jāula's family were residents of the area formerly known as the Delhi Division of the Punjab.

From the above discussion we may conclude that the Tomaras were settled in the district round Delhi from at least the 9th century A.D. During the reign of Bhoja (c. 896-82 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla (c. 893-907 A.D.) they came into the orbit of the mighty Pratihāra empire.² But soon after, about the beginning of the 10th century, as the Pratihāra power began to decline, a section of the tribe probably founded an independent principality round Delhi.³ With the rise of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī they soon came into conflict with them. The struggle practically ended with the capture of Delhi by Viśaladeva some time before 1164 A.D.

If these conclusions are correct, it seems likely that before the middle of the 12th century the Tomaras had to dispute with

¹ *SI* Vol. I, p. 244.

² The Delhi fragmentary stone-inscription of Bhoja was found fixed on a small piece of stone built into the 9th step inside the *Pāṇḍava kī kūt*. *Rajasthan Museum Report*, 1924 p. 3. In the opinion of some scholars this shows that the Tomaras ruled in Delhi after the Pratihāras. I agree with them if they mean by rule—rule as sovereigns.

³ According to an authority cited by Raverty in A.D. 998-4. But other dates are also recorded: see *OH* 1923 p. 196 fn. 1.

the Muslim invaders the passage of the 'Delhi gate.' The king of Delhi who tried to prevent Maḥmūd of Ghazni's sack of Thanesar in A.D. 1014,¹ was very possibly a Tomara. Another occasion when the Tomaras appear to have come into conflict with the Yamīnīs was when Majdūd, the brother of Maudūd (1040-49 A.D.), captured Thanesar and was waiting about 1041-42 A.D. at Hansi for an opportunity to attack Delhi.²

Before we conclude this meagre account of the Tomaras of Delhi we must take note of the following 5 kings whose names with approximate dates have been placed by Cunningham under the caption 'Tomaras of Delhi and Kanauj :'

1. Sallaksanapāla-deva (c. 978-1003 A.D.)
2. Ajayapāla-deva (c. 1003-19 A.D.)
3. Kumārapāla-deva (c. 1019-49 A.D.)
4. Anangapāla-deva (c. 1049-79 A.D.)
5. Mahīpāla-deva (c. 1103-1128 A.D.)

Then names were all taken from legends of coins which are of the usual 'Bull and horseman' or the 'Seated goddess' type.³ I do not know the reason that led him to identify them with the Tomaras. His attempt to prove that the 'Bauūra' king of Kanauj mentioned by the Arab chroniclers were 'Tovara or Tomara' princes is hardly convincing.⁴ I have shewn elsewhere⁵ that 'Bauura' probably was a corrupt form of the word 'Pratīhāra,' members of which dynasty ruled in Kanauj at the time of the visit of the Arab writers mentioned above.⁶ In support of the identification of one of these princes, named Anangapāla, some feeble evidence seems to be contained in the bardic

¹ *TF*, Trans by Briggs, Vol I, pp 62ff, see also *CHI*, Vol III, p 18. If there is any foundation in Firishṭa's statement that the prince of Delhi helped Anandapāla against Maḥmūd in 1008 A.D. (*DHNI*, Vol I, pp 91-92) that prince must also be assumed to be a Tomara. *TF*, *ibid*, p 46.

² *CHI*, Vol III, p 32.

³ For these coins see *CMI*, p 85, *CCIM*, pp 256, 259-60.

⁴ *CMI*, p 80.

⁵ See *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol I, chapter on the *Dynastic History of Sind*, pp 4, fn 3, 15, etc.

⁶ Mas 'ūdī (943 A.D.), *Elliot*, Vol I, pp. 22-23. Read with this the statement of

tradition about the three Tomara princes of that name¹ and the statement of Amīr Khusrau² that he "heard a story that in Delhi about five or six hundred years ago, there was a great *Rājā* called Anangpāl"³ Cunningham identified this Anangpāl of Amīr Khusrau with the traditional founder of Delhi, and the Anāṅga pāla of the coins with the second prince of that name in the bardic lists of the Rājputs⁴

¹ *CMI* p. 84.

² Died 1325 A.D.

³ *Nilot*, Vol. III, p. 565. Cunningham (*CMI* p. 81) finds a verification of the date of Anāṅgapāla I given by the bards and Khusrau in the inscription on the Iron Pillar of Delhi: (G ?) *Sam* 418 (A.D. 786) *Raja Tanwar Idi Anang*. But neither Kielhorn nor Bhandarkar refer to this inscription in their list of Northern inscriptions *SI* Vols. V, VIII and XX.

⁴ For the Tomaras at Gopācala (Gwalior) see the stone-inscription of Mītrasena dated in V.S. 1688 *JASB* Vol. VIII, Part II pp 693-701; the Narwar pillar inscription *ibid* Vol XXXI, p. 404 plate IV; *ASR* Vol. II pp 381ff.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

Anangapāla c 740 A.D (?)

Rudrena (Rudrapāla ?)
c. 900 A.D

Line of Jāula.

Jāula

Vajrata=Mangala-devī

Nāyikā = Jajjuka = Candrikā.

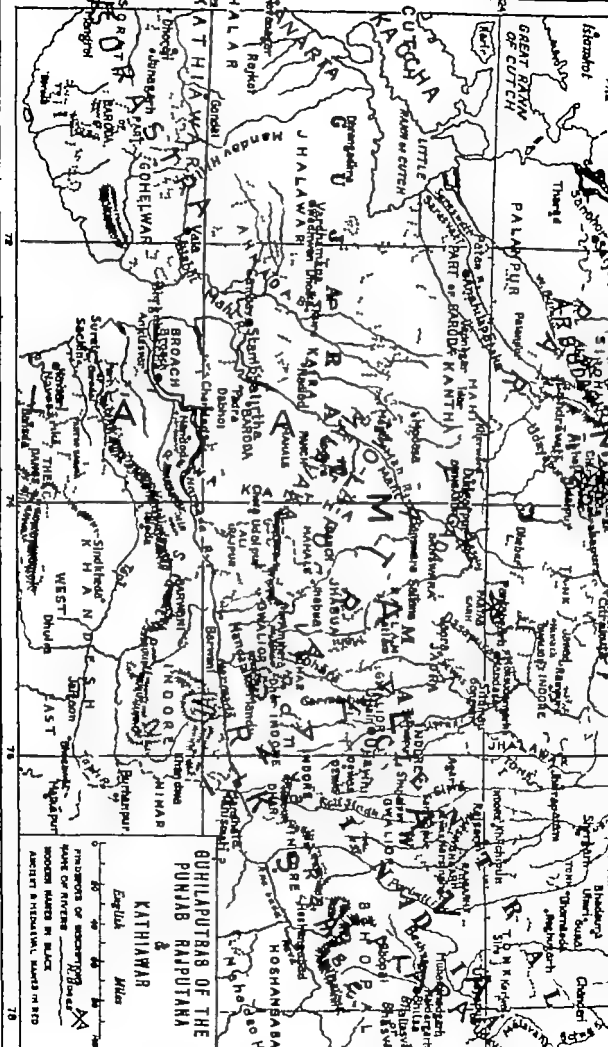
Pūrnarāja

Devārūja

Gogga
(c. 890-910 A.D).

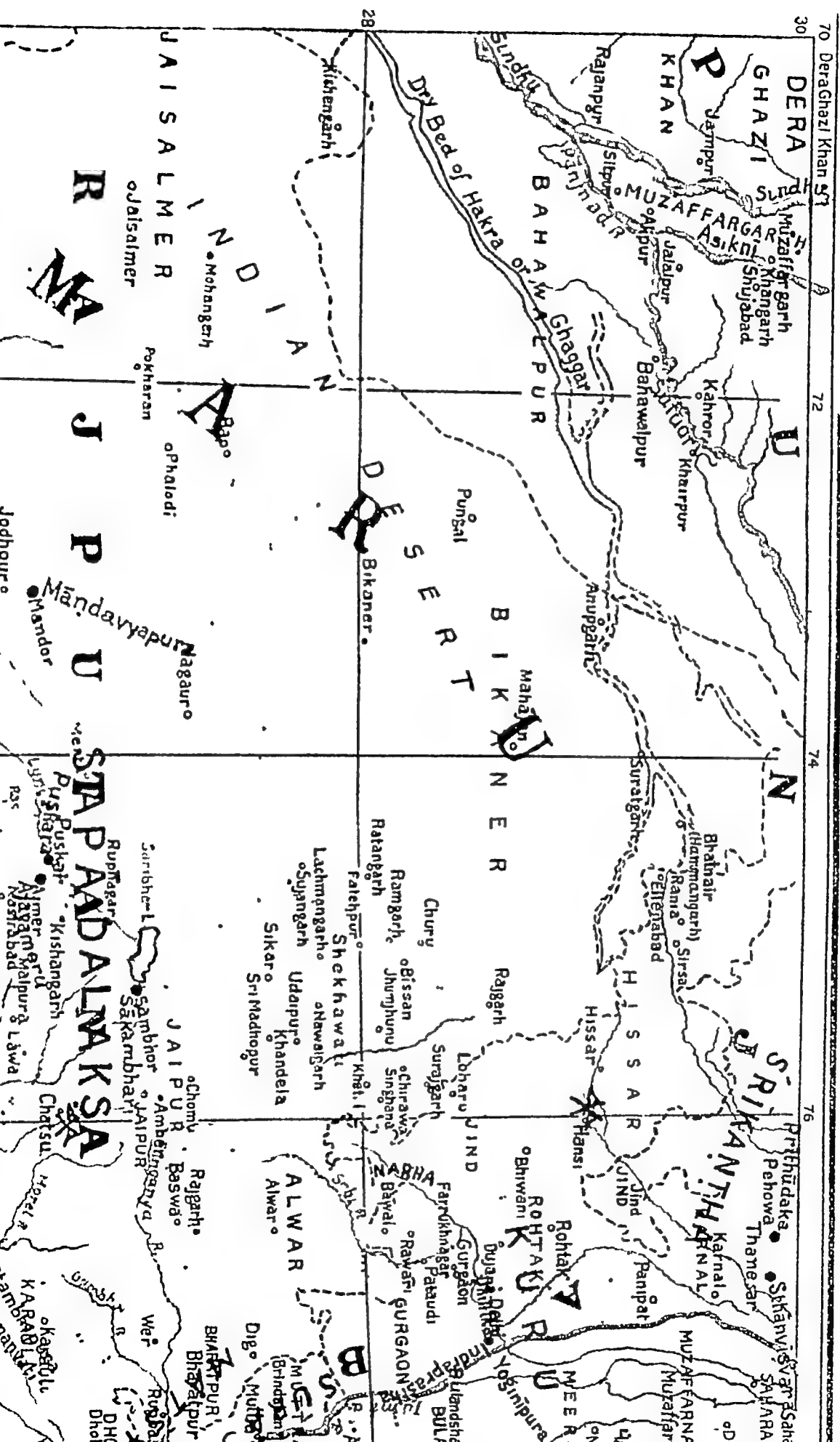
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 *Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Ed by William Crooke Oxford, 1920, Vols I and II
 - 2 *Coins of Mediaeval India*, by Cunningham London, 1894
 - 3 *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol I, by V Smith
 - 4 *Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham, Vol II
-



DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (Early Mediaeval Period) VOL. II

MAP



CHAPTER XVIII

THE GUHILA-PUTRAS (GUHILOTS) OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND KATHIAWAR.

The rise and early history of the Guhila-putras,¹ are shrouded in mystery, and still remains a subject of great controversy. According to the bardic tradition, the Guhila-putras belong to the Solar line,² and are direct descendants of Rāma³ through Sumitra, Kanakasena and Śilāditya (the last of the Valabhī princes of Gujarat). The story runs 'hat after the fall of Valabhī in 524 A.D., Puspavatī, the daughter of the Paramāra prince of Candrāvātī and queen of Śilāditya, who had escaped the tragic fate of her husband, was delivered of a son in a cave (*guhā*). The child grew up in charge of Kamalāvātī, the married daughter of a Brāhman of Birnagar. When the child grew up, he came to be known as Guhila (cave-born), and was elected king by the Bhils of Idar.⁴ The Bhils however in time

¹ Sometimes *Gobhila-putra* (*EI*, Vol II, pp. 10 ff); *Guhila-putra* (*JASB*, Vol LV, Part I, pp 18 and 48), *Guhalaūtra* (*ASI*, *WC*, 1911-12, p 59); *Guhila-uta* (*IA*, 1912, pp 17 ff), *Guhila-vaṃsa* (*IA*, Vol XXII, pp 80 ff, *ibid*, Vol XVI, pp 315 ff), *Guhila-gotra* (*JBRAS*, Vol XXII, pp 166 ff), *Guhil-āṅgaṇa-vaṃsa* (*WZKM*, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff), *Guhil-ānvaya* (*EI*, Vol IV, pp 29 ff), *Guhilākhyānvaya* (*BI*, pp 158 ff), *Guhilya-vaṃsa* (*BI*, pp 74 ff) The form *Guhilot* or *Gehlōt* is a further corruption from *Guhila-uta*

² *Sūryavaṃśī* (Children of the sun) *Sūrya-vaṃśīya-M-Śrī-Śilāditya vaṃśe-Śrī-Guhadatta-raula* (*BI*, p. 141, lines 27-29) But the Guhilots also sometimes claimed to belong to the family of the Moon (*Mrgāṅka-vaṃśa*) See *ibid*, lines 33-36 *Mrgāṅka-vaṃśodyota kāraka-pratāpa-mārttandāvatāra Rānā-śrī-Kumbhakarna* I am indebted for this reference to Dr H C Raychaudhury

³ *Raghuvamśī*, derived from a predecessor of Rāma Note also that Abu'l Fazl (*AAK*, Vol II, p 268) says that the Rānās of Mewar consider themselves as descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvān (c 531-79 A D), king of Persia, also *AR*, Vol I, pp 271 ff See also *BG* (Vol I, Part I, p 102) which considers a marriage connection with the Valabhīs and the fugitive daughter of the last Sassanian (A D 651) as 'not impossible'

⁴ No doubt the State of that name in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, east of Vadnagar.

grew tired of foreign rule, and rising in rebellion killed the 8th prince of his line, Nāgāditya. His son Bappa was at that time an infant, only three years of age. The descendants of Kamalāvatī, who had become the hereditary priests of Guhila's successors, again came to the rescue of the family. Under their protection Bappa was removed to the hilly region known as Nagindra¹ (mod Nagda, near Udaipur). While tending cows in this retreat he found favour with a sage named Hārta, a devotee of the god Ekahūga (Śiva). Hārta accepted the boy as his disciple and through his favour Bappa obtained invulnerability and other supernatural gifts. When Hārta went to heaven, Bappa entered the service of his uncle, the Mori (Maurya)² prince of Ohitor. After successfully repulsing a 'barbarian' expedition from 'Gajni, he dethroned the Mori king and seized the crown. Thus was laid the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewar³.

Scholars are unanimous that there are some elements of truth in this tradition. For instance, it is accepted that the ancestors of the Guhila putras originally migrated from Gujarat. The close association of the early founders with the Brāhmins is also taken to be true. But while one school is still trying to prove the descent of the family from the kings of Valabhi,⁴ others⁵ have pointed out literary and epigraphic evidence to show their origin from the Brāhmins of Anandapura⁶ in Gujarat. The difficulty of connecting the origin of the Guhila-putras with the death of Śilāditya VII of Valabhi is obvious. For the latest known date for the latter is A D 766,⁷ and we have an inscription dated in A D 646 for Śila,⁸ the fifth prince

¹ Also known as Nāgadraka or Nāgahrada.

² The Morya or Maurya sub-branch of the Paramāras still exists. *Census Report Rajputana* 1911 I '26; AR Vol. I, p. 265 fn 3. See also *supra* DHNI Vol. II, p. 6.

³ AR; Vol. I pp. 247 ff.

⁴ JASB 1912 pp. 68-99; IA 1927 pp. 162-74.

⁵ JASB 1909 pp. 167-87; IA Vol. XXXIX, pp. 189-91.

⁶ Mod Vadnagar in Baroda State.

⁷ BG Vol. I Part I p. 93.

⁸ JASB, 1909 p. 181.

of the Guhila-putra family. Assigning a period of twenty years for each reign, we must place Guhadatta or Guhila, the first prince, to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., clearly two centuries before his supposed father. The attempt to connect the reigning family of Mewar with Śilāditya VII and the fall of Valabhī must therefore be given up. In the Atpur inscription of Śāktikumāra, dated in V. S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), his ancestor Guhadatta is described as a *Mahādeva* and *Vipra-kula-nandana*, who had emigrated from Ānandapura¹. It will be observed that this Ānandapura, which is the modern Vadnagar in Baroda State, is quite close to Idar, which according to bardic tradition was the original seat of power of Guhila. The Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya (about the 10th century) describes his ancestor Bhairapaṭṭa as being, like Rāma (Paraśu-Rāma), endowed with both priestly and martial qualities (*brahma-ksatī-ānvita*)². In the Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasimha dated in V. S. 1342, Bappa or Bappaka, the founder of the Guhila-vamśa, is said to have 'obtained regal splendour (*ksātrīam mahat*) in the guise of an anklet after he had bestowed on the sage priestly splendour (*brāhmanya*) under the guise of his devotion.' In the *Rasika-prīyā*, a commentary on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* by Rānā Kumbhakarna, Bappa is referred to as *dvija-pungava* and as belonging to the *Vaijavāpa gotra*³. A verse cited by the Brāhmins of Mewar, in giving the description of the Rānās' family, says that the '*gotra* is *Vaijavāpa*, the *pravara*s are three and the *Veda* is *Yajus*'⁴. The *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba*⁵ gives *Vaijavāpi* as the name of a *pravara*, and *Ātreya*, *Gāviṣṭhira* and *Paurvātitha* as names of three *gotras*. Hence it may be concluded with reasonable certainty that the ancestors of the 'Guhila-putras' of Mewar were originally Brāhmins of Ānandapura in Gujarat. Very possibly, like the founders of the Kadambas in the South and the Senas in the North-East, the

¹ IA, Vol XXXIX, pp 186 ff

² JASB, 1909, p 173

⁴ Ibid

³ EI, Vol XII, pp. 10 ff

⁵ Mysore Govt Oriental Series, p. 82.

ancestor of the Guhila putras may have changed his priestly occupation for that of arms, and in due course laid the foundations of a State, which is still ruled by his descendants in Mewar.¹ The statement in the bardic annals that Bappa founded his dynasty by supplanting the Moris (Mauryas) of Chitor seem to be based on fact. The Dabok inscription² of Dhanika one of the ancestors of the Guhila Bālāditya, of the (Gupta) year 407 (c 725 A D), is dated in the victorious reign of Pb M P-Dhavalappa-deva, who has been with some probability identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala referred to in the Kanaswa (Kotah State, Rajputana) inscription dated (V) S 795 (c 738 A D).³ The Nausari grant of the Cālukya prince Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya informs us that sometime before 739 A D an army of Arabs (*Tājikas*) advanced as far south as Navasārikā in Gujarat after destroying on its way Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara princes. Possibly the bardic tradition about the barbarian invasion from "Gajni" is only a later distortion of this Arab expedition from Sind, which took place sometime before the end of the fourth decade of the 8th century A D. Bappa, who may have distinguished himself by his bravery in this crisis of the fortunes of his Maurya masters, may have later appropriated the royal power.

This brings us to the discussion of Bappa's date and his position in the genealogy of the Guhila putras. In the Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra (V S 1034), the earliest epigraphic record which supplies a regular genealogy of the family, the name of Bappa does not occur at all. It traces the family's pedigree

¹ I reserve for Vol. III a fuller discussion on the origin of the Rajputs.

² Referred to as Dhōj (Udaipur State, Rajputana) now Victoria Hall, Udaipur. Inscription in *BI* Vol. XX, Appendix, p 187 No. 1371 through it is stated in *ASI WC* 1906-08, p. 61 that the record was originally found at Dabok. The epigraph is so named probably because Dhanika held Dhavagarta (mod. Dhod).

³ *ASI WC* 1906 p 61; *BI* Vol XII pp 11 12. Ojha does not accept this identification and proposes to read the date of the Dabok inscription as 907 which he refers to the Harṣa era see *HB* I, p. 421 fn. 1. *IA* Vol. XIX, pp 55 ff.

from Guhadatta. This does not however prove the non-existence of Bappa. For it is recognised that Bappa is not really a proper name. Tod held that "it signified merely 'a child,'" ¹ while Crooke is of opinion that 'it is the old Prākṛt form of *bāp* (father)' ² D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested that it is the same as 'Bāpā' or 'Bāvā,' a respectful term for ascetics ³ This designation attached itself to the real founder of the Guhila-putras because he was a disciple of the Śaiva ascetic Hāritarāśi and the 'Dīwan' of the god Ekalinga. Crooke's view however seems to be supported by the fact that in Pallava history, the earliest known ruler is designated by the title Bappa-deva in the Hirahadgalli grants of his son Śivaskandavarman ⁴ Whatever may be the value of these various suggestions, we accept the view that Bappa was only a *biruda* and not the prince's real name. Who was then this ruler and what was his position in the family's pedigree? Certain inscriptions of the 14th century and later place Bappa or Bappaka just before Guhila. ⁵ This must however be wrong for a stone inscription of Naravāhana, dated in V.S. 1028 and found on the wall of the 'Nātha's mandir' near Ekalingaji's temple, near Udaipur ⁶ describes Bappaka the ruler of Nāgahrada ⁷ as the 'moon amongst the princes of the Guhila family' (*Guhila-gōtra-narendra-candra*). It is therefore impossible that Bappa was a predecessor of Guhila.

¹ *AR*, Vol I, p 261, fn. 1

² *Ibid*, see also *IA*, Vol XV, pp 275 ff, *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 84, *HR*, I, p 405

³ *JASB*, 1909, 189 ff The suggestion was originally made by Bhagvanlal Indraji in *BG*, Vol I, Part I, p 84

⁴ *EI*, Vol. I, pp 2-10

⁵ Chirwa stone-inscription of Samarasimha, V S 1330 (*WZKM*, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff); Chitor stone-inscription of the Guhila-vamśa, V S 1331 (*IA*, Vol XXII, pp 80 ff), Abu stone-inscription of Samarasimha, V S 1342 (*IA*, Vol XVI, pp 345 ff), Ranpur (near Sadadi) Jain temple-inscription of Kumbha, V S 1496 (*BI*, pp 113 ff)

⁶ *BI*, pp 69-71, *JBRAS*, 1905 08, Vol XXII, pp 166-67

⁷ Also called Nāgadrada, see *RMR*, 1925, p 2; *WZKM*, pp 142 ff., Called 'Nagendra' (Nagendra) in *AR*, Vol I, p 260 It is modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur, at the foot of a hill on which stands the temple of Ekalingaji. *JBRAS*, Vol XXII, pp. 150 ff.

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇa Kumbha, dated in V S 1517 (A D 1460), mentions Bappa as the fifth prince between Nāga and Aparājita¹. As this place is given to Śīla by the Atpura and all other records, including the Sadadī inscription of Kumbha (V S 149), the conclusion seems to be forced upon us that this *prastatikāra* of Kumbha's reign really believed that Bappa was a *virūda* of Śīla. Tod accepted the identity of these two princes, though on somewhat different grounds². But there are certain difficulties in accepting this identification. An Udaipur inscription gives the date V S 718 (661 A D) for Aparājita, the son of Śīla³. But the *Ekalingajī mahātmya*, composed during the reign of Kumbha (Vs 19 20) gives V S 810 (c 753 A.D) as Bappa's date. In another work bearing the same name which was composed during the reign of Kumbha's son Rāyamalla, the same year is given as the date of Bappa's abdication in favour of his son. As in the first work the verse begins with *Yad uktam purātanaḥ kavibhiḥ* D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the date was copied from some older record, and as such deserving of some credence. "As the date for Aparājita is V S 718 and for Allāṣa V S 1010 we have 292 years for 12 generations, it gives 24½ years for each generation. The difference between Allāṣa's 718 and Bappa's 810 is 92 years. If we assign 24½ years for each generation we find that Bappa is placed in the 4th generation from Aparājita". In the Atpur list this is Khommāṇa I⁴. Bhandarkar therefore thought that Bappa must be identical with this Khommāṇa⁵. Recently however G. H. Ojha has arrived at the conclusion that Bappa was the *virūda* of Khommāṇa I's father Kālabhoja⁶. He

¹ Noticed in *ASI WG* 1906-06 p. 61 No. 2314 *HR* I, 398.

² *AB* Vol. I, p. 270. He proposed the date of accession of Śīla-Bappa and hence of the foundation of the Guhilot dynasty in Mewar as V S 784 (A.D 728) see *ibid* pp. 268-69.

³ *SI* Vol. IV pp. 22-23.

⁴ This name is sometimes spelt as *Khommāṇa* and *Khushmāṇa*. But the form *Khommāṇa* which occurs as early as c. 912 A.D seems to be the oldest.

⁵ *JISB* 1909 pp. 189-90.

⁶ *HR* I p. 409.

rightly rejected the view of Kavirāja Syāmal Das,¹ who proposed to identify Aparājita's son Mahendra with Bappa. For, as the Kavirāja accepted V.S. 810 as the year of Bappa's abdication, a period of nearly one hundred years must accordingly be assigned to two consecutive reigns, which is unusual and cannot be accepted without the support of stronger evidence. Ojha points out that in the *Rāja-praśasti-mahākāvya* as well as the *Khyāta* of Nainsī, 'Khumṃāna' is given as the name of the son of 'Bāppā.' As in the Atpur inscription Kālabhoja is given as the name of Khommāna's father, Ojha is certain that Bappa must be the *brūda* of Kālabhoja.² It is unwise to be dogmatic in regard to either of these two views.³ But it seems to me that Bappa should be referred to the period between 739 A.D., the approximate date of the destruction of the Maurya principality by the Arabs, and 753 A.D., the traditional date for Bappa's abdication. Now we have the date 661 A.D. for Aparājita.⁴ The period between this date and 753 A.D. is 92 years which can be covered by 3 or 4 generations. But as Mewar tradition is unanimous that Bappa had a very long reign⁵ we can accept that it was probably covered by three generations. This would tend to support the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja.

On this view, the first seven Guhila-putras, from Guhadatta (Guhila) to Mahendra II (c. 550-720 A.D.), either were subordinate princes of the Mauryas, or otherwise held a very unimportant position. It may be that, as tradition says,

¹ *Viramoda*, Vol. I, p. 250

² *HR*, I, p. 409.

³ More recently the identification of Bappa with Khummāna has been urged by Prof S. Dutt. For his arguments see *IHQ*, 1928, pp. 796-97. He points out that the Guhilots of Mewar in the inscriptions of the 15th century and later are described as belonging to *Bappa-vamśa*, while in earlier inscriptions they are referred to as *Khumṃāna-vamśiya*. That Khummāna loomed large in Guhilot tradition is also proved by the fact that of the first 20 Guhilots as many as 3 bore that name and 'the most ancient poetic chronicle of Mewar' probably 'written in the 9th century and recast during the reign of Pratāpasimha' (1572-98 A.D.) is designated *Khumāna-Rāso*.

⁴ *EL*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32

⁵ *AR*, Vol. I, p. 267

the first eight of them held a principality somewhere in the upper Sabarmati valley, portions of which are now included in the State of Idar and S W Mewar. The principality appears to have been founded by the Brāhman Guhadatta (Guhila), who migrated from Ānandapura. Inasmuch as in ancient days there was no bar to intermarriage between the Brāhman and the Kṣatriyas, Guhadatta may possibly have claimed some relationship with the Valabhīs of Gujarat. As I have already remarked, instances are not wanting in India where Brāhman have founded dynasties. When the 7th prince Mahendra, who is wrongly mentioned as the 8th and named Nāgāditya in tradition, was killed by a rising of the Bhils or non Aryan inhabitants of the State, his son Kālabhoja escaped and subsequently became the chief disciple of Hāritarāśi, the powerful Śaiva priest of the shrine of Ekahūga at Nāgahrada.¹ After Hāritarāśi's death he succeeded his spiritual guide as the head of the Śaiva temple. When the Arabs invaded the Maurya kingdom sometime before 739 A. D., they seem to have threatened the shrine of Ekahūga at Nāgahrada, following their usual practice. Like the monks of mediaeval Europe Kālabhoja-Bappa could probably wield a sword with as much dexterity as a sacrificial ladle. The destruction of the Maurya State gave him the opportunity to found a dynasty of his own.

Besides this line of Guhilas, there appears to have been at least one other branch of the family in that region, further to the north-east, which was distinct from the dynasty of Bappa. The founder of this line was Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Guhila lineage who is reported to have been endowed like (Parasū) Rāma with priestly and martial qualities. As Dhanika, the fifth prince of his line, appears to have left an inscription dated in Gupta-Saṃvat 407 (A D 725),² we can approximately place the date of Bhartṛpaṭṭa to c 625 A D. He therefore seems to have

¹ AB Vol. I p. 259

² IA Vol. XXII, p. 807.

³ ASI WC 1906 p. 61 EI Vol. XII, pp. 11 12.

branched off earlier than Kālabhoja from the common stock in the upper Sabarmati valley. There appear to have been other branches besides these two. Some of them were connected with the Medapāṭa family. The relationship of others is obscure. For convenience we collect the account of the various Guhila families under the following heads :¹ (1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāṭa*, (2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu and Dabok*, (3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra*, (4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā*, (5) *Guhila-putras of Nadūladāgikā*, (6) *Guhila-putras of Sesoda*, (7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgada)*.

Before giving an account of all these various branches I would add, by way of introduction, that none of them appear to have held any considerable power till nearly the second half of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. We have seen that according to traditional and epigraphic evidence they were feudatories of the Mauryas in the 8th century A.D. In the 9th they must have gradually come into the orbit of the mighty Pratihāra empire, which extended from Kāthiawar to Northern Bengal. The annals of the bards are silent on this point; but the Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya refers to the inevitable fact. One of his ancestors Harṣarāja, we are told, conquered princes in the north and presented horses to Bhoja,² who, as we shall see, must be identified with the first Pratihāra prince of that name (c. 836-82 A.D.). Again, the Partabgarh inscription of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II, shows that in V.S. 999 (c. 942 A.D.) the Medapāṭa Guhila Bhartrpāṭa II, son of Khommāna III, still acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kanauj emperor.³ There is no doubt therefore that from about the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century the Guhilas occupied the position of feudatories of the powerful

¹ For the names of the traditional list of the 24 *Sākhās* of the Guhilots see *AR*, Vol. I, pp. 99-101, *Census Report, Rajputana*, 1911, I, 256. See also the Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342) which refers to the numerous branches and the sub-branches of the *Guhila-vamśa*, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

² *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10 ff., V. 19,

³ *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff., Part III.

Pratihāra empire. From the middle of the 10th to the end of 12th century most of the region occupied by the Guhilas etc. directly came into the possession of the three powerful kingdoms—the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, the Paramāras of Mālava and Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, which sprang up on the ruins of Kanauj empire, or became the bone of contention between them. Some of the branches as those of Āsikā¹ and Saurāṣṭra² definitely figure as vassal chiefs of Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas respectively. The early attempts of the Medapāṭa branch to secure sovereign position were speedily frustrated by the growing strength of these three powers. One of the Medapāṭa chiefs, Ambāprada, who probably ruled in the first quarter of the 11th century, lost his life in the hands of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Vākpaṛāja II,³ while the Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samasīnha (V 3 1930) shows that the Mālava Paramāra Bhīma (c 1010-55 A.D.) was in possession of the fort of Chitor itself. The Atru (1127-28 A.D.) and the Talwara inscriptions of Caulukya Jayasīnha and the Ohitorgadh inscriptions (c 1150 A.D.) of his successor indicate that the triangular area between Kota, Mewar and Banswara was included within the Caulukya dominions during the first half of the 12th century.⁴ It seems very likely that after the second half of the 12th century, when the power of the Caulukyas and the Paramāras had declined, the Guhilas of Medapāṭa found opportunities to establish themselves as sovereigns. But by this time the Turks were in possession of Delhi and Ajmer, and the temples and cities of Mewar were not seldom visited by their plundering bands. Aided by the hills, the Guhilas kept up a desperate resistance against Delhi. Their efforts were not always successful. Oft

¹ Havel inscription of Prithvirāja II (A.D. 1167) *IA* 1912, pp. 17-19. See *DE* Vol. II, *supra* pp. 1078-79 and *infra* pp. 1201-02.

² Mangrol inscription of Kumārpalā (A.D. 1145) *BI* pp. 158-60. See also *DE* Vol. II, *supra* p. 977 and *infra* pp. 1199-1200.

³ See *DHNI* Vol. II, ante chapter on the Cāhamānas p. 1068. ⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 870.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chapter on the Caulukyas pp. 965-967 and 978-79.

when the throne of Delhi was occupied by an able military leader, as in the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.), their fortunes sank very low. But they recovered their strength during the weak reigns which often followed. The halo of romance and dignity with which tradition has invested the history of the Guhila-putras is due to this struggle often against enormous odds to save Hindu independence from being completely submerged in Northern India by the Turkish and Timurid¹ floods. Their history before the 13th century lacks the dramatic element and seems to contain nothing which could fire the imagination of poets and bards. The bulk of the bardic annals about the Guhila-putras therefore grew up very late, certainly not before the 14th century. This explains their frequent divergence from fact when they deal with the early history of their heroes' family.

(1) *Guhila-putras of Medapāta.*

As I have previously suggested, the first seven princes of the Guhila-putra family who preceded Kālabhoja-Bappa, probably the real founder of the Medapāta line, lived and died rather ingloriously, ruling over a small principality somewhere in the upper Sabarmati valley, which is now occupied by the southwestern portion of Mewar and Idar. The Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra supplies the following names of the predecessors of Kālabhoja :—

Guhadatta In his family

Bhoja

Mahendra I

Nāga

Śīla

Aparājita

Mahendra II

¹ The *Timurids* are also Turkish and not Mugbul in origin, but it has become customary to separate them from the earlier Turkī sovereigns.

No epigraphic records have yet been discovered of the first four members of the family. Certain small silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhila* or *Guhila Śrī*, 'in an ancient western form of the Sanscrit character,' which were dug up at Agra,¹ have been referred by some scholars to the reign of the first prince.² But, as we shall see later, it is more than likely that they were issued by a prince of the same name who belonged to the Chatsu branch. There is at present no sufficient reason to suspect that the dominions of Guhadatta really extended from the upper valley of the Sabarmati to the neighbourhood of Agra.³ His principality appears to have included only portions of the present State of Idar and S. W. Mewar. As we have an inscription for Śīla dated in V. S. 703 (c. 646 A. D.),⁴ we may safely place him about the middle of the sixth century A. D. He may have been at first a feudatory of the Valabhis of Gujarat. The only thing known about the next four princes is the tradition recorded in the *Khyātas* that Nāgahrada or Nagadraba (mod. Nagda) was founded by Nāga,⁵ the fourth prince. But Ojha has rightly pointed out that this admittedly ancient place may have been named after the Nāgas, who it is well known ruled in Rajputana and Mathura in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.⁶ The *Khyātas* also give the name of Bhoja as Bhojāditya (or Bhogāditya), and that of Nāga as Nāgaditya,⁷ while the Abu

¹ The number of coins is given by Carleyle as upwards of two thousand. *ASR* Vol. IV p. 96. Another coin found in Narwar bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhilapati* (*JASB* 1895 p. 123) is also referred by some scholars to a prince of the Guhila family see *HR* I p. 400 fn. 1.

² Carleyle in *ASI* Vol. IV p. 96; Ojha in *HR*, I, p. 400 *ibid* p. 401.

³ As Ojha has done. He is of opinion that after the fall of the Hūṇa Mihirakula nearly the whole of Rajputana and the neighbouring countries came under the possession of Guhadatta. The doubtful evidence of the Agra and Narwar coins and of the Chatsu inscription does not, in my opinion, support such a sweeping conclusion. See *ibid*.

⁴ Noticed in *ASI* *IVO* 1908-09 p. 48. See also *Nāgarī-pracārī* Patrikā Vol. I, pp. 811-34 *HR* II, p. 402, and *JASB* Vol. 1909 p. 181.

⁵ *HR* II p. 402.

⁶ Raychaudhuri *Political History of India* 1932, p. 328.

⁷ *HR* II p. 402.

inscription of Samarasimha (V S. 1342) mentions Bhoja as a devotee of Viṣṇu. For the reign of the fifth prince Śīla, also called Śīlāditya, we have the *Samoli stone-inscription* dated in V. S. 703 (c. 646 A.D.). This was found in the village of Samoli in the Bhumat district of Mewar (not far from Vasantagaḍh, in the Sirohi State).¹ It records the construction and dedication of a temple by one Jeka, a *mahājana* from Vaṭangara.² Ojha states that he has seen a copper coin of this prince. On one side of this coin, according to him, appears the name of Śīla; the writing on the other side is illegible.³ Śīla was succeeded by Aparājita, for whose reign we have the *Nagda stone-inscription* dated in V S. 718 (c. 661 A.D.). The stone bearing the inscription is reported to have been found near the temple of Kuṇdeśvara at Nagda, near Udaipur. It contains 12 lines of writing. The first two verses invoke Viṣṇu under the names Haiḥ and Śauri. We are next told that Rājā Aparājita of the *Guhilānvaya* chose for his leader (of troops) the *Mahārāja* Varāhasimha, the son of Śīva (simha?). The inscription records that Yaśomatī, the wife of Varāhasimha, built a temple of (Viṣṇu) the enemy of Kaiṭabha. The *praśasti* was composed by Dāmodara, and incised by Yaśobhata. The prose part states that on the above date, the temple of Vāsudeva was inaugurated. The inscription ends with *Namah Puruṣottamāya*.⁴

The above inscription unfortunately records no incident of political interest, besides the date, for the reign of Aparājita. The reign of the next prince, Mahendra II, is also a blank, having left no epigraphic or numismatic records. But if there is any historical basis in the Rajput tradition recorded by Tod, he

¹ See above, chapter on the *Paramaras*, p. 910 and fn. 4 on pp. 910-11.

² Kielhorn suggested its identification with Vasantagaḍh in Sirohi, see *ante*, pp. 910-11, fn. 4.

³ *HR*, II, p. 403 and fn. 5. It is reported to be in the possession of one Sobhālāl of Udaipur.

⁴ Edited by Kielhorn, *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32, for its findspot, see *HR*, II, p.

may have been, as I have previously suggested, the prince who lost his life in a rising of the aboriginal Bhils, who formed the bulk of the population in the Guhila State. His successor was Kālabhoja, who probably bore the *viruda* Bappa or Bāpā¹. We have already discussed the circumstances which may have helped him to rebuild his ancestral state on a stronger foundation by the assimilation of the Maurya State of Chitor². I have tentatively assigned for his reign the period c 789-758 A.D., and noticed his close association with the influential Śaiva ascetic Hāritarāśi, the chief priest of the shrine of Ekahṅga at Nāgahrada (Nagda). The ending *rāśi* seems to indicate that he belonged to the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāśupata ascetics³. A Chitor stone inscription dated in V.S. 1331 tells us that it was through the favour of the sage Hāritarāśi that Bappa became lord of Medapāṭa and its town Nāgahrada⁴. The Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasimha dated in V.S. 1342 also states that Bappa obtained 'regal splendour through the favour of the same sage practising penance in the town of Nāgahrada'⁵. These statements may indicate that his association with this ascetic must have materially assisted him in reviving his power. This conclusion is supported by the recent discovery of a gold coin which in the opinion of Ojha belongs to Bappa⁶. On the top of the obverse of the coin is the legend *Sri Voppa* below this to the right is a trident by its side is a *linga* (representing the God Ekahṅga at Nagda). To the right of this is the bull couchant (Nandin) and below the bull the figure of a monkey lies prostrate on the ground. This represents according to Ojha

¹ See *supra* DHNI Vol. II, pp. 1157-58, and fn. 3 on p. 1166.

² Ojha however disbelieves in the unanimous tradition about this break and revival of Guhila power see HR II, 418 ff. He believes that the Guhilas ruled from Nagda uninterrupted from Guhadatta downwards.

³ For some of these names ending in *rāśi* see JBRAS 1905-06, Vol. XXII pp. 150 ff.; also BI Vol. I, pp. 211 ff.

⁴ IA Vol. XXII, pp. 60 ff.

⁵ IA Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁶ ASI IVC., 1921 pp. 57-58; also JASB 1937 Numismatic Supplement, pp. 14-16.

Voppa (i.e., Bappa), the founder of the Mewar line, who is considered to be Nandi-gaṇa of Śiva¹. He points out that according to the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyana* Nandin has the face of a monkey². On the reverse of the coin there is a folded *Cāmara*, a cross enclosed in a circle, to the right of this symbol is the handle of a *chatra*; below this is the representation of a cow suckling its calf; below the cow are parallel lines ending on the right with a fish. There is also a pot or vase to the right of the cow and four dots below the parallel lines. According to Ojha the cow and the calf represent the cow of the sage Hāritarāśi, which according to the Muhanota Nainsī he tended for 12 years before he attained royalty through his favour³. If the coin is genuine,⁴ and this interpretation of the symbol is correct, it supports the epigraphic and bardic tradition which ascribes his royal power to the favour of the sage. With the exception of this coin there are no records of the reign of Kālabhoja-Bappa. The only incident ascribed to his reign is that mentioned in the late Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S.

¹ Dr Barnett points out that 'Nandi' is different from the *Ganas* or goblins. See *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, by Gopinath Rao, Madras, 1914.

² Dr Barnett is not convinced. He demands better evidence to prove that Nandin had a monkey's face. He rightly points out that a monkey's face is not a monkey's body.

³ *HR*, II, p. 417. For two more coins, one ascribed to Bappa, the other to Kālabhoja, see *NC*, 1933, pp. 138-42.

⁴ This coin is said to be in the possession of the prince of Sirohi, Mahārājā Kesari Simha. It should be carefully examined. Is it not rather strange that we should have no gold coins of some of the greatest kings of this period, in comparison with whose power, prestige and extent of dominions, Kālabhoja-Bappa's position seems rather insignificant and shadowy? I am doubtful about Ojha's interpretation of the 'square enclosed in a circle' as the symbol for the sun. He finds in it a sure evidence of the Solar origin of the Guhilas. But it is significant that unlike some other dynasties, the epigraphic records of the Guhilas even as late as the 14th century A.D. never trace the genealogy of the family to the sun, nor do they even hint at a solar origin while earlier inscriptions trace the pedigree back to the Ānandapura Brāhman Guhadatta, later records trace it to Bappa and refer to his connections with the sage Hāritarāśi. It is only in records which are considerably later than A.D. 1302 that the sun or the moon are mentioned. It therefore seems to me that either the symbol has not been properly read or that its interpretation is wrong. But if Ojha has been right in his reading and interpretation of the symbol then it raises serious doubts as to the genuineness of the coin itself.

1342), viz, 'an invasion of peninsular India by him in the course of which he is said to have punished the ruler of Kārṇāṭa and 'put an end to the pleasure of love of Coḍa women' ¹

Practically nothing is known about Khommāṇa I,² Mattaṭa, Bhartṛpaṭṭa I,³ Śūha, Khommāṇa II, Mahāyaka, and Khommāṇa III, who according to the Atpur and other inscriptions are said to have ruled in succession after Kālabhoja. Tod quoting from *Khummāna Rāso*, gives a description of the conflict between the Mewar prince 'Khummmāṇa' and the Muslim leader 'Mahmud Khorasan Pat' when the latter invaded the Guhila territories.⁴ Tod identified 'Khummmāṇa' with the first Guhila of that name, and thought that the name of the Muslim chief is a mistake for that of the Abbasid Caliph Al Ma mūn (819-33 A.D.) If there is any historical foundation to this story, it is more probable, as Ojha suggests, that the prince who came into conflict with the Arab invaders was Khommāṇa II (c. 810-30 A.D.), and not the first of that name (c. 753-73 A.D.)⁵ The 3rd Guhila bearing the name Khommāṇa has been rightly identified with Khommāṇa, the father of Mahārājādhirāja Bhartṛpaṭṭa, the feudatory of the Kanauj emperor Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.) The Partabgarh inscription of

¹ IA Vol. XVI 345 ff.

² But see ante p. 1157 fn. 4.

³ Ojha (HR II, pp. 420 ff.) has identified this prince with Bhartṛpaṭṭa the founder of the Chatu branch of the Guhilas. This however seems to be improbable, if not impossible, even if we accept the reading of his date of the Dabok inscription of Dhanika (Harṣa year 207 = V S 870 = A.D. 818). For Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatu inscription, being the 5th prince counting backwards from Dhanika must be referred approximately to c. 715 A.D. But we have seen that the period of Kālabhoja-Bappa the 4th counting backwards, from Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Nagda branch is approximately 739-53 A.D. Thus it is absolutely impossible to identify these two Bhartṛpaṭṭas. It may be added that Ojha himself believes in V S. 810 (c. 753 A.D.) to be the date of Kālabhoja Bappa's abdication. This is also clear from another calculation. Ojha accepts the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja (c. 836-861 A.D.) as being the Bhoja who was a contemporary of Harṣarāja the 9th prince from Bhartṛpaṭṭa of the Chatu branch. This fixes the period of the latter roughly about the first half of the 8th century which was the period of Bappa.

⁴ AR Vol. I pp. 263 ff.

⁵ HR II, p. 420,

this last prince records that M.-Bhartrpatta granted in perpetuity a field named Vavvulika (Babbulika) situated by the side of the river Nandyā in the village of Palāsa-Kūpikā to the (Sun) god Indrarājāditya-deva of Ghonṭāvarṣi in V.S. 999 (c. 942 A.D.).¹ Ojha would identify Palāsa-Kūpikā with Parāsia, which is about 15 miles south of Mandasor, and Ghantāvarṣi with Ghotarsi, about 7 miles east of Partabgarh. Another fragmentary stone-inscription which supplies a date for Bhartrpatta, the son of Khummāna III, was discovered at Ahar near Udaipur.² It is dated in V. S. 1000 (c. 943 A.D.), in the reign of Bhartr (Bhartrbhata), and registers the construction of a temple of Ādivarāha (Viṣṇu) at the Gaṅgodbheda-tīrtha³ by a person named Ādivarāha. It may be inferred from the Partabgarh inscription that during the period c. 800-950 A.D. the Guhilas of Nāgahrada were the feudatories of the Pratīhāra rulers of Avanti and Kanauj. According to Ojha, it was Bhartrpatta II who founded the city of Bhartrpura, identical with the modern village of Bhatevar, which has given the name *Bhartrpurīya* to one of the Jaina *gacchas*.⁴

Bhartrpatta II was succeeded by Allata,⁵ his son by the queen Mahālakṣmī. The *Ahar Sāraṇeśvara temple-inscription* of Allata contains the dates V.S. 1008 (c. 951 A.D.) and 1010 (c. 953 A.D.) for his reign.⁶ It is incised on a slab of white marble attached to two pillars in front of the *Ranga-mandapa* of the Śaiva temple near the burning ground at Ahar in Mewar. It contains 6 lines opening with an invocation to Hari. It then mentions the *Rājñī* Mahālakṣmī, her son the king (*medinī-pati*) Allata, and his son Naravāhana. It then speaks of the *Amātya* Maṁmata, the *Sāndhivigrahika* Durlabharāja, the

¹ *EI*, Vol. XIV, pp 177 ff Part III. See also *supra*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp 586-87.

² Noticed in *RMR*, 1914, p 2, *HR*, I, p 425. *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix* (p 11, No 60) seems to doubt the reading of the date.

³ Mod. Gangobhev at Ahar.

⁴ *HR* II, p 426.

⁵ Known in local annals as Ālu Rāval, *ibid*.

⁶ *BI*, pp 67-69. Also *Prācīna-lekha-mālā*, Vol. II, p. 24, *IA*, Vol. LVIII, p 162.

Akṣapaṭalakas Mayūra and Sāmudra, the *Vandipati* Nāga and the *Bhīṣagadhīrāja* Rudrāditya. It registers the construction of a temple of the god Murāri (Viṣṇu), which was begun in V S 1008 and completed in V S 1010 and records various endowments for its maintenance, on the sale of an elephant one *dramma*, on that of a horse two *rūpakas*, a horned animal *drummardha viṁśaka* (i.e., $\frac{1}{40}$ *dramma*), etc. Contributions were also levied upon various other traders of the locality, including even the gamblers. It is also laid down that the merchants of Karpāta, Lāṭa, Madhyadeśa and Takka should pay contributions to the temple.

Practically nothing is known about the political incidents of Allāṭa's reign. But Ojha¹ mentions an unpublished damaged and fragmentary inscription in a small Jain temple at Ahar, near Udaipur, which says that Allāṭa killed in fight his powerful enemy Devapāla, and also mentions the *Akṣapaṭalika* Mayūra, whose name occurs in the *Sāraṇeśvara* inscription referred to above. Though at present there is no evidence it is not impossible that this Devapāla is identical with the Kanauj Pratihāra of that name.²

Allāṭa was succeeded by Naravāhana, his son by the Hūṇa queen Hariyadevī. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra tells us that 'her fame shone forth in the form of Harṣapura'.³ This probably indicates that she founded a city of that name. Only one inscription, dated in V S 1028 (c. 971 A.D.) has so far been published for the reign of Naravāhana.⁴ This is his *Bkalingajī*.

¹ HR II, p. 428.

² HR II p. 428 fn. 2. See *supra* DHNI Vol II pp. 587ff. According to Barnett this identification is possible but not very probable. Though at present there is no definite evidence that the Pratihāra emperor Devapāla was killed yet it is certain that he was not a very powerful prince. Dissensions within and invasions hastened the decline and break up of the Pratihāra empire. It is therefore not impossible that like Rājyapāla (c. 1010 A.D.) he may have also been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often the feudatories of the Kanauj empire.

³ IA Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186 ff.

⁴ BI pp. 69-71; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *JBRAS* 1905-08, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-67. In the account of the contents of the inscription I have followed this later version of the report.

stone-inscription, which was discovered in the temple of Nātha, 14 miles north of Udaipur. It is incised on a slab in the proper right-hand niche in the outside wall facing east of the *Sabhā-mandapa* of the temple. It contains 18 lines, and opens with obeisance to Lakulīśa.¹ The first verse is damaged ; the second praises Sarasvatī, and the next two eulogise the city of Nāgahrada.² Verse 5 tells us that in that city flourished the prince Bappaka, who was a moon amongst the kings of Guhila lineage. The following verse probably mentioned the name of Allāṭa, the father of Naravāhana, to whose reign the inscription refers itself (Vs. 7-8). The inscription then supplies an account of the Lakulīśa sect of the Śaivas. We are told that in the country of Bhṛgukaccha (Bioach), through which flows Narmadā, the daughter of Mekala, the sage Bhṛgu being cursed by Murabhid (Viṣṇu), propitiated the god Śiva. The latter in the presence of that sage incarnated himself in a form characterised with a club (*lakula*) in his hand. The place where Śiva thus descended to the earth was called *Kāyavarohana*.³ In this place, the inscription tells us, Śiva did not remember his Kailāśa. Then follows an account of Kuśika and other sages who were conversant with the Pāśupata-yoga, and who resorted to the use of ashes, bark, and matted hair. Then follows a statement that there were certain sages whose fame had spread from the Himalayas to Rāma's bridge who worshipped the god Ekalinga. It was by them that this temple of Lakulīśa was raised on Mt. Aśvagrāma. The next verse states that the *praśasti* was composed by the poet Āmra, the pupil of the celebrated dialectician the sage Vedānga, who had silenced the disputants of the *Syādvāda* (Jaina), *Saugata* (Buddhist), and other sects V 19 gives the date V.S. 1028. At the end occur the names of

¹ Lakulīśa was believed to be an *Avatāra* of Śiva

² Mod Nagda, about 14 miles north of Udaipur

³ Mod Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluka of Baroda prānt, Baroda State.

Supūjitarāśi and Vinīścitarāśi and others who erected a temple and dedicated it to Lakulīśa¹

Apart from the dates supplied by this inscription, very little is known about Naravāhana's reign. The Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra only praises him in vague and general terms which mean nothing. It however mentions the fact that he married the daughter of a Cāhamāna named Jejaya. Ojha noticed an unpublished Ahar inscription which mentions the name of Naravāhana's *Akṣapaṭalādhiṣa*, Śrīpati, son of Mayūra, who held the same post in the previous reign. Naravāhana was succeeded by his son Śāhivāhana,² who had a short reign and was in turn succeeded by his son Śaktikumāra some time before V S 1034 (c 977 A D). Śāhivāhana's reign therefore falls between V S 1028 (c 971 A D), the last known date of his predecessor, and V S 1034 (c 977 A D), the first known date of his son. This makes him a contemporary of the Mālava Paramāra Muñja-Vākpati II (c 974-95 A D), who is said in the Bijapur inscription of the Hastikunḍī Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (V S 1058) to have 'destroyed Āghāṭa' the pride of Medapāṭa.³ I have already suggested elsewhere that one of the princes, who was defeated on this occasion and whom Dhavala claims to have protected was

¹ For an account of the Lakulīśa sect see Bhandarkar's introduction to his edition of this record. See also *Gaṇa-kīrti* of Bhāsarvajña (Bhāsa Sarvajña). Date of the author about the second half of the 10th century A.D. Ed. by G D Dalal GOS No. XV 1920.

² Ojha believes that the Kāthiawar Guhilas are descended from this prince see *HN* II pp. 481-483 and fn 2 on p. 481; also *DENI* Vol II *infra* pp. 1199 ff.

³ Mod. Ahar near Udaipur.

⁴ *HI* Vol. X, pp. 18 and 20-21 V 10. The capital of the Guhilas had probably been transferred by this time from Nāgahrada to Āghāṭa. This latter town appears from the Śāraṇśvara temple inscription of Allāṣa (V S. 1008 and 1010) to have already become an important trading centre in Medapāṭa. According to Mewar tradition Alu Rāval (Allāṣa) founded the city of Āḍa (i.e. Āghāṭa Āghāṭa Ahar etc.). The existence of the place as a holy site before the reign of Allāṣa is however proved by the Ahar inscription of his father Bhartṛpati II (V S. 1000). It is likely that the development of the site as a commercial entrepôt began in the reign of Allāṣa who later may have even transferred his residence to that town. See *HR* II, pp. 427-28.

possibly the Guhila Śālivāhana, or his son Śaktikumāra.¹ The following inscriptions are known for the reign Śaktikumāra :

(1) *Atpur stone-inscription (i)*.—Found by Tod at Atpur (Ahar), near Udaipur in Mewar. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), and records the election of a temple to the god Nānigasvāmī. Next it gives the genealogy of the Guhila family from the Ānandapura Brāhman² Guhadatta to Śaktikumāra.³

(2) *Ahar stone-inscription (ii)*—Discovered in the village of Aī (Ahar) near Udaipur. It was incised on a piece of marble built into some steps leading to the terrace of a Jaina temple. It appears from the inscription that during the reign of Śaktikumāra 'the previously existing practice of offering each year 14 *diammas* to the sun-god (*tapana*) was continued.' It mentions the name of *Akṣapatalika Mattaṭa*.⁴

(3) *Ahar stone-inscription (iii)*.—Incised in a Jaina *Devakulikā* at Ahar, near Udaipur. It is damaged and fragmentary. It probably contained a panegyric on Śaktikumāra and some of his officials, and seems to mention Mattaṭa and Gundala, the two sons of *Akṣapatalika Śrīpāti*, as the two arms of Śaktikumāra.⁵

Nothing is known about the incidents of Śaktikumāra's reign. He was succeeded by his son Ambāprasāda, also known as Āmrprasāda.⁶ The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342)⁷ and the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1496)⁸ omits

¹ See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 561, *ibid*, Vol II, p. 855

² For different interpretation of *Mahideva* (Brāhman) and *Vipra kula nandana*, see Mohanlal Vishunlal Pandia in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 63 ff.

³ First edited by Tod in *AR*, Vol II, pp. 924-25. Then fully edited by D. R. Bhandarkar from a transcript of the original inscription prepared by Ojha, in *IA*, Vol XXXIX, pp. 186-91. See also M. V. Pandia in *JASB*, Vol VIII, pp. 63 ff.

⁴ Edited by C. Bendall, *Journey*, p. 82, see also *HR*, II, p. 434

⁵ Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1906, p. 62, also in *HR*, II, pp. 434 and 437.

⁶ Also sometimes spelt as Ambāprasāda.

⁷ *IA*, Vol XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁸ *BI*, pp. 113 ff., also *ASI*, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff. The record is sometimes called 'Ranpur inscription'.

him and places his brother Sucivarman immediately after Saktikumāra. But the Chitor inscription of the Guhilas, dated in V S 1831,¹ and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V S 1517)² mention him as successor of Saktikumāra and predecessor of Sucivarman. A damaged unpublished inscription found at Ahar mentions his queen as belonging to the Caulukya-vathsa. Unfortunately her name is lost.³ Ambāprasāda seems to have had a tragic end. The *Prthvīrāja vijaya* claims that the Śākambhari Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II sent Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama.⁴ The epithet *Āghāṭa pati* applied to the Guhila prince shows that the royal residence was now definitely transferred from Nāgahrada to this place. In the Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra he is described as having 'established himself at Ātapura, which is generally taken as another form of the name of Āghāṭa or modern Ahar. Probably the Guhila princes had begun to prefer this new city as their place of residence even earlier.⁵

Ambāprasāda was succeeded by his brother Sucivarman, for whose reign only one inscription is known. This is his *Hastamātā* temple inscription at Ahar.⁶ Unfortunately this epigraph which is cut on one of the steps leading to the entrance to the temple, is much mutilated. In the beginning it mentions king Sucivarman as son of Saktikumāra. Its object was probably to register the foundation of the temple to the god Rāhuleśvara. It also mentions one Soḍuka of the Caulukya-kula and his daughter Mahimā but owing to its damaged state their relationship with the other persons mentioned cannot be determined. The history of the Guhilas after Sucivarman is rather obscure. From the inscriptions of the 14th century and

¹ IA Vol. XXII pp 80-81.

HR II, p 440 see also ASI WG 1905-06, p 61 No. 2214.

² HR II, p 428 fn. 1

³ Vs 59-60 see also ante DHNI Vol II, chapter on the Cāhamānas p. 1068.

⁴ See ante DHNI Vol. II, p. 1171 fn. 4

⁵ BI pp. 72-74; see also HR II, p 442, fn. 1.

later we may perhaps be allowed to conclude that Naravarman (*alias* Nrvarman), Anantavarman, Kīrtivarman (*alias* Yaśovarman), Yogarāja and Vairāṭa succeeded Śucivarman, one after the other, on the throne of Medapāṭa. The Chitor inscription dated V.S. 1331,¹ and the Abu inscription dated in V.S. 1342² of Samarasimha mention Naravarman as the successor of Śucivarman. The unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription has the following verse :³

Nrvarmānāntavarmā ca Yāśovarmā mahīpatī,
trayo'py Ambāprasādasya jajñe bhrātaro'sya ca.

This may indicate that these three brothers of Ambāprasāda probably succeeded Śucivarman. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342) however mentions after Naravarman the names of only Kīrtivarman and Vairāṭa⁴. But the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha places Kīrtivarman, Yogarāja and Vairāṭa in succession to Śucivarman⁵ while the Kumbhalgarh inscription of the same king dated in V. S. 1517 gives Nrvarman, Yaśovarman, Yogarāja and Vairata after Ambāprasāda.⁶ The above shows that there was considerable confusion in the 14th century and later regarding the order of succession and the names of the rulers who came after Naravarman. No records either epigraphic or numismatic, are known to refer themselves to these princes, and the only important information about them is contained in the unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription which tells us that after Yogarāja Vairāṭa, a descendant of Allata, occupied the throne.⁷ This certainly indicates that the princes

¹ IA, Vol XXII, pp 80, 81 The names after Naravarman are lost

² IA, XVI, pp 345 ff

³ Quoted in HR, II, p 439, fn 1

⁴ IA, Vol. XVI, pp 345 ff.

⁵ BI, pp 113 ff, see also ASI, 1907-08, pp 214 ff

⁶ HR, II, p 440

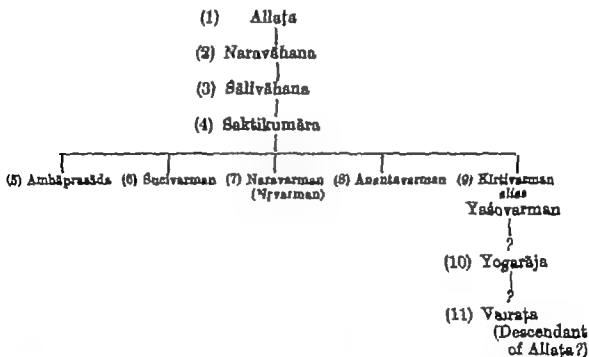
⁷ *Tataś ca Yogarājo 'bhūn-Medapāṭe mahīpatih,*

api rājye sthite tasmīns tacchā-(no divaṁ) gatāḥ

paścād Allāṭa-saṁtāne Vairāṭo-'bhūn nareśvaraḥ —HR, II, p 443, fn 2.

But Muhanota Nainsī in his chronicle (17th century) describes Vairata as the son of Yogarāja (Yogarājārā), see *Muḥṇota Nainsī kī Khyāta* (Prathamā bhāga) Hindī Trāns, by R. Dugada, p. 20.

from Vairāṭa downwards belonged to a separate line, which claimed descent from Allāṭa. Whether this Allāṭa is the Guhila prince of the same name who ruled in V S 1008-10 is uncertain. I have already accepted the conjecture of Ojha that the names Kirtivarman and Yaśovarman being synonymous, probably belonged to the same person. We do not know the exact relationship between this prince and Yogarāja, though there is no reason to doubt that he was closely connected with him. We may tentatively suggest the following order of succession after Allāṭa



As we have the dates V S 1034 for Śaktikumāra and V S 1173 for the fourth from Vairāṭa, we may roughly fix the period V S 1050-1125, corresponding to c 998-1068, as that during which the seven princes from Nos 5-11 may have held sway in Medapāṭa, or in portions of it. This gives each of them a reign of little less than 10½ years. There is reason to suspect that during most of this period a large part of Medapāṭa was conquered by the Paramāras of Mālava. The Ohirwa stone-inscription of Samarasūṭha (V S 1330) tells us that Madana, who was appointed his *Talāra* in the fort of Citrakūṭa, composed

hymns of praise in honour of Śiva in the temple of Tribhuvāna-Nārāyana raised by Bhoja-rāja.¹ This Bhoja has rightly been identified with the Paramāra Bhoja who ruled in Malāva from c. 1010 to 1055 A.D. I have shown elsewhere that Bhoja was in possession of Vāgada, the area now occupied by the States of Dungarpur and Banswara, and that his armies maintained contact with the Cāhamānas of Naddula.² It may therefore indicate that before they could recover from their defeat at the hands of the Śākambharī Vākpati, Medapāṭa was invaded and practically conquered by the Paramāras. But following their usual practice, the Guhilas perhaps maintained their independence in the more hilly and inaccessible portions of Mewar. Whether the Mewar territories of the Paramāras after the death of Bhoja passed under the control of the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) is more than we can say at present. But there is sufficient evidence to show that the Caulukyas during the rule of Jayasīma (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) dominated a large part of Mewar. The Chitor inscriptions of the latter prince show that, like Bhoja, he was in possession of Chitor c. 1150 A.D. It is therefore not surprising that the later *prastikāras* of the Guhilas found it rather difficult to give a satisfactory account of the Guhila princes who ruled in the 11th and early 12th centuries. It is very significant that the Chitor inscription of the Caulukya Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1207 refers only to his campaign against the rulers of Śākambharī, and does not even hint at the existence of the Guhila kingdom. It is therefore possible that the Guhilas during this period had either become feudatories of the Caulukyas or otherwise occupied so insignificant a position as to deserve omission in a record of royal victories. It should also be noted that not a single inscription of Śaktikumāra's (V. S. 1034) nine successors survives and even later up to the time of Jaitāsīma (V. S. 1270-1309) the epigraphic records of the

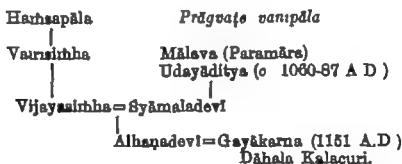
¹ WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142ff

² See ante, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 870-71

Guhilas are extremely rare. This remarkable scarcity of epigraphic documents, when considered with other facts detailed above, tends to support our conclusion as to the comparative insignificance of the Guhilas of Mewar during the 11th, 12th, and even the 13th centuries A D.

According to the Sadadi (V S 1496) ¹ and Kumbhalgarh (V S 1517) ² inscriptions of Rāṇā Kumbha, Vairata was succeeded by Harṣapāla, ³ and the latter by Vairasiṁha. According to the Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V S 1342) Vairasiṁha was followed by Vijayasimha. ⁴ The accuracy of this order of succession is fortunately verified by the Bheraghat inscription of the reign of the Dāhala Kalacuri Narasiṁhadeva, dated in the Kalacuri year 907 (c 1155 A D) ⁵. It gives us the following genealogy of his mother Alhanadevi

Gobhila-putra



This matrimonial connection between Udayāditya and Vijayasimha suggests an alliance between the ^{of Allata?} māra and Guhila dynasties against the imperial ~~Chaulukyas~~ ^{Chalukyas}, who under Bhīma I (c 1022-64 A D) had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall

¹ BI pp 113 ff.

² HR II p. 440.

³ Given as Vairṣapāla in the Sadadi epigraph. This is clearly a mistake of the scribe.

⁴ Given as Virasiṁha II, by the two inscriptions of Kumbha mentioned above. See BI Vol. XIX, Appendix p. 109 No. 784.

⁵ BI Vol. II p. 10. Harṣapāla is called *Prāgvaṣṭa vanipāla*. See also the slightly variant genealogical information in *Karanbel stone-inscription* IA Vol. XVIII, pp. 214-18. See ante, DHNI Vol. II chapter on the *Haikayas* pp. 791 and 796.

of Bhoja I (c. 1055 A.D.). Only one inscription was so far known for the reign of Vijayasimha. This is his *Palḍi stone-inscription* dated in V. S. 1173 (c. 1116 A.D.)¹ It was found in the temple of Kārttikasvāmin near Palḍi about 4 miles north of Udaipur. But recently Ojha claims to have discovered a grant of this prince in the village of Kadmal. According to him it is incised on two plates and contains the genealogy of the Guhilas from Guhadatta to Vijayasimha of Nāgahrada.² It is dated in (V.S. 1164 (c. 1108 A.D.)).³

Nothing is known about the next three princes, Arisimha, Coda (or Codasimha) and Vikramasimha (or Vikramakesarī). Even their relationship to each other is uncertain. Thus while the Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342 mentions) Vikramasimha as the son of Coḍa⁴ the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1517) refers to Vikramakesarī as the elder brother (*agraya*) of Coḍa.⁵ According to the Sadadi and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions of Kumbha Vikramasimha was succeeded by his son Raṇasimha.⁶ Bhandarkar has identified this prince with the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rājakula Raṇasīdeva* reigning at Cāmdapallī,⁷ whose *Ajahari stone-inscription* is dated in V.S. 1223 (A.D. 1167). It was found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana.⁸ The *Ekalinga-māhātmya*, composed in the reign of Rānā

¹ Noticed in *RMR*, 1915-16, p. 3

² Noticed in *HR*, II, pp. 445-46. The genealogy from Guhadatta to Allaṭa is the same as in the Alpur inscription of Śaktakumāra (V.S. 1034). See *ibid*, fn. 1. Ojha has not been able to decipher the inscription fully. See also *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II A (Mewar Residency), 1908, p. 14.

³ See *EI*, Vol. XIX, *Appendix*, p. 28, No. 176. D. R. Bhandarkar is inclined to refer the Pipad (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription of Rānā Śrī Rājakula Vijayasimha reigning at Pippalapāda in V.S. 1224 to this prince, see *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 49, No. 328.

⁴ *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ *HR*, II, p. 446, fn. 3.

⁶ *HR*, II, p. 440, *BI*, pp. 113 ff. This name is omitted in the Abu inscription of Samarasimha, *IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.

⁷ According to D. R. Bhandarkar 'probably the same as Candrāvati'.

⁸ Noticed in *ASI*, *WC*, 1910-11, p. 39. See also *EI*, Vol. XX, *Appendix*, p. 49, No. 324, also fn. 1, on the same page. This would place him before Vijayasimha if we accept Bhandarkar's identification in *ibid*, p. 49, No. 328. See above, fn. 3 on this page.

Kumbha, gives the name of this prince as Karṇa which appears to be another name of Rapaśiṃha.¹ This work tells us that from the reign of 'Karṇa the Guhilas branched off into two sections, one of which was known as *Rāval* (*Rājakula*), and the other as *Rāṇḍ*. In the *Rāval* branch flourished Jitasīṃha (Jaitrasīṃha),² Samarasīṃha and Ratnasīṃha, while in the *Rāṇḍ* branch there were Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. The *Rāvals* ruled in the fort of Citrakūṭa, while the *Rāṇḍ*s were the chiefs of Sesodia under the former, and became known as the Sesodia clan. It was Hammīra of this line who recovered Chitor from the Muslims after it had been taken from the *Rāval* Ratansīṃha in 1803 A D and revived once again the power of the Guhilas in Mewar.

Rapaśiṃha (Karṇa) was succeeded by his son Kṣemasīṃha³ who is represented in the Kumbhalgarh *Prastāva* as the younger brother of Mahana.⁴ This may indicate that Mahana was passed over in favour of the younger son Kṣemasīṃha, a not unusual incident in the history of the Rajput dynasties. Nothing is known about Kṣemasīṃha. He was succeeded by his son Sāmantasīṃha, for whose reign we have the following seven inscriptions.

(1) *Jagat stone-inscription* — Incised on a pillar in the temple of Ambādevī at the village of Jagat in the Chapan district of Mewar. It is dated in V S 1228 (c 1172 A D), in the reign of *Mahārāja* Sāmantasīṃha, and records the gift of a *Suvarṇa-kalasa* to the local temple.⁵

¹ HR II p 447. The *Ekahaga-māhātmya* gives the name of Karṇa's father as Śrī Puṣṭja which is taken by Ojha as another name of Vikramasīṃha. Ojha points out that the author of the *Māhātmya* in trying to exaggerate the importance of Karṇa describes the princes of most of the countries known to him as paying homage to him.

² The *Māhātmya* does not mention the name of the 5 princes (Kṣemasīṃha to Padmasīṃha) who ruled between Rapaśiṃha (Karṇa) and Jaitrasīṃha.

³ Sadadi (V S. 1490) and Kumbhalgarh (V S. 1517) inscriptions see also HR, II p. 440.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 448 fn 1.

⁵ Noticed in RMR 1914-15 p. 3 HR II p 449. See also IA Vol. LIII p 100 n. 2.

(2) *Solaj stone-inscription*.—Incised on the door of the temple of Boreśvara Mahādeva near the village of Solaj on the bank of the Mahi in the Dungarpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V S 1236 (c. 1179 A D), in the reign of the same as in No 1 above.¹

(3) *Uthman* (Sirohi State, Rajputana) *inscription* of the time of Sām̐vatasīmha (Sām̐antasīmha, dated in V.S. 1256 A D. 1200). It is incised on a pilaster of a temple of Mahādeva at Uthman about 11½ miles NE of Sirohi. Language is Mār̐vālī.²

(4) *Bamnera* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* (i) of Mahānāṇa Sām̐antasīmha, dated in V S 1258 (A.D. 1202). It is incised on a porch pillar of a temple of Sūrya at Bamnera, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station³

(5) *Bamnera* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* (ii) of the time of M -Sām̐antasīmha dated in V S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised and found as No 4⁴

(6) *Sanderav* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* of the time M.-Sām̐antasīhadeva dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised on a pillar of a Jain temple of Mahāvīra at Sanderav about 10 miles NW. of Bah⁵

(7) *Bamnera* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *inscription* (iii) of the time of M.-Sām̐antasīmha, dated in V.S. 1258 (AD. 1202). Incised and found as No. 4.⁶

¹ Noticed in *RMR*, 1914-15, p 3, *HR*, II, p 449

² Noticed in *ASI*, WC, 1916-17, pp 65-66, also *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 64, No 441

³ *Ibid*, 1908-09, p 52, also *EI*, Vol Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 64, No 444.

⁴ *Ibid*, also *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 64, No 445

⁵ *Ibid*, also *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p 64, No 446

⁶ *Ibid*, also *EI*, Vol XX, *Appendix*, p. 64, No 447 Though from the notices of the inscriptions Nos 3-7 in the *ASI*, *WC*, it appears that the dynastic name of the ruler is not specifically mentioned, Bhandarkar accepts him as a *Guhila* (*EI*, XX, *Appendix*) In the opinion of some, however, the provenance of these records seem to create some difficulties in the acceptance of this Sām̐antasīmha as belonging to the *Guhila* dynasty The *Unstra* (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) *devli inscription* recording that the *Guhilaūtra Rānā Moṭisvarā* was followed *Satī* by his wife, a *Mohilī* in V S 1248 (A D 1192) must be referred to this reign. See *ASI*, *WC*, 1911-12, p 53

The seven inscriptions noticed above give the dates V S 1238 1258, corresponding to c 1171 1202 A D , for Sāmantasimha . But they supply no details of the incidents of his reign¹ . He has however been identified with the Sāmantasimha who is mentioned in an inscription in the shrine of Neminātha on Mt Abu dated in V S 1287 (1280 A D) as contemporary with Prahlādana, the younger brother of the Candrāvati Paramāra Dhārāvārṣa (c 1163-1219 A D)² . This inscription tells us that Prahlādana, apparently during the administration of his brother, defended the Gurjara king when his power had been broken by Sāmantasimha . I have already suggested the identification of the Gurjara king with the Oaulukya Ajayapāla (c 1173-76 A D), the nephew and successor of Kumārapāla (c 1144-73 A D)³ . Kumārapāla, as we have seen, was in possession of the fort of Chitor and a large portion of Mewar . It is possible that Sāmantasimha, taking advantage of the trouble that followed Kumārapāla's death c 1173 A D , tried to recover Chitor or otherwise to strengthen his position . The Abu inscription and the provenance of his records show that he at first gained considerable degree of success, but Ajayapāla partially recovered his position with the help of his feudatory's brother . There is reason to believe that Ajayapāla took such drastic steps against Sāmantasimha that the latter for some time at least had to take shelter in the hills of Vāgaḍa, which lies to the east of the Mahi, and is now known as the State of Dungarpur . The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V S 1342)⁴ relates that Kumārasimha, the successor of Sāmantasimha "made the earth possessed of a good king after having taken it away again from the possession of the enemy" . The unpublished

¹ When edited properly they may reveal some important data

² *EI* Vol III pp. 200-04 and 208-19 see also *ante* pp 918 and 1014

³ See *ante* *DHVI* Vol. II chapter on the *Caulukyas* pp 1001 ff. See also *ibid.*, chapter on the *Paramāras* p. 918.

⁴ *Id.* Vol. XVI, pp. 348 ff

Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha says that after Sāmantasimha his brother Kumārasimha ousted from the country the enemy prince Kītu, who had seized his kingdom, and after pleasing the Gurjara king became king at Āghātapura.¹ This Kītu has been identified with Kīrtipāla,² a younger brother of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Kelhana (c. 1163-92 A D.), the reputed founder of the Jāvālipura Cāhamānas. I have shown elsewhere that Kelhana was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla about 1171 A.D.,³ and it is not unlikely that he continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of his successor Ajayapāla. The principality of Kīrtipāla assigned to him in his father Ālhana's reign (c. 1152-62 A D) appertained to Naddūlai,⁴ modern Nādlaī in Godwar (Jodhpur State), not far from the frontiers of Mewar. It is therefore quite likely that on the instructions and with the assistance of Ajayapāla, Kīrtipāla invaded Mewar and occupied it on behalf of the Caulukya king. This possibly happened sometime after c. 1171 A.D., the date of the Jagat inscription of Sāmantasimha, and before c. 1179 A.D., the date of his Solaj inscription. The former was found in the state of Udaipur and the latter in the State of Dungarpur (Vāgada). According to Muhanota Nainsī,⁵ Sāmantasimha voluntarily abdicated his throne of Chitor in favour of his younger brother, in reward of his devoted service to him, and having ousted and killed Caurasīmalaka, the prince of Vāgada, established his line in that region.⁶ We can well believe the

¹ *Sāmantasimha-nāmā bhūpatir bhūtale jātah Bhrātā Kumārasimho 'bhūt svarājya-grāhīnām param, deśān nīkāsayāmāsa Kītu sañjñām nrpam tu yah, svīkrtam Āghāṭa-puram Gurjara-nrpatim prasādya* See *HR*, II, p 451, fn 2

² *Ibid*, p 451

³ *EI*, Vol XI, pp 47-48, also *ante*, *DHNI*, chapters on the *Caulukyās* and *Cāhamānas*, pp 984-85, 987-88, 1119-20 and 1121

⁴ *EI*, Vol IX, pp 66-70

⁵ Also called Muhanot Nensī or Mūtā Nensī, the author of the yet unpublished *Khyāta*, a valuable chronicle of the history of Rajputana. The author lived in the court of the Rathor prince Jaswant Singh (A D 1638-78) of Marwar. Recently a Hindi translation of a part of the work has been published. See Bibliography at the end of the chapter.

⁶ *HR*, II, pp 453-54.

chronicler as regards his statement about the retirement of Sāmantasīmha from Mewar to Dungarpur, for this is supported by the Solaj stone inscription of the Guhila prince. But what he writes about the voluntary abdication, when read with the statements of the tradition contained in his successor's inscriptions, seems clearly to be wrong. It appears that after the defeat of Sāmantasīmha, when the country was occupied by the Jalor Cāhamūna Kītu, his brother Kumārasīmha succeeded in pacifying the wrath of the Caulukya sovereign and with his assistance got himself installed on the throne of Āghāta pura (mod Ahar), from which his brother had been ousted. Kītu seems to have retired to his Jalor principality after peace had thus been restored between the two powers. Kumārasīmha, we may assume, must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Caulukyas. As we have inscriptions of Kīrtipāla's son Samarasīmha dated in 1192 A D, the restoration of the Guhila power appears to have occurred sometime before this date. The contemporary Caulukya prince may have been Ajayapāla (c 1173-76), or any of his two immediate successors Mūlarāja II (c 1176-78 A D) and Bhīmadeva II (c 1178-1241 A D). The inscriptions Nos 8-7 of Sāmantasīmha if they really belong to him, seem to indicate that he took full advantage of the weakness of the Caulukyas during the period c 1176-1202 A D to recover his power to some extent and even extend his authority across the Aravalli Range into the Sirohi and Jodpur States.

According to the Abu inscription of Samarasīmha¹ (V S 1342) and the Sadadi² (V S 1496) and Kumbhalgarh³ (V S 1517) inscriptions of Kumbha, Kumārasīmha was succeeded by his son⁴ Mathanasīmha and the latter by his son Padmasīmha⁵. No inscriptions are known for the reigns of these two princes. The only

¹ *IA* XVI pp. 345.

² *BI* pp 113 ff ; *ASI* 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.

³ *HR*, II p 440.

⁴ The Abu inscription does not specify relationship but see *HR* II p 153.

⁵ *Ibid*

light upon the subject comes from the Chirwa inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1330).¹ This states that Mathanasimha appointed Uddharana of the Tāmtaraḍa family² to the post of the *Talānakṣa*³ of the city of Nāgadraha (Nagda). His duties are probably indicated by the words *duṣṭa-śiṣṭa-śikṣaṇa-īkṣaṇa*⁴ *dakṣatva* used by the *prāśastikāra* to praise him. Uddharana, we are told, had 8 sons, of whom the eldest, Yogarāja, was appointed as *Talāna* in the same city by Padmasimha.

Padmasimha was succeeded by his son⁵ Jaitrasimha⁶ The following dates and records are known for his reign :

(1) *Eklingaji stone-inscription*.—On a stone near the Nandi in the courtyard of the temple of Ekalingaji in Mewar. It is dated in (V.S.) 1270 (c. 1213 A.D.), in the reign of M. Jaitrasimhadeva.⁷

(2) *Nandesama stone-inscription*.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Sūrya (the Sun) at the village of Nandesama in Mewar. It is dated in V.S 1279 (c. 1223 A.D.), when M. Jayatasimha was victoriously reigning at Nāgadraha, and while Maham Dungarasimha was administering the treasury (*Śrī-karana*).⁸

(3) *MS. of the Daśavaikālika-sūtra*.—Written by Hemacandra in (V.)S. 1284 (c. 1227 A.D.) at Āghāta-*ḍunga* in the reign (*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye*) of Samasta-*īājāvalī-samalanakṛta*-M. Jaitrasimha, while the Mahāmātya Jagatsimha appointed by him, was carrying on the administration of the seal (*samastamudrā-vyāpārān paripanthayatī*).⁹

¹ WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.

² *Ibid*, p. 156, V 9.

³ For the forms *Talāra* and *Talarakṣaka*, see *ibid*, pp 146-47

⁴ "An example of the figure *Yāthāsāṃkhyā* " (Barnett)

⁵ See WZKM, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff

⁶ Apparently also known as Jayatasimha, Jayasimha, Jayamtasimha, Jitasimha, Jayatala and Jesala.

⁷ BI, p 96 fn , HR, II, p 470, fn 2, also *Bhāvnagar Prācīna-śodha-saṃgraha*, p 47, fn

⁸ Noticed in RMR, 1925, p 2, see also HR, II, p 470, fn 3

⁹ Peterson's *Third Report* (1884-86), Appendix, p 52 The date is quoted by Kielhorn in IA, Vol. XIX, p 165, No 86, see also HR, II, p. 471, fn. 1

(4) *Jharole stone-inscription* — Engraved on a lintel of the temple of Vayajanātha (Vaidyanātha Śiva) at Jharole. It is dated in (V) S 1308 (c 1251 A D), in the reign of the illustrious Mahārājakula (Mahārāval) Jayasimhadeva, while he was ruling over Vāgaḍa. It registers the erection of the temple by one Khetaka and two others.¹

(5) *MS of the Pākṣika vṛtti* — Written by Thakkura Jayatala in Āghāṭa in (V) S 1309 (c 1256 A D), in the reign of M Jayasimha and that of his dependent (*āśrita*) Jayasimha, while Talhana was transacting the business of the seal.²

The above records give dates ranging from V S 1270 to 1309, corresponding to c 1213-1256 A D. As we have the date V S 1317 (c 1260 A D) for his son and successor, his reign certainly ended some time between c 1256 and 1260 A D.³ The titles and epithets of Jaitrasimha seem to indicate that he very nearly succeeded where his predecessors had failed. Though the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is no sure indication of sovereign rank, the facts of his reign as we shall presently see, seem to show that he had won a larger degree of independence than any of his predecessors. His success was no doubt due to a large measure to the fall of the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari and the decline of the Paramāras of Mālava and the Cālukyas of Anhilvada. In the latter kingdom the intrigues and treason of Vīradhavalā and other high officials of the State had paralysed foreign policy. It was at this opportune moment that the reign of Jaitrasimha came, and he was not slow to take advantage of his position. In the Guhila inscriptions he is unanimously praised for his military success against his various neighbours and the Muslims. Thus the Ghaghra inscription of his son Tejasimha (V S 1322) tells

¹ Noticed in *EMR* 1925 p. 2.

² *HR* II, p. 471 fn. 2.

³ But see *ASI WO* 1905-06, p. 81 No. 2922 which records a Uthitorgadh inscription dated in (V) S. 1323 *versus* Kārtike *śaka* 12, which is apparently dated in the reign of the Guhila prince Jaitrasimha. Strangely it speaks of Jaitrasimha as a brother of Padmasimha. It is now in Udaipur. *EI* Vol. XX, Appendix p. 81, does not notice this record.

us that the lords of Mālava, Gurjara, Śākambharī and the Turuṣkas were unable to humble his pride.¹ The Chirwa inscription of his grandson Samarasiṃha (V.S 1330) asserts that his pride was never brought low by the princes of Mālava, Gurjara, Jāngala, and the Mlecchas.² The Abu inscription of the same prince (V S 1342) declares that his arm "completely eradicated Nadūla, and he proved a very Agastya to the Turuska army Even now the mistresses of the goblins were tottering about intoxicated with the blood of the Sindhuka (?) army."³ The conflict with the Gurjaras must refer to his struggles with the Caulukya Bhīma II (c 1178-1241 A D.), or with his feudatory the Dholka Rānā Vīradhavalā Geiger however would identify the Rānaka Tribhuvana mentioned in the Chirwa inscription with the Caulukya Tribhuvanapāla, who appears to have succeeded Bhīma II, at Anahillapātaka before V.S. 1299 (c. 1242 A.D.)⁴ The inscription relates that Bāla, the grandson of Yogaiāja, the Talāra of Nagda in the reign of Padmasiṃha, went to heaven fighting in front (*purataḥ*) of Jaitrasīṃha to capture Kottadaka⁵ from the Rānaka Tribhuvana. The mention of a struggle with the rulers of Śākambharī and Jāngala seems to point to a conflict between Jaitrasīṃha and the Cāhamānas, who were the traditional rulers of these places But as both

¹ RMR, 1927, p. 3

² WZKM, Vol XXI, pp 142 ff

*Na Malaviyena na Gaurjarena
na Maraveśena na Jāṅgalena
Mlecchādhināthena kadāpi māno
mlānīṃ na ninye' vanīpasya yasya (V 6)*

³ IA, Vol. XVI, pp 345 ff

⁴ IA, Vol XI, pp 208-10, WZKM, Vol XXI, p 151, fn. 3, HR, II, p 461, see also
ante, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the Caulukyās, pp 1035-36 and fn 5 on pp 1035-36

⁵ Bālākaḥ Kottahaka-

*grahane Śrī Jaitrasīṃha-nīpa-purataḥ,
Tribhuvana-rānaka-yuddhe
jagāma yuddhvā param lokam (V 19)*

Djha identified Kottahaka with Kotada, HR, II, p 461 Geiger identified it with Kotah in
the Kotah State of Rajputana, WZKM, Vol XXI, p 151, fn 2

Prthvirāja III (c 1179-92 A D) and his brother Harirāja (1194 A D) were ousted from those regions sometime before his accession. I am led to conclude that these wars must refer to Jaitrasīṃha's hostilities with the successors of the Cāhamānas in those territories, viz the Muslims. This guess is supported by the references to his conflict with the Turuṣkas, which probably first took place when he attacked Nadol. The Naddula Cāhamānas had once lost that fort to Mu'izz ud Dīn Ghūrī in 1178 A D.¹ It again fell into the hands of Quṭb ud-Dīn in A D 1197, and it probably remained in the possession of the Muslims during part of Jaitrasīṃha's reign. The Abu inscription of Samarasīṃha, by associating Jaitrasīṃha's destruction of Naḍūla with his victory over the Turuṣkas, seems to lend support to Bhandarkar's conjecture that his attack took place when Quṭb ud Dīn was in possession of Eastern Marwar including Nadol.² But Ojha has recently expressed the opinion that the conflict at Nadol was not with the Turuṣkas but with the Jāvālpura Cāhamāna Udayasīṃha (c 1206-49 A.D.), who is credited in the Sundha hill inscription with having ruled over Naddula, and who was also a contemporary of Jaitrasīṃha (c 1213-56 A D).³ The Chirwa inscription of Samarasīṃha (V S 1330) seems to indicate that Jaitrasīṃha also fought with the Paramāras of Mālava. It tells us that Madana, the grandson of Yogarāja, an officer of Padmasīṃha, fought in the battlefield of Uttuṇaka⁴ on behalf of Jesala against the *Pañcagunḍika*.⁵ Jaitramalla. Ojha would identify Jesala with the Guhila Jaitrasīṃha, and Jaitramalla with the Mālava Paramāra Jaitugideva⁶ (c 1239-48 A D), who were both contemporaries of each other. The Abu inscription of Samarasīṃha (V S 1342), which mentions Jaitrasīṃha's victory over the Sindhuka army, probably

¹ See ante *DHNI* Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas pp. 1121-22.

² *SI* Vol. XI p 72.

³ *HR* II, pp 461-62.

⁴ Mod. Arithuna in Banswara State Rajputana.

⁵ According to Ojha a title but what does it signify?

⁶ See *supra* *DHNI* Vol. II chapter on the Paramāras pp. 902ff.

refers to a possible conflict with the rulers of Sind on the West ¹

But the most important trial of Jaitrasimha's strength took place when the Muslims invaded his territory and devastated Nāgadraha (mod Nagda) and perpetrated terrible brutalities on the population of Medapāta. This is revealed by the *Hammīra-mada-mandana* of Jayasimha,² which gives the details of the invasion of the territories of Jayatala, the lord of Medapāta, by the *Turusha-vīras* under the *Mleccha-cakravartin* 'Mīlacchīkāra.' We are told that even the children were butchered and people threw themselves in the wells rather than fall into the hands of the invader. The author tells us that the enemy was only compelled to retreat northwards to his territories by the advance of the victorious legions of the Dholka chief Vīradhavalā and the intrigues of the spies of his minister Vastupāla. The reality of this Muslim invasion is proved by the Chirwa inscription referred to above, which tells us that Pamparāja, a son of Yogarāja, the *Talāra* appointed by Padmasimha at Nāgadraha, was killed when that city was destroyed by the soldiers of the 'Suratrāṇa.'³ It seems probable that both Jayasimha and the composer of this record refer to the same invasion. Rai Bahadur Ojha thinks that 'Mīlacchīkāra' of Jayasimha is but a Sanskritization of the word *Amīr Shīkān* which was conferred by Qutb ud-Dīn on his slave Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D).⁴ Whatever may be the value of this identification on phonetic grounds, I have shown elsewhere that Sultān Iltutmish really undertook a number of expeditions to Rajputana. He captured Jalor sometime between 1211 and 1216 A.D, and Māndor about 1226 A.D. In one of these he may have overrun Mewar. The raid on Nagda may possibly have been undertaken for plundering the treasures of

¹ This ruler of Sind was possibly a Sumra chief, see *ante*, DHNI, Vol I, *Dynastic History of Sind*, pp 31ff. See also Ojha, *HR*, II, pp 468-69

² Ed. by C. D. Dalal in *GOS*, No X, 1920. For details and references see *ante*, DHNI, Vol II, chapter on the *Caulukyās*, p 1021, and fn 1 on the same page

³ *WZKM*, Vol XXI, p 157, V 16

⁴ See *ante*, p 1021, fn 8, also *HR*, II, p 467

the temple of Ekahūga. But it is strange that the Muslim historians should not refer to any conflict with Jaitrasimha. This does not indicate that the Mewar prince was considered a very important ruler of the time. Ojha however concludes from the silence of the Muslim chroniclers that Il̥tutmish was defeated by Jaitrasimha,¹ thus justifying the poet's description of the latter as a veritable Agastya to the Turuṣka army. The same scholar throws out the suggestion that it was after the capture of Nāgadraha by the Muslims that the Guhilas definitely transferred their capital to Chitor.² Another invasion of Mewar by the Muslims appears to have taken place in the reign of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud Dīn (1242-46 A.D.). Firishta narrates that the king's brother, Jālāl ud Dīn, when summoned from his government of Kanauj, became 'apprehensive of a design against his life and so fled to the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king pursued him, but finding, after eight months, that he could not secure him returned to Dehly'.³ It is again curious that the Muslim historian does not mention the name of the Mewar prince.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha. The following dates and records are known for his reign —

(1) MS of *Srāvaka pratikramana sūtra cūṛṇi* — Written by Kamalacandra, disciple of Rāmacandra, a resident of Āghāṭa, in (V)S 1317 (c. 1260 A.D.), when the *M P Pb Umāpati vara labdha prauḍha pratāpa samalamkrta Śrī-Tejasimhadēva* was reigning victoriously at Āghāṭa-durga, and while his *Mahāmātya* Samudvara was carrying on the administration of the Seal (*Mudrā vyāpārān paripanthayati*).⁴

¹ HR II pp. 467-68. See OHI Vol. III map facing p. 64 in which Mewar is included within the kingdom of Delhi in 1286 A.D.

² HR p. 468.

³ TF Briggs Trans. Vol. I p. 238.

⁴ Peterson's Report p. 23. HR II p. 473 fn. 4. Dr. Barnett also drew my attention to this MS.

(2) *Ghaghsha stone-inscription*.—Found in the village of Ghaghsha near Chitor. It contains 28 lines of mutilated writing. The first two verses praise Mahādeva Somanātha, while verses 3-8 trace the genealogy of Tejasimha from Padmasimha. The *prāśasti* then describes the family of the *Mahājana* Ratna, belonging to the Dīndu family, who built the well where the inscription was originally found. It is dated in (V.)S. 1322 (c. 1265 A.D.), and was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri of the Chaitra-gaccha.¹

(3) *Chitor stone-inscription*.—Incised on a stone fixed on an arch of the bridge on the Gambhīri river near Chitor. The stone is reported to have originally belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra, at the Talahattikā² of Citrakūta-mahādurga. The record is dated in (V.)S. 1324 (c. 1267 A.D.), in the reign of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Tejasimhadeva. It mentions Hemacandra Sūri and others of the Chaitra-gaccha.³

The above records give us dates from V.S. 1317 to 1324 (c. 1260-67 A.D.) for Tejasimha. The assumption of imperial titles, as well as the epithets which were formerly found on the records of the Caulukyās of Anhilvada, seems to indicate that Tejasimha completed the process which began in his father's reign of asserting his complete independence. It seems significant that the epithet *Umāpativara-labdha-praudha-pratāpa* should appear on his records so soon after the end of the reign of Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241) and his successor Tribhuvanapāla (c. 1241-44 A.D.). It is to be noted in this connection that the Vāghela Vīśaladeva (c. 1244-62 A.D.), who apparently succeeded Tribhuvanapāla at Anhilvada about 1244 A.D., claims to be

¹ Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3. The epigraph is now deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

² Talahatti, a town at the foot of the hill of Chitor, of which there is at present no trace.

³ First noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB*, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 46-47, then in *RMR*, 1929, p. 3. The record is sometimes called 'Citorgadh inscription,' *EI*, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 81, No. 570.

Medapāṭa-deṭa kaluṣa in his Kadi grant, dated in V S 1317¹ of Tejasimha. It is therefore probable that Tejasimha came into conflict with the newly founded Vāghela principality of Gujarat.

That the two princes were contemporaries is further proved by the claim of Ratnaprabha, composer of the Chirwa inscription (V S 1330), that he was honoured by Viśvaladeva and Tejasimha-deva². One of the queens of Tejasimha was Jayatalladevi, the mother of his successor Samarasimha. Ojha is of opinion that he had another queen named Rūpadevi, who was a daughter of the Jalor Cāhamāna Cācigadeva (c. 1262-68 A D)³. I see however no ground to agree with him that this marriage must have taken place in the reign of Tejasimha's father Jaitrasimha.

Tejasimha was succeeded by his son Samarasimha. The following dates and records are known for his reign —

(1) *Chirwa stone-inscription* — Incised on the outside of the door of the temple of Viṣṇu at the village of Chirwā, about 10 miles north of Udaipur and 2 miles east of Nagda. It contains 51 Sanskrit verses, opening with *Oṃ namaḥ Śrī Mahādevāya* and verses in praise of Yogarājeśvara (Śiva), and then tracing the genealogy of Samarasimha from Padmasimha. The latter was born many years after Bappa of the *Guhilāṅga* varṇa. The inscription then gives the genealogy and history of the various members of a family who claimed to belong to the Tāṭaraṇa family (*jāta-Tāṭaraṇa jātāu*) who served in various capacities in the Guhila administration from the time of Mathanasimha onwards. The object of the inscription is to record that in the village of Cīrakūpa,⁴ near Nāgahrada,⁵ Yogarāja, the *talāra* of Padmasimha in the city of Nāgahrada,⁶ raised a temple to (Śiva) Yoga-rājeśvara and his consort Yogarājeśvarī. Before this Uddharāya

¹ JA Vol VI pp. 210 ff. See also *supra* DHNI Vol. II chapter on the *Čeṭakya* pp. 1034 and 1037.

² WSKM Vol. XXI pp. 142 ff.

³ HR II p. 462. See also DHNI Vol. II, chapter on the *Cāhamāna* p. 1183.

⁴ Mod. Chirwa.

⁵ Mod. Nagda.

⁶ Same as Nāgahrada. See WSKM Vol. XXI pp. 166 ff. Vs. 10, 12, 16 and 14.

had also erected a temple in the same place to (Viṣṇu) Uddha-
raṇasvāmin. Madana, grandson of Yogarāja, and his mother
Hirū granted two fields situated at the back of the Kālebāya lake
and to the north of Citiakūta-nagara-durga, to the temples
after having divided them into two equal parts. The *praśasti*
was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri. It is dated in (V) S.
1330 (c. 1273 A.D.).¹

(2) *Chitor stone-inscription (i)*.—54 lines, incised on a large
stone near the burning-ground in the neighbourhood of the
Kūti-stambha of Kumbha. It contains only the first portion of
the inscription; the second is lost. The opening verses invoke
(Śiva) Candracūda and Ganeśa. It then eulogises the *Guhila-*
vamśa of Medapāṭa and its capital Nāgahrada. Next it traces
the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who won Medapāṭa
through the favour of Haritarāśi to Naravāhana. It was com-
posed by Veda Sarman. Its date (V) S. 1331 (c. 1274 A.D.),
shows that it must belong to the reign of Samarasimha.²

(3) *Chitor stone-inscription (ii)* —Engraved on a lintel belong-
ing to a Jaina temple in the fort of Chitor. It records the con-
struction of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevī,
queen of Tejasimha. It is dated in (V) S. 1335 (c. 1278 A.D.),
in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasimhadeva, the ornament of
the Guhila family, and records a grant of land by him for the
construction of a monastery for Pradyumna Sūri.³

(4) *Abu stone-inscription* —In a monastery adjoining a
temple of Acaleśvara (Śiva) near Achalgarh on Mt. Abu. It con-
tains 48 lines. The inscription was composed by the same as
in No. 2 above. It is dated in the reign of Samarasimha or
Samara of Medapāṭa in (V.) S. 1342 (c. 1285 A.D.), and
records that he repaired a *matha* on Mt. Arbuda (Abu) at the

¹ Edited by Bernhard Geiger, *WZKM*, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-62.

² *BI*, pp. 74 ff. Cunningham published a photozincograph in *ASR*, Vol. XXIII, plate
XXV. Then edited by Kielhorn, *IA*, XXII, pp. 80-81, see also *HR*, II, p. 479.

³ Noticed in *RMR*, 1923, p. 3, previously noticed by Syamaladas in *JASB*, Vol. LV,
Part I, pp. 18 and 48.

request of the Paśupata ascetic Bhāvaśankara. Its main value is that it supplies the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who first gained royalty through the favour of Hāritarāśi, practising penance at the town of Nāgahrada.¹

(5) *Chitor stone-inscription (iii)* — Engraved on a pillar about a mile or so from Chitor. It is dated in (V) S 1344 (c 1287 A D) in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasimha, and records some grants to the temple of Vaidyanātha built on a tank called Citrāṅga (mod Chitrang Moris tank) at Citrakūṭa.²

(6) *Dariba stone-inscription* — Engraved on a pillar of the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba, about 10 miles from Sunwar station of the Udaipur Chitor Railway. It is dated in (V) S 1356 (c 1299 A D), in the reign of *Mahārājakula* Samarasimhadeva, when his chief minister was Nimbā. It records the gift of 16 *drammas* to the temple by two persons named Karanā and Sohādā.³

(7) *Chitor stone inscription (iv)* — Incised on a loose stone slab on a platform built round a tree in front of the Rampol gate at Chitor. It is dated in (V) S 1358 (c 1301), in the reign of *M* Samarasimhadeva. It is damaged, but seems to register the erection of a *prastāṭi* in the neighbourhood of the 'terrace of Bhojasvāmī (*Bhojasvāmideva-jagati*) by *Rāja* Dhārasimha, the son of *Mahārōvat Rājā* Pātā of the Pratihāra family.⁴

(8) *Chitor stone inscription (v)* — Found incised on the 9th arch of the bridge over the Gambhūri near the fort of

¹ First noticed in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XVI pp. 284 ff.; see Wilson's translations, *ibid* pp 292-96. Syamaldas edited the record in 1886 in *JASB* Vol. LV Part I pp 82ff. 48ff. and 57ff. Finally edited by Kielhorn *IA* Vol. XVI, pp. 845-58.

² First noticed by Syamaldas in *JASB* Vol. LV Part I, pp. 1891 also in *RMR* 1923 p 3; see also *ASI WC* 1906 p. 62, No 2292.

³ Noticed in *RMR* 1927 p 8.

⁴ Noticed in *RMR* 1921 p. 1. The report identified Bhoja in the compound *Bhoja-svāmī* as the Paramāra ruler of that name. Dr Barnett suggests that *jagati* is an architectural term something like terrace. Bhandarkar however translates the word *jagati* by 'grounds' see *EI* Vol XX, Appendix p. 92.

Chitor. It seems to record the grant of some land by Samarasimha for the good of his mother Jayatalladevi. The portion containing the date is hidden and the record is much damaged.¹

The above inscriptions give dates for Samarasimha from V S. 1330 to 1358, corresponding to c. 1273-1301 A D. Not much is known about this long reign of about 30 years. The Abu inscription dated in V S 1342 (c. 1285 A.D.) seems however to contain some information of his conflict with the Muslims. We are told that "like unto the primeval boar, having the sword for his flashing tusk, he in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Turuṣka sea" As Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban (1266-87 A.D.) was at the time of the record the Sultān of Delhi, this may refer to a conflict with him. Jinapiabha in his *Tīrtha-kalpa* tells us that when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alā ud-Dīn, proceeded on his expedition against Gujarat in V. S. 1386 (c 1299 A D), Samarasimha, the ruler of Citrakūṭa saved his country from devastation by doing homage to him.² Though this is not mentioned in the Muslim chronicles, Ojha rightly points out that as the Jain author was a contemporary, his statement is reliable.³ It was shortly after this incident that we find 'Alā ul-Mulk, the *Koṭwāl* of Delhi, urging the conquest of Chitor amongst other places upon 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.).⁴ The contemporary writer Amīr Khusrau in his *Ta'rikh-i 'Alāi*⁵ gives the following short description of the Sultān's campaign against Chitor.

"On Monday, the 8th Jumāda-s Sānī, A.H. 702 (1303 A.D.) the loud drums proclaimed the royal march from Delhi, under-

¹ Noticed by Syamaldas, *JASB*, Vol LV, Part I, pp 18 and 47

² *Satyapura-kalpa* in *Tīrtha-kalpa*, p 95, quoted in *HR*, II, p 477, fn 2

³ *Ibid*

⁴ See *Tārikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, extracts Trans in *Elliot*, Vol III, p 171.

⁵ Also known as *Khazāinul Futūh* *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp 67 ff, for a better translation see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp. 369-73 Text edited by S M. Haq, Aligarh, 1927.

taken with a view to the capture of Chitor ' The author accompanied the expedition The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram A H 703 (August 1303 A D) Amīr Khusrau says —“ The Rāi struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate, he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword The Hindus say that lightning falls where ever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Rāi had become yellow as one, through the effects of fear Though the Rāi was a rebel royal mercy was conferred upon him ”¹ Ratnasimha apparently surrendered when he found the position to be untenable After his departure Lakṣmasimha (als called the Lakṣmasimha) of the collateral Sesodia branch and after his death his son Arisimha were raised to the throne of Mewar and the Guhilas under their leadership continued to resist the Muslims with the courage of despair This must have made the emperor Arimson with rage and when the citadel was at last stormed he ordered a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus in a single day 'Alā ud Dīn then bestowed the government of Chitor upon his son, Khizr Khān, and named the place Khizrābād ' Barapī² and Firishṭa³ also refer to the capture of Chitor by 'Alā ud Dīn after a siege lasting for some time Abu'l Faḥl in his *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* gives the name of the prince of Chitor as Rāwal Rattan, and narrates the well known story of the causes of the war between Chitor and Delhi⁴ It is doubtful how far the beauty of Padminī was really responsible for the Muslim attack on Chitor If there is any truth in the story, which is

¹ For a tradition of the capture of the Rājā his imprisonment in Delhi for two years and his rescue from Delhi by his followers see *CHI* Vol. III pp. 108 and 111

² Text pp. 67-68 Elliot Vol. III pp. 76-77 S Dutta pointed out (*IHQ* 1931 p. 293 fn. 2) that Elliot's translation of the relevant parts is wrong I have compared the text with the translation and have found that Dutta is right For a better English rendering of the text see *Journal of Indian History* 1939 pp. 369-73.

³ Elliot pp. 189-90

⁴ *TF* Briggs Trans. Vol. I p. 496

⁵ *AAK* Vol. II, pp. 269-70.

not directly mentioned by any contemporary writers,¹ it may have been used only as a pretext to crush the rising power of the Guhilas.

Only one inscription of Ratnasimha, the son of Samarasimha has as yet been found. This is his *Dariba temple-inscription* dated in (V.) S. 1359 (c. 1302 A.D.) It is engraved on a pillar in the temple of *Mātāji* at Dariba and records the gift of 16 *diammas* to the temple when the *Mahārājahula* Ratnasimha was ruling over Medapāṭa and while his chief minister was Mahanasīha.² The possession of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī is proved by two inscriptions in that city dated in A. H. 705 (1306 A. D.) and 709 (c. 1310 A. D.) in his reign.³

(2) *Guhila-putras of Chatsu.*

The existence of this branch of the Guhilas is mainly known from the Chatsu stone-inscription of Bālāditya,⁴ which was discovered about 26 miles south of the City of Jaipur in Rajputana. Another record of one of the earlier members of the family, was found at Dabok, in the Jahazpur district of Udaipur. It has therefore been concluded that the principality of this line probably extended from Dabok in Udaipur in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north. Bhandarkar suggested that their capital was probably at Dhavagarta, modern Dhod in Jahazpur district. But he himself quotes a tradition which may indicate that it was further north, at Chatsu.⁵ The tank where the

¹ Ojha (*Udayapur Rājya kā Itihāsa*) and, following him Haldar (*IA*, 1929 and 1930) and Qanungo (*Prabāsī*, Phālgun, 1337 B. S.) hold the view that the Padminī episode is not directly or indirectly mentioned by any contemporary or reliable piece of evidence. But see *IHQ*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 287ff., where Dutta tries to demonstrate that Amīr Khusrāu indirectly refers to the Padminī episode in his *Ta'rikh-i-'Alāi* and that the Kumbhal-gadh inscription (V. S. 1517 = Śaka S. 1382 = A. D. 1460) also hints at it.

² Noticed in *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.

³ Noticed in *ibid.*, 1922, p. 2. For the subsequent history of the Guhilas see *HR*, pp. 496 ff.

⁴ *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

⁵ *Rānā chode Cāṭsū, jo cāy so le* ('The Rānā has forsaken Cāṭsū, whoever wants it may take it')

inscription was found is even now known as *Gholerāv talāv*, or the tank of the Guhila rāja

The founder of this line was Bhartṛpaṭṭa, who is stated in the Chatsu inscription to have flourished in the Guhila family. He is also said to have been like Rāma (i.e., Paraśu Rāma) endowed with priestly and martial qualities. I have already commented upon the true meaning of this statement. The *prastāvikāra* apparently wanted to say that though Bhartṛpaṭṭa¹ was a Brāhman, he adopted the life and profession of a Kṣatriya. I have approximately calculated his date as c. 625 A.D., and have ventured to guess that he was an earlier immigrant from the principality established by the Brāhman Guhila of Ānandapura. Nothing is definitely known about his next three successors,¹ his son Iśānabhaṭa, his grandson Upendrabhaṭa, and his great-grandson Guhila I. Guhila's son was Dhanika, who, as I have elsewhere said, is probably identical with Dhanika of the *Dabok* stone inscription dated in Gupta *Saṃvat* 407² (c. 725 A.D.). The inscription is dated in the victorious reign of the *Pb-M P* Dhavalappadeva, who has with some probability been identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala of the Kansuvar inscription dated in V S 795 (A.D. 738). Ojha however demurs to this identification, and regards the question of the family of Dhavalappa as still open.³ Nothing is known about the next two successors of Dhanika, viz., his son Āuka and grandson Kṛṣṇa-rāja. Kṛṣṇa = son Saṅkaragana is stated to have conquered *Bhaṭa*, the *Gauḍa kṣatṛpati*, and made a present of the latter's kingdom

¹ Ojha would identify him with the 11th prince of the same name in the *Madapāṭa* line; see *HR* II, pp. 420 ff. I have tried to show that this is improbable; see ante *DHNI* Vol. II, p. 1167 fn. 3.

² *ASI* WO 1906, p. 61. The date was read by Bhandarkar as 307. He changed it to 407 in *SI* Vol. XII pp. 11-12. But Ojha has proposed to read the date as 307 which he refers to the Harṣa era (V S 870 = A.D. 813); see *HR* II pp. 421 fn. 1; see also *DHNI* Vol. II ante p. 1155 fn. 3.

³ *HR* II p. 421 fn. 1.

to his overlord (*prabhu*). Śaṅkaragana's son by his queen Yajjā, Haiṣarāja, succeeded him. This prince is called a *dvija*, which, as Bhandarkar points out, usually denotes a Brāhman in the inscriptions of the period. He is also stated to have conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. This Bhoja has been identified with the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj of that name who ruled about 836-90 A.D. ; if so, the *prabhu* of Haiṣarāja's father was possibly Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815-33 A.D.), the grandfather of Bhoja, or his son Rāmabhadra. But who could be the Gauda king who was defeated by Śaṅkaragana? Bhandarkar's suggestion that *Bhata* may be the Pāla ruler Śūlapāla seems to be wrong. I am inclined to regard *Bhata* rather as a *buuda* or an epithet of Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A.D.), who was a contemporary and rival of Nāgabhaṭa II,¹ the predecessor of Bhoja I.

Harṣarāja was succeeded by Guhila II, his son by the queen Sillā. Guhila married Rajjhā, a daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja (V. 24). I am unable to identify this prince. The Chatsu inscription tells us that Guhila II created the impression that he was Guhila I come to life again to destroy his foes (V. 22). We are further told (V. 23) that with excellent horses he vanquished the *Gaudādhinātha* and levied tribute upon the princes of the east (*prācya*). I am inclined to identify this lord of Gauda with Devapāla (c. 815-54). If this is accepted, we must conclude that the expedition of Guhila II was undertaken in the interest of his overlord, who was still probably Bhoja I (c. 836-90 A.D.). It seems likely that the small silver coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Guhila* or *Guhila-Śrī* which were dug up in Agra in 1869² really belonged to this prince.

Guhila II's son was Bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have led an expedition of conquest against the kings of the south (V. 26).

¹ See *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 287

² *ASR*, Vol. IV, p. 95, see also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1163.

He married Purāṣā, the daughter of one Viruka, and had by her a son named Bālāditya, also known as a Bālārka and Bālabbānu, who succeeded him. The *Chatsu* stone inscription emanates from this prince. It is incised on a slab of black stone built into the side wall of the steps leading down into a great tank, at the bottom of which it was originally found. The tank is situated at Chatsu, the principal town of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of Jaipur. The record contains 27 lines of writing in the northern type of alphabet of about the 10th century A D. It opens with *Oṃ namaḥ* and two verses addressed to the goddess Sarasvatī and Murārī (Viṣṇu). Next follows the genealogy of the *Guhila-vamśa*, from Bhartṛpaṭṭa to Bālāditya. This latter married Rattavā, the daughter of the Cāhamāna king Sivarāja, and had by her three sons, Vallabharāja, Vigraharāja and Devarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Murārī (Viṣṇu), by Bālāditya, in memory of Rattavā, who had died. The *prasasti* was composed by the *Karanika* Bhānu, a Vaiṣṇava, and engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* Bhāila.¹

Nothing more is known about Bālāditya or any of his descendants. It may be that their principality was gradually swallowed up by the growing power of the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī.

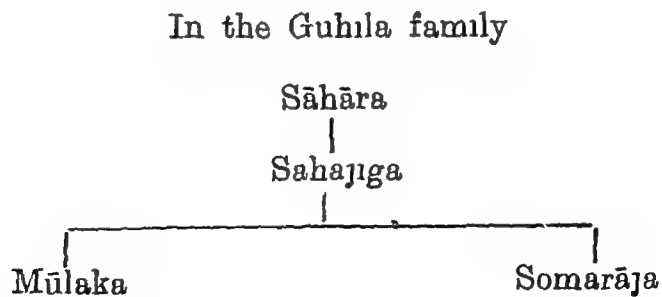
(3) *Guhila putras of Saurāṣṭra*

The princes of the modern States of Bhavnagar, Palitana, Vala, and Lathi² in Kathiawad claim to be Rajputs of the Guhila tribe. The rulers of Bhavnagar trace their descent from Śāhivāhana of Paithan. A descendant of this ruler, we are told, settled in Khera gaḍh on the banks of the Lunī in the Jodhpur State.

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar *SI* Vol. XII pp 10-17.

² *IGI* Vol. VIII p 93; Vol. XVI, p 154. Vol. XIX, p 360. The ruling family of Rajpipla, in Gujarat (Rawa Kantha) also claims Guhila descent, and is apparently connected with the princes of Bhavnagar see *ibid* Vol. XXI, p. 80.

The last prince of Khera, Mohadāsa, was killed by Siājī, grandson of the Rathoda ' Jayacandra ' of Kanauj. Sejakjī,¹ Mohadāsa's grandson, then migrated to Saurāstra about 1250 V. S. with his followers, and entered the services of the Sorath king Mahīpāla, whose capital was at Junagarh. He obtained 12 villages around Sāpur, and from his progeny were descended the Guhilas of Kathiawar and the neighbourhood.² Recently Ojha has advanced the theory that Sālivāhana, the ancestor of Sejakjī, was really the prince of that name in the Medapāta branch of the Guhilas, who was the predecessor of Śaktikumāra (977 A. D.)³ He is of opinion that the person who really migrated from Khera in Jodhpur was Sahajiga who is mentioned in the Mangrol stone-inscription of the Guhila *Thakkura* Mūlaka. This record was found incised on a slab of black stone attached to the wall of a well in the town of Mangrol in Junagarh, in South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, opening with *Om namaḥ Śivāya* and invocation of Hara (Śiva). It then praises the Caulukya Kumārāpāla (c. 1144-73 A. D.), the successor of Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A. D.) Next follows the following genealogy of a family of Guhilas —



We are next told that Somarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara and named it, after his father, Sahajigeśvara. Mūlaka granted one *Kā(ṛṣāpana ?)* from the custom-house

¹ Sometimes called Sejakī. He is reported to have founded Sejakpur, while his son 'Rān Gohel' founded Rānpur in (V) S 1201 (c 1144 A. D.) *Somnath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kāthiāwād*, by H. Cousens, 1931, p. 5

² *Bālabodha Itihāsa of Bhavanagar*, by Devaśaṅkar Vaikuṇṭhaji Bhaṭṭa, quoted in *HR*, Vol II, p. 431, fn. 2

³ *HR*, Vol II, pp. 430ff

(*Śulka maṇḍapikā*) of Maṅgalapura (mod Mangrol) and other gifts for the service of the god. The record is dated in (V) B 1202 (c 1145 A D) and *Śiṃha Saṃvat* 32. The inscription was composed by the Pāṣupata teacher Prasarvajña.¹

This record shows that Mūlaka was a feudatory chief under the administration of Kumārapāla. Ojha has suggested that Sabajiga first migrated from the Luni valley and took service under Jayasīṃha Siddharāja, and having distinguished himself in his war against the chief of Sorath was appointed to a principality in that region.² Though there is at present nothing to support this guess, it is not beyond the range of probability. Sabajiga is described in the inscription as a commander of the Caulukya forces, and it is possible that he was a contemporary of Jayasīṃha. His sons are described as capable of protecting Saurāṣṭra (*Saurāṣṭrarakṣā kṣama*) and one of them, Mūlaka, is called *Surāṣṭra nāyaka*.

No other record is at present known that throws any light upon the history of this branch.

(4) *Guhila-putras of Āsikā*

The existence of a Guhila chief at Āsikā or Hansi, in the Hisar district of the Punjab, is known from the *Hansi stone inscription* of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja II (c 1167 69 A D).³ This was found on the wall of a building at Hansi. It contains 22 lines of writing. The opening verse invokes Murāri (Viṣṇu). It then mentions Kīlhaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja, who belonged to the Gūhilaūta clan. We are next told that as Hammīra had become a cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kīlhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā. The object of the inscription is to record that Kīlhaṇa

¹ BI pp. 158-60. ARB pp. 179-80; see also ante DHNI Vol. II p. 977. Inscription No. 1 of Kumārapāla.

² HR II, p. 432 fn.

³ IA 1912 pp. 17-19.

erected a *pratolī* (gateway) and near it two *Koṣṭhakas* (granaries). The flag which Kīlhana set up on the *pratolī*, we are told, 'set Hammīla as it were at defiance.' The Guhila chief is stated to have burnt Pañcapura, which has been identified with 'Pachapattana' on the Sutlej. The inscription is dated (V.) S. 1224 (c. 1167 A. D.)¹

It is clear from this inscription that the Guhila principality of Āsikā was established by the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī, specially to check the advance of the later Yamīnīs,² and must have been practically swept out of existence when the Turks under Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī captured Hansi after the second battle of Tarā'in in 588 A. H. (A. D. 1192)³

(5) *Guhila-putras of Nadūladāgikā.*

The existence of this small principality of the Guhilas is known from the *Nadlai stone-inscription*⁴ of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājyapāla (c. 1132-45 A. D.) The inscription was found incised on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines, and opens with salutation to Neminātha. It then gives the date, (V) S. 1195 (c. 1138 A. D.), and refers itself to the reign of *Mahānāṣadhrāja* Rājyapāla over Nadūladāgikā (Nadlai in Godwar, Jodhpur State). We are then told that for the worship of Neminātha, the *Thakkura* Rājadeva, son of *Rauta* (i. e., *Rājaputra*) Uddharana, of the Guhila family granted 1/10th part of the income derived from the loads going on their way or coming to Nadūladāgikā. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor—*Svabhasto'yam Rāu Rājadeva*

Two other Nadlai stone-inscriptions⁵ dated in V S. 1200 and 1202, under the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājyapāla, also record

¹ *IA*, 1912, p. 18. See *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas, pp. 1078-79

² *Ibid.*, p. 1080

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1089 ff

⁴ *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 36-37, also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas, p. 1112

⁵ *EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 41-43. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas, pp. 1113-14

gifts by one *Rāuta Rājadeva*. In one of these he is described as the *Thakkura* of *Naḍūlaḍāgikā*. There is therefore little doubt that this *Rāyapāla* is the same person who is described in the inscription dated in V S 1195 as the son of the *Guhila Uddharana*.

Nothing is at present known about the subsequent history of this principality.

(6) *Guhila putras of Sesodā*

I have already recorded the statement of the *Ekalinga-māhātmya* that in the reign of the *Medapāṭa Guhila Karṇa* (alias *Raṇasīmha*) the *Guhilas* became divided into two branches, the *Rāvals*, and the *Rānās*¹. The former or the elder branch continued to enjoy sovereign power in *Mewar*. In the latter branch flourished *Māhapa*, *Rāhapa*, etc. *Māhapa* and *Rāhapa* were the two sons of *Karṇa* and held in succession the fief of *Sesodā* which was assigned to them by their father. The descendants of *Rāhapa* came to be known as *Sesodias* from the name of their *jaṭi*, and ultimately revived the *Guhila* power in *Chitor* after it was crushed by the armies of 'Alā ud Dīn Khālji (1296-1316 A D). *Ojha*² gives the following list of *Rāhapa*'s descendants mainly from the bardic chronicles.

- 1 *Rāpā Rāhapa*
|
- 2 *Narapati*
|
- 3 *Dinakarṇa*
| (Dinakara)
- 4 *Jasakarṇa*
| (Jasakara)
- 5 *Nāgapāla*
|
- 6 *Pūrṇapāla* (*Purapāla*)
|
- 7 *Prthivīpāla* (*Rāpā Prathama*)
|

¹ See ante *DHNI* Vol. II p. 1179

² *HR*, II p. 523 also *Maharaja Nainsi ki Khayla*, Part I Hindi Trans. by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dūgāḍa, *Nāgarprachārini Sabha Kāḍi* Bahvat 1983 pp. 18-19 fn.

8 Bhuvanasīmha (Bhunagsī)
 9 Bhīmasīmha
 10 Jayasīmha
 11 Mahārānā Lakṣmanasīmha (1303 A. D.)
 (Lakhamasī),
 Mahārānā Arisīmha (Arasī or Aīsī) Ajayasīmha
 Mahārānā Hammīra (c. 1326-64 A. D.)

As mentioned above this line of chiefs seems to have always remained feudatory to the main line of Chitor. Laksmanasimha Lakṣmasimha and his son Arisimha took their share in the defence of Chitor against 'Alā ud-Dīn and were killed in 1303 A.D. The Kumbhalgaḍh inscription (V S. 1517-A.D. 1460) of Kumbhakarna seems to indicate that Laksmanasimha after the surrender² of Ratnasimha to 'Alā ud-Dīn was raised to the throne of Mewar and so he and his son Arisimha both reigned for very brief periods before their deaths. Tradition records that Laksmanasimha died along with seven of his sons in trying to maintain the defence of Chitor (*EI*, Vol XXI, p. 281, V. 180). It was his grandson (?) Hammīra who restored Guhila power in Mewar by capturing the fort of Chitor from Jesā or Jayasimha. Jesā was the son of the Jalor Cāhamāna Māladeva who was placed in charge of the fort by 'Alā ud-Dīn after the administration of Khizr Khān. According to Muhanota Nainsī the Cāhamāna Māladeva ruled at Chitor for 7 years³. The capture of Chitor by Hammīra seems to have happened some time after the reign of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tughluq (c. 1320-25), for whose reign we have a Persian inscription in Chitor.⁴

¹ Sometimes called 'Lakṣmasimha.'

² *Tasmīn gate* has been rightly taken by S. Dutta to mean 'departure'. For this interpretation he depends on the contemporary authority of *Ta'rikh-i-'Ālāi* of Amīr Khusrāu. See *IHQ*, 1931, p. 293, fn. 1. See also *ante*, *DHNI*, Vol II, p. 1196.

3 *HR, II, pp 502-03*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 501 and fn. 2. See also *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 526, *AAK*, Vol. II, pp. 269-70. From the line of Lakṣmaṇasimha (Lakṣmasimha) the appellations *Sesodia* and *Mahārāṇā* came to be applied to the rulers of Mewar.

(7) *Guhila putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa)*

The ruling princes of the State of Dungarpur claim to be descended from the elder branch of the Guhila family now ruling in Mewar ¹ I have already quoted the story of Muhaṇṇa Nainṇi which tells us that the Medapūṭa Guhila Sāmantasīmha voluntarily abdicated his crown in favour of his younger brother Kumārasīmha, and established his line in Vāgaḍa ² I have also mentioned elsewhere the circumstances that led to the expulsion of Sāmantasīmha, by the Caulukyās of Anhilvada and recovery of the principality by his brother Kumārasīmha through the assistance of the kings of Gujarat Apparently Sāmantasīmha, when driven out of Mewar, took refuge in Vāgaḍa, and his line continued to rule in that region ever afterwards His *Solaj* inscription shows that in V S 1236 (c 1179 A D) he was already established in his new kingdom The present rulers of Dungarpur appear to be descended from him It is likely that this branch of the Guhilas finally ousted the successors of the Banswara (Vāgaḍa) Paramāra Vijayarāja (1108-09 A D) ³

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(Dates approximate)

(1) *Guhila-putras of Medapūṭa—*

Guhadatta or Guhila (c 850 A D)

Bhoja

Mahendra I

Nāga or Nāgāditya

Sīla or Sīlāditya (846 A D)

Aparājita (881 A D)

Mahendra II

¹ *IGI* Vol XI p. 860. The story that the family is descended from Mahap son of Karna, appears to be wrong in view of the statement of the chronicle of Muhaṇṇa Nainṇi which is generally reliable.

² See ante *DHNI* Vol. II p. 1182 ff.

³ See ante *DHNI* Vol. II chapter on the Paramāras p. 924.

Kālabhoja *alias* Bappa? (739-53 A. D.)

Khommāna I (also called Khummāna)

Mattata

Bhartrpatta I

Simha

Khommāna II (also called Khummāna)

Mahāyāka

Khommāna III (also called Summāna and Khummāna)

Bhartṛpatta II

(942-43 A D)

| = *Mahālaksmī* (Rāstrakūṭa)

Allata = *Harīyadevī* (Hūna princess)
(Ālu) | (951-53 A D)

Naravāhana (971 A D)

| = *Cāhamāna* princess (Daughter of Jeṇaya)

Sālivāhan (Probably the ancestor of the Junagarh branch)

Saktikumāra (A. D. 977)

Ambāprasāda	Suciavarman	Naravarman	Anantavarman	Kīrtiavarman
		<i>alias</i>		(Yaśovarman)
		Nrvarman		

?

Yogarāja

14

Vairata (Probably a
| descendant
| of Allata?)

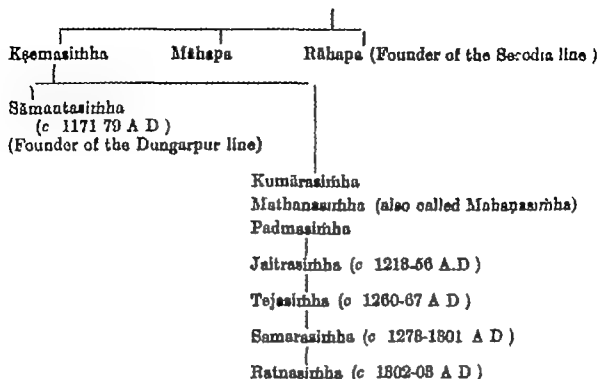
Hamsapāla

Vairisimha

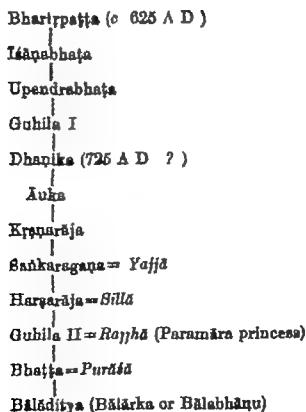
Vijayasīmha (A D 1108, 1116)
= Syāmaladevī

Alhanadevī

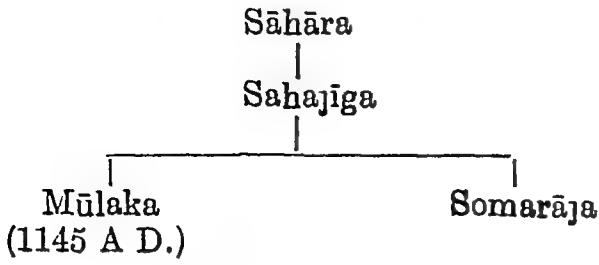
Arisimha ?	Coda or Codasimha ?	Vikramasimha ? (= Vikramakesari , also known as Puñja ?)
		Ranasimha (<i>alias</i> Karna)
		(A D. 1168 ?)



(2) *Guhila putras of Chatsu—*



(3) *Guhila-putras of Saurāstra*—



(4) *Guhila-putras of Āṣikā Hansi*—

Kilhana (and his successors ?)
(1167 A D)

(5) *Guhila-putras of Nadūladāgikā*—

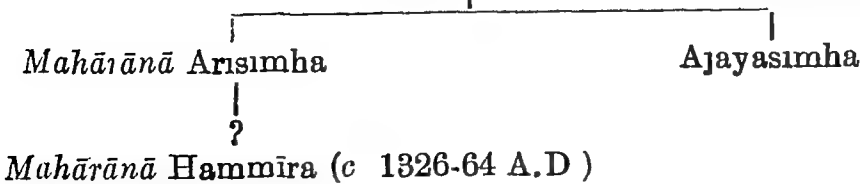
Uddharana
|
Rājadeva (1138 A D)

(6) *Guhila-putras of Sesodā*—

Rānā Rāhapa (son of Raṇasimha *alias* Karna of the
Medapāta line)

Narapati
Dinakarna
Jasakarna
Pūrnāpāla
Prthvīpāla
Bhuvanasimha
Bhīmasimha
Jayasimha

Mahārānā (also called Laksmasimha) Laksmasimha
(1303 A D)



(7) *Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgada)*—

Line of Sāmantasimha (1171-79 A.D.) and his descendants.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Col. Tod Edited by Crooke Milford, 1920
- 2 *History of Rajputana* (in Hindi), by Rai Bahadar Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. Ajmer, Fasciculi I and II
- 3 *Hamnira-mada mardana* of Jayasinha GOS, No X
- 4 *Prithvirāja-vijaya*, Ed by S K Belvelkar, *Bibliotheca Indica* New Series, No 1400
- 5 *Prithvirāja vijaya*, by H B Sarda, in *JRAS*, 1913, pp 259-81
- 6 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Trans by Raverty
- 7 *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Trans by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol II
- 8 *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Trans. by Briggs
- 9 *Tawārīkh-i-Firūzshāhī* of Baranī, Extracts Trans in *Elliot*, Vol III
- 10 *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (*Khazānūl Fatūh*) of Amir Khusrau Extracts Trans in *Elliot*, Vol III For a better translation of the relevant parts see *Journal of Indian History*, 1929, pp 369-73 Text edited by Syed Moinul Haq, Aligarh, 1927
- 11 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III Chapters III, V and XX
- 12 *Muhnata Namst ki khyāta* (Prathama bhāga) Hindi Trans by Rāmanārāyaṇa Dūgaḍa, Nāgarīpracārīṇī Sabhā Kāśī, Samvat 1982
- 13 *The First Sūkhā of Cītoḍ*, by Subimalchandra Datta, *IHQ*, Vol VII, 1931, pp 287-300
- 14 *Padumavat* of Malik Muḥammad Jāyāsī (1540 A.D.) Edited by G A Grierson and S Dvivedī, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Vol I, 1911
- 15 *Khumṃāna Rāso* of Dalapat Vijaya (?)

CHAPTER XIX

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give an account of the more important dynasties which ruled in Northern India during the period of transition that intervened between the decline of the Hindu power and the gradual conquest and consolidation of the country by the Muslims. The conquering zeal of the Arabs was checked by the impenetrable bulwark of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, and languished in the sands of Sind. The Muslim conquest did not really begin till the decline of the Pratihāra empire and the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century A. D. Before the Turks' conquest of Northern India was completed, new tribes began to pour through the gates of the Hindukush and challenged their authority. It was only an accident that the religion of some of the new comers happened to be Islam.

Analytical study of all the Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under survey reveals no central theme in their political history. Kanauj was on the decline and its hegemony challenged on every side. I am rather sceptical about the stories of the later writers that they ever showed any genuine appreciation of the danger threatening their independence and religion sufficient to unite them in a common effort to check the advance of the enemy. They failed to produce a ruler like Candragupta Maurya, who could merge the various conflicting interests under one flag by the prowess of his sword and oppose the invader with the resources of an empire. Nor like the Greeks could they devise any machinery for acting in concert under a common leader against the invaders. For the greater part of this period we have to deal with separate units whose only political contact with

their neighbour was when they fought with each other or combined to destroy a hated and powerful rival. For practical purposes we may divide the period under survey into the following five heads

(1) *The period c 915 to 998 A D*

From the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire to the accession of Maḥmūd of Ghazni

(2) *The period c 998 to 1080 A D*

Age of Sultān Maḥmūd

(3) *The period c 1080 to 1179 A D*

From the death of Maḥmūd to the accession of Cāhamāna Pṛthvirāja III

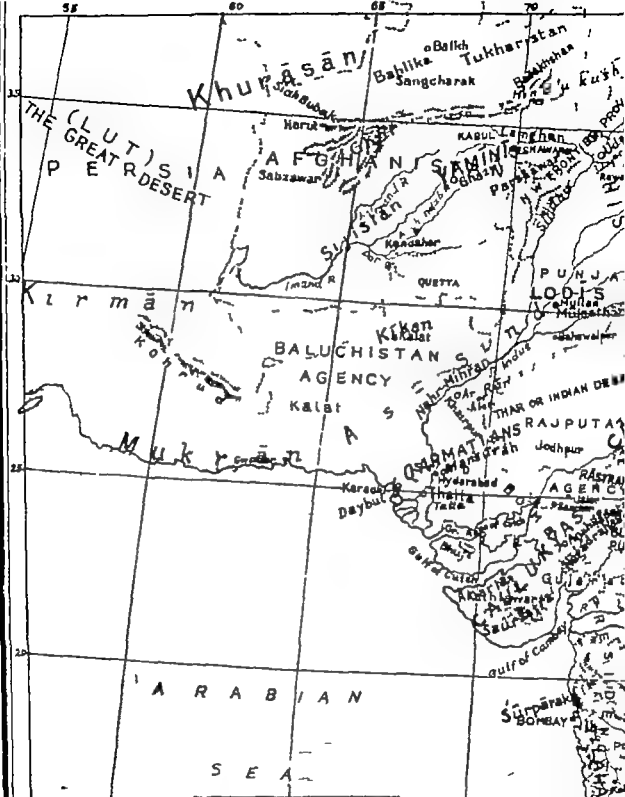
(4) *The period c 1179 to 1200 A D*

Age of Pṛthvirāja and the passing away of Hindu ascendancy in the *Madhyadeśa*

(5) *The period after 1200 A D*

Gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India

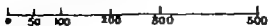
During the first period (c 915-98 A.D.) the power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj steadily declined. The outlying provinces slowly broke away from the imperial structure and set up independent governments. The period of transition and political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun. Among the many tribes and princes struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratihāra princes we notice the two outstanding figures of the Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja (c 974-95 A.D.) and the Candella Dhaṅga (c 954-1008 A.D.)



INDIA in C. 977 A D

(Accession of the Yamīnī
Sabuk-tigin at Ghazni)

English Miles



DYNASTIC NAMES

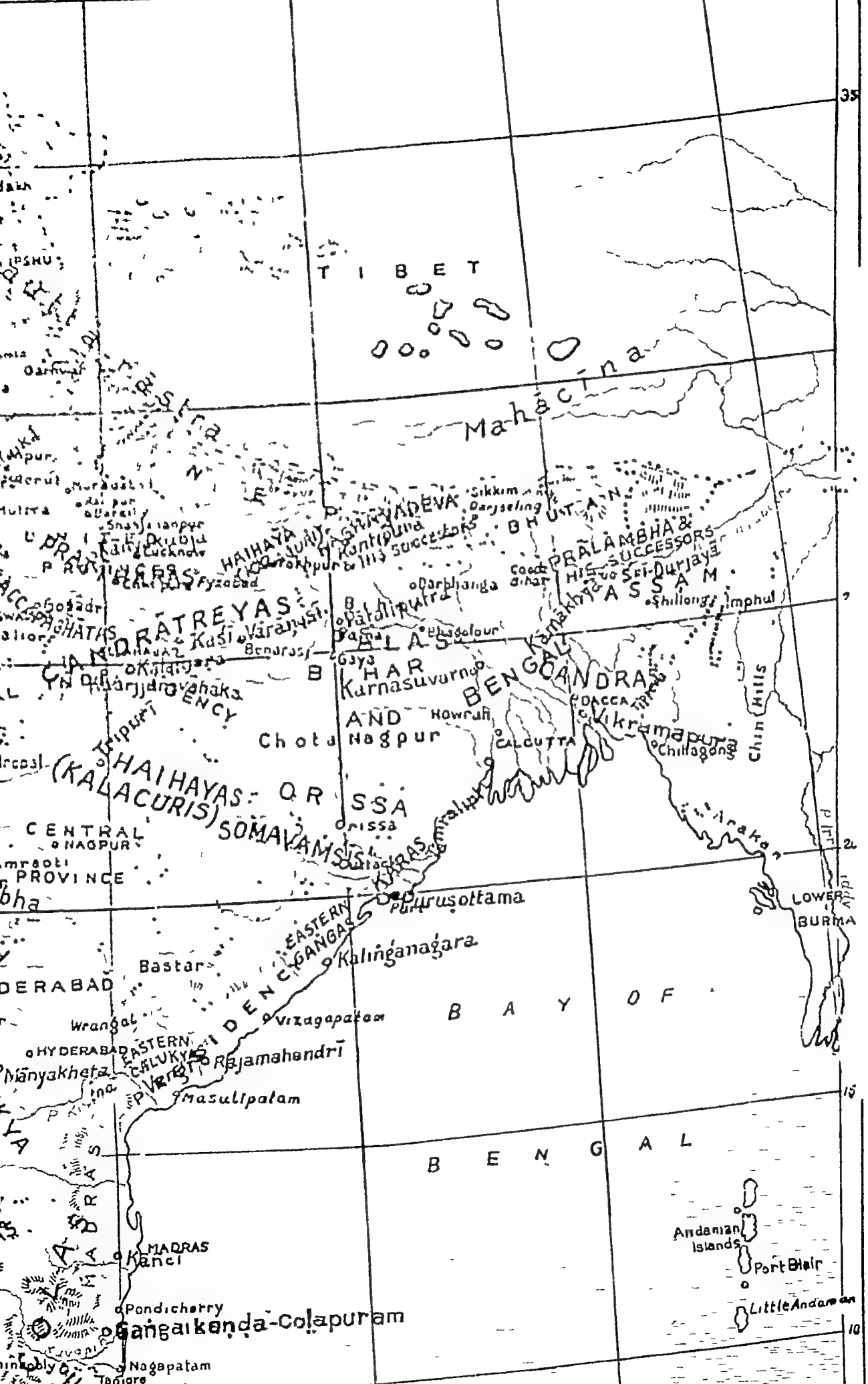
CĀHAMANAS

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES (ANC. & MOD) - Nepāl

MODERN NAMES IN BLACK

Locative

Islands



Both literary and epigraphic records are unanimous in testifying to the military ability of Muñja. Before his death he had unquestionably made himself the most important prince in Western India. But the promise of a brilliant and unifying force in the troubled history of India was destroyed when he met his tragic fate in one of his campaigns beyond the Godavari. There was however still some hope in the growing power of the Candellas, who were slowly building up a strong kingdom in the South-Central portion of Northern India. During his reign of nearly half a century Dhanga had gradually extended his authority over the whole tract lying to the south of Jumna and bounded roughly on the east and west by the Son and the Chambal. But before this power had time to spread itself in the North-West the Turks had established themselves on the Indian frontier. Alp-tigīn (c. 933-63 A.D.) founded his principality in Ghaznī in c. 993 A.D.; and during his lifetime his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced his predatory incursions in the provinces of Lamghan and Multan. When the latter ascended to the throne in 977 A.D. the Turkish attack was developed on a more ambitious scale. The Sāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab were brave and plucky fighters; but they proved no match for the new enemy. In spite of the bold resistance of their kings and their allies they were gradually pushed out of Afghanistan, and by the year 997 A.D. when Sabuk-tigīn died, the Turks were masters of Lamghan and Peshawar.

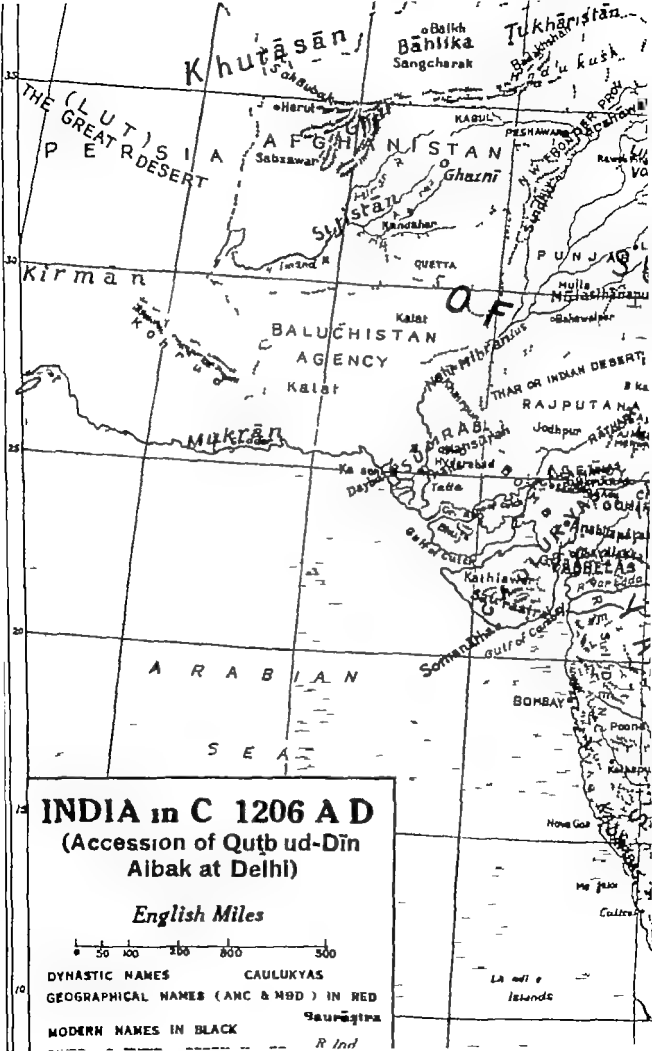
With the accession of Mahmūd, the son of Sabuk-tigīn, in A.D. 998, the second period begins. The two outstanding personalities among the Indian princes are again supplied by the Paramāras and the Candellas. In the former dynasty flourished Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), who gradually won back the position which had been lost after the defeat and death of Muñja, while in the latter Vidyādhara ruled. Vidyādhara's grandfather Dhanga seems to have outlived Sabuk-tigīn and probably witnessed the practical downfall of the Sāhis in

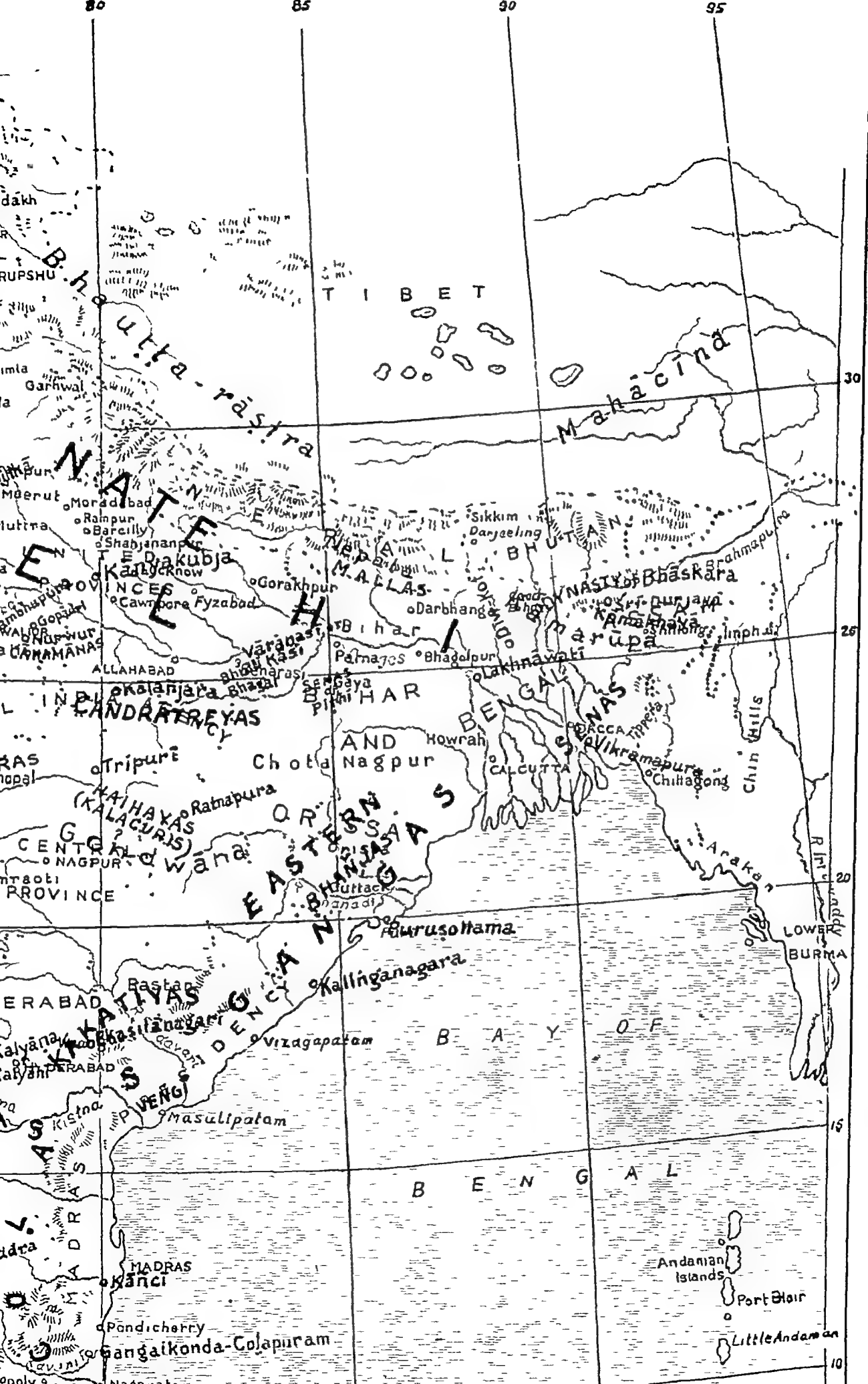
1008 A D Vidyādhara ascended the Candella throne some time before 1019 A D At that date he had become so prominent as to be described by Muslim historians as the most powerful Indian prince of the time There seems to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the Candellas made a bold bid to grasp the crown of Imperialism which had fallen from the heads of the unworthy successors of Mahendrapāla I If fortune had been favourable they might perhaps have once again combined a substantial portion of Northern India under their rule, and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period But this was not to be Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks had ever produced Under the able generalship of Mahmūd the Turkish bands with their insatiable lust for plunder and destruction were organised into one of the most efficient engines of war For more than thirty years they pillaged burned and devastated the rich plains, cities and temples of the Indus and the Ganges valleys Even the distant temple of Somnath had to yield up to them its hoarded treasures The Paramāra Bhoja seems not to have come into serious conflict with the Muslims and the brunt of the attack fell upon the Sāhis and Candellas The former were exterminated as a power in the Punjab, while the latter, though saved from complete destruction, found themselves unequal to the task of offering effective resistance to the vandalism of the Turk Vidyādhara, in spite of his undoubted military ability, seems to have failed to achieve any practical results in the open field Though Mahmūd could not capture Kalinjar and failed to penetrate into the plains of Kashmir, and though most of his expeditions were for plunder and not for conquest, yet the Turkish power during his reign had gradually advanced into a permanent position in the Western Punjab and Northern Sind Multan and Lahore became the two outposts of the Muslims in the valley of the Punjab rivers

The period (c 1030-79 A D) which followed the death

of Mahmūd in 1030 A.D. was marked by a gradual weakening of Turkish pressure on the plains of India. Though the Yamīnīs certainly continued to raid the territories of the neighbouring princes and once—about 1033 A.D., in the reign of Mas‘ūd I (1030-40 A.D.)—are reported to have advanced as far east as Benares, they failed to produce during the period a single king or general who could even approach Mahmūd in military skill and leadership. In the east the same thing happened in the kingdom of the Candellas. The successors of Vidyādhara lacked the ability of their illustrious predecessor and the vision of an empire-builder, and failed to profit by the weakness of their neighbours. The position that they occupied in the South-Central portion of Northern India gradually slipped into the hands of the Dāhala Kalacuris, who in Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c.1030-41 A.D.) and Laksmī-Karna (c. 1041-70 A.D.) produced two men of outstanding personality. The latter formed an alliance with the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and the Karnāṭas and defeated and probably killed the Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of Dhāiā. By unceasing military activity Laksmī-Karna extended his dominions from Western Bengal to the borders of Gujarat. In the North he suppressed the independence of the Candellas, and became the unquestioned arbiter of a large portion of the Ganges-Jumna valley. Indian history seemed at last to find a personality who could emulate the achievements of the Pusyabhūti Haiṣa or the Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I, but again this hope was unrealised. The edifice of the Kalacuri empire, it seems, was built on unstable foundations; and when Laksmī-Karna was overwhelmed by a series of defeats, his empire like that of Napoleon, collapsed with him. The position left vacant in the Ganges-Jumna valley by the fall of the Kalacuris was then occupied by the Gāhadavālas. Govindacandīa of this dynasty ascended the throne in the first decade of the 12th century, and for nearly fifty years ruled over a strong kingdom which seems to have included almost the whole of the modern U. P.

and Behar. He was sufficiently powerful to offer effective resistance to the feeble attempts of the Yamīns to penetrate into the Ganges Jumna valley but neither he nor his dynasty showed any outstanding vigour or ability. In the South East the dynasties of Orissa and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency were welded into a single administration by the Gaṅga king Coḍagaṅga Anantavarman (c. 1076-1147 A.D.). His dominions seem to have sometimes extended from the lower courses of the Godavari to the Ganges but here also there is no sign that either he or his successor wished or had ability to plan a North Indian Empire. In the Western portion of North India the fall of the Paramāras synchronised with the rise into importance of the Caulukyas of Anahilapāṭaka and the Cāhamānas of Śākambharī. In the first half of the 12th century the former in the reign of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144) united under their sway, in addition to Gujarat and Kathiawar, large portions of Central India and Rajputana. The success of Jayasīṃha was fully maintained by his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). During the first half of the 12th century the Cāhamānas had also established a strong kingdom in Rajputana with Śākambharī as their capital. They were undoubtedly the most considerable power in Rajputana during this period, and maintained contact with the growing kingdom of the Caulukyas on their southwestern frontier. Sometime before 1164 A.D. they advanced into the Punjab and appear to have included under their sway most of the territories which now lie to the east of the Sutlej. This brought them into conflict with the declining Yamīnī Sultanate of Lahore and Ghazni and the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Benares. In the first half of the 12th century the position of the former was growing precarious owing to the pressure both of the Cāhamānas on the east and of the rising of the Shansabānīs of Ghūr. Before this period was over, fresh bands of Turks under the leadership of the princes of Ghūr had begun their depredations in India. In 1175 A.D. Mu'izzud-





Dīn Muhammad ibn Sām had captured Multan and Uch, and though repulsed in 1178 A.D. in his attempt upon Anahilvada, had recovered sufficiently to capture Peshawar in the following year (1179 A.D.) from the Yamīnī Khusrau Malik (c. 1160-86 A.D.).

The accession of Prthvīrāja III (c. 1179-92 A.D.) to the throne of Śākambharī in about 1179 A.D. brings us to the next period (c. 1179-1200 A.D.). The records of this period seem to indicate that Prthvīrāja was the most important figure in the last quarter of the 12th century. His dominions included most of modern Rajputana and extended roughly from the Sutlej to the Betwa and possibly to the Ken, skirting the river Jumna on the north. The activities of the Caulukyas were paralysed by intrigue and dissensions, while the Senas and the Gaṅgas were far distant from the North-Western frontier of India. By his victories over the Cāndellas and the Gāhadavālas and his command over the cis-Sutlej districts, he had constituted himself the main barrier against the advance of the Turks from the Indus Valley. If the Yamīnīs could have held the new body of Turks in check for some time, there was just a possibility that Prthvīrāja with his undoubted military ability, might have so consolidated his dominions, as to be able to offer an effective check to the advance of the new invaders. But the descendants of Mahmūd were too enfeebled to be able to save themselves from destruction. In A. D. 1186, Mu'izz ud-Dīn captured Lahore from the last representative of the Yamīnīs, and the Shansabānīs and Cāhamānas stood face to face. The victory in the second battle of Tarā'in in 1192 A.D., which appears to have been won by superior generalship as well as by perfidy, practically put an end to the domination of the *Madhyadeśa* by the Hindus. The defeat of the Gāhadavālas was only a matter of detail.

In the period that followed, the Turks issued from their bases in the *Madhyadeśa* under intrepid and able adventurers to bring about the downfall of the dynasties that ruled in more distant parts of Northern and Peninsular India. As I have

already noticed,¹ this process took a long time to complete, and was not attended with uniform success. Before it was finished, fresh bands from Central Asia had burst through the North-Western gates and were challenging the authority of the Muslim conquerors of India. The latter at last fell before these newcomers, and it was a mere accident, as I have said, that their conquerors were again Muslims. So history once more repeated itself.

As to the [causes that lead to the success of the Muslims and the downfall of the Hindus, various reasons have been advanced by various scholars. Indian climate, deadening effect of the caste system, the demoralising influence of the cult of *ahimsā* preached by Buddhism and Jainism, a false sense of chivalry and other factors have been held to contribute to the overthrow of the Hindu dynasties. I am unable to discuss this question without a thorough analysis of the administrative, economic, religious and social systems of the period, which I hope to undertake in the third volume of this work. I would therefore reserve the discussion of the question for the present. But whatever factors are found by later investigations to have contributed to the downfall of the Hindus and the victory of Islam, it appears to me that the vigour and the insatiable thirst for plunder and destruction of the roving and hungry bands of Central Asia, which was strengthened by their own interpretation of Islam, and the superior generalship of their leaders, must have played a large part in the success of the Turks. The Indians were not less brave, but they failed to produce a Maḥmūd or a Mu'izz-ud Din.¹

¹ Prof. Dodwell very kindly suggested that I should expand these concluding remarks into the size of one of my bigger chapters say of about hundred pages or more. This would make my conclusions on the period accessible to the students of some of the British Universities who have not got enough time to go through all these details. Unfortunately the size of the two volumes has already become rather inconveniently large. So I am preparing a small volume entirely devoted to a synthetic survey of the period to suit the requirements of these students.

APPENDIX

Dynasties and the Territories controlled by them chronologically arranged.

A. D	Dynasties.	Territories. ¹
c 500—600 —	1. <i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots)	Idar State in the North Division of the Bombay Presidency (?).
	2. <i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans).	Sambhar (<i>Sākambharī</i>) region in Rajputana (?).
c 600—700 :—	1. <i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots) · Two branches	(i) Mewar (<i>Medapāta</i>), Rajputana : Centre of power <i>Nāgadrāha</i> or <i>Nāgahrada</i> (mod Nagda) (ii) From Dabok in Udaipur (Mewar) State in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north, in Rajputana Capital probably <i>Dhavagarta</i> (mod Dhod) in Jahazpur District, Udaipur or at Chatsu, Jaipur, Rajputana.
	2. <i>Cāhamānas</i>	No change
c. 700—800 :—	1. <i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots).	No change.
	2. <i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans).	No change
	3. <i>Haihayas</i> (Kalacuris).	Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U P.
	4. <i>Tomaras</i> (Tuars)	Delhi (<i>Yoginī-pura</i> , <i>Dhillīkhā</i>) and neighbouring regions (?).

¹ The territories must in every case be taken as only a rough indication. Exact delimitation of boundaries is not possible at this stage of our knowledge.

<i>A D</i>		<i>Dynasties</i>	<i>Territories</i>
c 800—900 —	1	<i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots)	No change
	2	<i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans)	Portions of Marwar and Jaipur States Rajputana Capital <i>Sākambhari</i> (mod Sam bhar)
	3	<i>Harhayas</i> (Kalachuris) Two branches	(i) Round about Kahlā in Gorakhpur, U P (ii) Jubbulpore Division and the neighbouring regions (<i>Ḍāhala</i>) in C P Capital <i>Triपुरi</i> (mod Tewar)
	4	<i>Candrātreyas</i> (Candellas)	Bundelkhand (<i>Jeṣā bhukti</i>) in C I Capital <i>Kharjjuravā haka</i> (mod Khajraho)
	5	<i>Paramāras</i> (Pāvars)	South and Central Gujarat Bombay
	6	<i>Tomaras</i> (Tuars)	No change
c 900—1000 —	1	<i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots)	Mewar, region round Partabgarh (in Rajputana) and Mandasor (in C I) Centres of power <i>Nāgadhara</i> and <i>Aghāṣa</i> (mod Ahar)
	2	<i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans) Three branches.	(i) Almost the whole of Marwar and Jaipur States and neighbouring regions in Rajputana (<i>Sapādalakṣa</i>) Capital <i>Sākambhari</i> (ii) <i>Naddula</i> (mod Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Godwar, Marwar in Rajputana (iii) Partabgarh and the neighbouring regions in South Rajputana States Agency and C I.

<i>A.D.</i>	<i>Dynasties.</i>	<i>Territories.</i>
c. 900—1000 —	3. <i>Haihayas</i> (<i>Kalacuris</i>): Two branches.	(i) Round about Kahla, in Gorakhpur, U. P. (ii) Jubbulpore and Chhattis- gadh Divisions of C. P., portions of Baghelkhand and neighbouring regions in C. I.: Capital <i>Tripurī</i> .
	4. <i>Candrātreyas</i> (<i>Candellas</i>).	Bundelkhand, Gwalior and portions of Bhopal Residen- cies in C. I., Allahabad, Jhansi and Benares Divi- sions in U. P.: Centres of power <i>Kharjjuravāhaka</i> and <i>Kālāñjara</i> (mod. Kalinjar).
	5. <i>Kacchapaghātas</i> (<i>Kachwāhas</i>).	Portions of both Gwalior Residency (C. I.) and Bharatpur State, Raj- putana.
	6. <i>Paramāras</i> (<i>Pāvars</i>).	Western portions of the Northern Division and Khandesh of Bombay, Indore Residency, Bhopa- war and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I., and portions of Aurangabad Division of Hyderabad: Centre of power <i>Ujjayinī</i> (mod. Ujjain).
	7. <i>Caulukyās</i> (<i>Solan-</i> <i>kis</i>).	North Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar in Bombay, and Sanchor District (<i>Satya-</i> <i>pura-mandala</i>) in Marwar, Rajputana Capital <i>Ana-</i> <i>hilapātaka</i> (mod. Anavada, 3 miles from Patan in N. Gujarat).
	8. <i>Tomaras</i> (<i>Tuars</i>). No change.	

A D	Dynasties	Territories
1000—1100 — 1	<i>Guhila putras</i> (Guhilotas)	Some hilly and inaccessible portions of <i>Medapāta</i> (Mewar), Rajputana
2	<i>Cahamānas</i> (Cauhans) Two branches	(i) Nearly whole of Marwar (or Jodhpur) and Jaipur States and portions of Mewar in Rajputana Capital <i>Sāhambharī</i> (ii) <i>Naddāla</i> (mod Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Marwar Rajputana
3	<i>Haihayas</i> (Kalacurias) Four branches	(i) <i>Kahla</i> and (ii) <i>Kasia</i> branches in Gorakhpur, U P (iii) The <i>Dāhala</i> branch (In the last quarter of the century) practically the whole of O P and C I the Ganges-Jumna valley (U P), Tirhut Division and Shahabad District of Bihar, portions of Chhota Nagpur and Western Bengal Capital <i>Tripurī</i> (iv) <i>Tushmāna</i> branch in Chhattisgarh Division of O P Centres of power <i>Tushmāna</i> (mod Tumana in Lapha Zemindari) and <i>Ratnapura</i> (mod Ratanpur) both in Bilaspur District O P
(4	<i>Candrātreyas</i> (Candellas)	[During the 1st quarter of the century —] Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior and Bhopal Residencies in C I Allahabad Jhansi, Benares and possibly Meerut and Fyzabad Divisions in U P portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Kota, etc.) and Saugor and Damoh Districts in O P

A.D.

Dynasties.

Territories.

c. 1000—1100 —

[Partial eclipse in the 2nd quarter and complete eclipse in the 3rd.

Revival of power in the 4th quarter in] Bundelkhand Agency in C. I., and portions of Jhansi Division, U P.: Centres of power *Kharjuravāhaka* and *Kālañjara*

5. *Kacchapaghātas* (Kachwāhas). Three Branches. Gwalior Residency, C I, and portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Bharatpur, etc.) Centres of power of the three branches—(i) Gwalior, (ii) Dubkund and (iii) Narwar.

6. *Paramāras* (Pāvars). Five branches. (i) Portions of Rajputana (Sirohi, Mewar, Banswara, Kotah, Bundi, etc.), Central and portions of Northern Divisions of Bombay (Khandesh to Konkan), Hyderabad (north of Godavari), Nerbudda Division, C P.; and Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies of C. I. Centres of power *Ujjayinī* and *Dhārā* [Almost complete eclipse during c 1055-60 A D Partial revival in the 2nd half of the century] Other branches in (ii) Sirohi State (centre of power *Candrāvātī*), (iii) Banswara State (*Vāgada*). (iv) Round about Jalor (*Jāvālipura*) and (v) Kiradu (*Kirātākupa*) all four in Rajputana.

A D	Dynasties	Territories
c 1000—1100 — 7	<i>Caulukyās</i> (Solankīs)	Northern Division (north of Narbada) Gujarat Kathiawar and Cutch of Bombay Sirohi and the neighbouring regions in B Marwar in Rajputana Capital <i>Avahila pāṭaka</i>
	8 <i>Tomaras</i> (Tuars)	No change
c 1100—1200 — 1	<i>Guhila putras</i> (Guhilots) One main and four minor branches.	[Power still under partial eclipse] (A) comparatively inaccessible portions of Mewar Marwar and Dungarpur Centre of power <i>Āghāṭa</i> (mod Ahar) (B) Minor branches (i) in <i>Saurāṣṭra</i> (Kathiawar) (ii) <i>Naduladāgikā</i> (mod Nadla in Jodhpur State) (iii) in Dungarpur (<i>Vāgaḍa</i>) and (iv) at Sesoda (in Mewar)
	2 <i>Čāhamānas</i> (Čauhāns) One main and four minor branches	(A) Ambala Division, Patials Nabha and portions of Simla Hill States in the Punjab Jaipur Alwar, Bikaner, most of Marwar, portions of Mewar Bundi Kotah Tonk, Jhalawar Karauli Dholpur and Bharatpur States in Rajputana portions of Gwalior Residency and Bundelkhand Agency in C I and Jhansi Division in U P Centres of power <i>Sākam bhari</i> (mod Sambhar) and <i>Ajayameru</i> (mod Ajmer) (B) Minor branches at (i) <i>Ranastambhapur</i> (mod Ranthambhor) in Jaipur State, (ii)

1.D

Dynasties.

Territories

c. 1100—1200 —

- Naddūla* (mod. Nadol),
(iii) *Jāvālipura* (mod.
Jolor) and (iv) *Satyapura*
(mod. Sanchol), all in
Rajputana
3. *Haihayas*
(Kalacuris) One
main and two
minor branches
- (A) *Dāhala* branch in
Jubbulpur Division (south
of Bhanrer Range), C P.
and Baghelkhand Agency
in C. I. Centre of power
Tripurī (mod. Tewar).
(B) Minor branches: (i)
Gorakhpur, U P (*Kasia*
branch), (ii) *Tummāna*
branch independently
held the Chhattishgarh
Division and the neigh-
bouring regions (*Mahā-*
Kosala, *Dakṣiṇa-Kosala*
or *Kosala*) Centres of
power *Tummāṇa* (mod.
Tumana in Lapha Zamin-
dari of Bilaspur District)
and *Ratnapura* (mod.
Ratanpur in Bilaspur
District)
4. *Candrātreyas*
(Candellas).
- Portions of Jhansi Division
of U P, Bhopal, Bundel-
khand and portions of
Baghelkhand Agencies
(north of Kaimur Range)
of C I, and Saugor and
Damoh Districts, in C P
Centres of power Kalinjar
(*Kālāñjura*), Mahoba
(*Mahotsavanagara*), Ajai-
garh (*Ajayadurga*) and
Khajraho (*Kharjura-*
vāhaka).

[Power partially eclipsed in
the last quarter of the
12th century]

A D	Dynasties	Territories
■ 1100—1200 — 5	<i>Kacchapaghata</i> (Kachwahas) Two branches	Portions of Gwalior Residen- cy in C I (i) Narwar and (ii) Gwalior (?) branches The latter possibly shift- ed to Eastern Rajputana in the 2nd quarter of the century with Daosa and then Amber as the centres of its power
6	<i>Paramaras</i> (Pāvars) One main and three minor branches	(A) (i) [During c 1100-1142 and c 1192-1200 A D] Indore Residency Bhopa- war Malwa and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C I and portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar in Rajputana : Centres of power <i>Ujjayini</i> and <i>Dhār</i> (ii) [During c 1142-92 A D] Power of the main line broken into fragments (a) one fragment probably ruled in portions of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar in Rajputana and the other (b) probably in portions of Bhopal Agency C I (B) Minor branches in (i) Sirohi (capital <i>Candrāvā- tī</i>) (ii) Jalor (<i>Jāvalīpura</i>) and (iii) Kiradu (<i>Kirāta kṣapa</i>) in Rajputana
7	<i>Caulukyas</i> (Solankis)	Portions of Sind Cutch Kathiawar Gujarat and portions of Konkana in Bombay almost the whole of Rajputana, and portions of Agra Division in U P portions of Gwalior and and Indore Residencies Malwa Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agen- cies in C I Centre of power <i>Apahila pāṭaka</i>

A.D.	Dynasties.	Territories.
c. 1100—1200 —		[During the 4th quarter of the century the area became much reduced by the loss of control in Konkana in Bombay, portions of Rajputana, and C. I.]
c. 1200—1300:—	1. <i>Guhila-putras</i> (Guhilots): Two branches	(i) Mewar and the neighbouring regions, portions of Sirohi and Marwar Centres of power <i>Nāga-draha</i> (Nagda), <i>Āghāta</i> (Ahar) and <i>Citrakūta</i> (Chitor).
		(ii) Feudatory branch at Sesoda in Mewar.
	2. <i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans) Four branches.	(i) Region round Ranthambhor (<i>Ranastambhapura</i>) in Jaipur State, Rajputana, (ii) Region round Narwar in Gwalior Residency, C. I. (?), (iii) Region round (iv) <i>Jāvālipura</i> (Jalor), and (v) <i>Satyapura</i> (Sanchoi) in Marwar, Rajputana
	3. <i>Haihayas</i> (Kalachuris).	Round <i>Tummāna</i> (mod Tumana), Bilaspur District, Chhattisgarh Division (<i>Mahākosala</i>), C. P. (?) Also in portion of Jubbulpore Division (<i>Dāhala</i>) [as a minor power]
	4. <i>Candrātreyas</i> (Candellas)	[Eclipse of power during the first few years of the century Then revival in] Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior

A D	Dynasties	Territories
c 1200—1300 —		Residency in C I Also portions of U P (Jhansi Division) Centres of power Ajaigarh (<i>Jaya durga</i>) and Kalinjar (<i>Kalañjara</i>)
	5 <i>Kacchapaghātas</i> (<i>Kachwāhas</i>)	Region round Amber in Jaipur State Rajputana Centre of power Amber
	6 <i>Paramāras</i> (<i>Pāvara</i>) Two branches	(i) Indore and portions of Gwalior Residences, Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies in C I Saugor Narsingpur Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts of C P and portions of Gujarat along the lower courses of the Nerbada up to the Sae (including Broach) Centre of power <i>Dhārā</i> and <i>Māpdu</i> [During the 2nd half of the century Paramāra power rapidly declined] (ii) Minor branch in and round Sirohi Centre of power at <i>Candrāvati</i>
	7 <i>Caulukyās</i> (<i>Solañkis</i>)	Portions of Gujarat Kathiawar and Cutch in Bombay portions of Marwar and Sirohi in Rajputana Centre of power <i>Aṇahīla pātaka</i> [About the 2nd half of the century Caulukyās lose control in Rajputana]
c 1300—1400 — 1	<i>Guhīla-putras</i> (<i>Guhilots</i>)	Mewar and the neighbouring regions Capital <i>Citrakūṭa</i> (Chitor) [Power eclipsed c 1303 A D]

A.D.	Dynasties.	Territories.
c. 1300—1400 :—	2. <i>Cāhamānas</i> (Cauhans) : Four branches.	(i) At Jalor (<i>Jāvālipura</i>), (ii) in Sirohi (capital <i>Candrāvatī</i> , (iii) at <i>Satya-</i> <i>pura</i> (Sanchor) and (iv) in Bundi. [All in Raj- putana]
	3. <i>Haihayas</i> (Kalacuris).	Portions of Jubbulpore, and Chattishgarh Divi- sions of C P [in a decadent condition].
	4. <i>Candrātreyas</i> (Candellas).	Portions of Jhansi Division of U P , Bundelkhand Agency in C I. ; and Damoh and Jubbulpore Districts in C P. (?) Centre of power Kalinjar (<i>Kālāñjara</i>).
	5. <i>Kacchapaghātas</i> (Kachwāhas)	Round about Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana.
	6. <i>Paramāras</i> (Pāvars)	Indore and portions of Gwalior Residency , Mal- wa, Bhopal and Bhopa- war Agencies (?)
	7. <i>Caulukyas</i> (Solankis)	Portions of Gujarat, Kathia- war and Cutch Capital <i>Anahila-pātaka</i>

INDEX

A

Abhayadeva the son of *Aśvavardya* *Thak*
Rhojuka 731
 Abhayapāla son of *Kirtipāla* 1120 11.5
 Abn ya *Siha Mahanta* 1033
 Abhiyatalaka, completed the *Dryāsraya* 974
 Abhimanyu Brāhman donee of the Nanyaura
 grant of 695
 Abhimanya Kacchapaghāta king of Dub-
 kund 830 831 870
 Abhiras, 739 903
 Abhira-*riṣaya* 986
 Abhona (a village in Nauk district) 730
 Abbo a grants of the Kalacuris of Malava
 742 fn 3
 Abhona plates of Kalacuri Saṅkaragana 739
 Aboul Hussan a general of Mahamūd 959
 Abu (mount) 949 990 1053 fn. I, 1058 1096
 1183 1193
 Abu country 909
 Abu inscription 888 913 918 1001 1037
 Abu inscription of *Mahārājaka* *Lanṭigara*
 1128 97
 Abu Paramāras, 924
 Abu stone-inscription (i) of Dhārāvara 916-
 16; Nos (ii) to (iv) of the same 916-17
 Abu stone-inscription (i) of Bhīma II 1008
 Abu stone-inscription (ii) of Bhīma II
 1012-13
 Abu stone-inscription (iii) of Bhīma II
 1013-15 1027
 Abu stone-inscription dated in V 8 1288
 omits the name of Bhīma II 1028
 Abu stone-inscription of Samarasāthha 1037
 1161 fn 1 1165 1166 1167 1178
 1175 1178 1179 fn 6 1184 1187 1188
 1192, 1193, 1194
 Abu stone inscriptions of Vastupāla and
 Teśhpāla 1029
 Abu'l Faṣl a courtier of the great Timurid
 king Akbar and author of *ʿĀin-i Akbarī*
 854 917 948 963 975 fn 5, 985 998
 1003 1040 1043 1078 fn 5 1153 fn 8
 1196
 Acalarāja Kalacuri prince of Tripuri not
 identified 1081 fn. 4
 Acalaśvara temple of 1126 1193
 Acharya G V 966 fn 1
 Achalgarh 1193
 Acharya Svetāmbara 863
 Adaji well-inscription of Rāpi Rājādēvi
 1046 fn. 1
 Adan the idol *Menas* taken out of Ka ba
 and despatched to India through 933
 Adbhuta Kraparāja, Paramāra king 908 969

Adasa-naibandhika (recorder of orders) 744
Aḍhai dandā Jhompā a Hindu temple con-
 verted to a mosque at Ajmer 1071 1074
 Adhipati 823
 Adhirāja a feudatory title 824 1079
 Adilabad in Nizam's dominions 858 fn 5
 817
 Adinātha Jaina temple of at Nadlai 992
 1113
 Adityas, 718
 Adivarāha (Viṣṇu) temple of 1169
 Adrelaviddhāvari 883 fn. 1
 Ariyalaviddhāvari 801
 Afghanistan 1213
 Agastbhūta (or Gambhātā)-*Pathaka* 1007
 Agastya a great sage 679 753 813 fn. 2
 879 1187
 Agaseyi village 725
 Agastya's village 885
 Agbhāta identified with modern Ahar one
 of the ancient capitals of the Guhilots
 855 910 1062, 1108 1172 1174 1188
 Agbhāta-durga 1185 1190
 Agbhātapura modern Ahar 1183 fn 1 1184
 Agastādevari, goddess 1182
 Aghorāśva 770
 Agni-kula (fire-born) 1062
 Agra, 1164 district 718 fn 1
 Agrahā a 878
 Ahāda same as Agbhāta 1172 fn 4
 Ahadāpāda, village 796
 Ahad yā Guhilot clan derives its name from
 Ahad 855 fn 6
 Ahar (ancient Agbhāta, Agbhātapura) 940 fn. 8
 1069 1170 1173 1174
 Ahar Sārapādeva temple inscription of
 Allāṭa 1169
 Ahar stone-inscription (i) of Saktikumāra,
 1178
 Ahar stone-inscription (ii) of Saktikumāra
 1178
 Ahar stone-inscription (iii) of Saktikumāra
 1178
 Ahavamalla Narmadi Talla II Calukya king
 of Kalyan 766
 Ahavamalla (Somēśvara I) Calukya king of
 Kalyan 826, 868, 874 876
 Ahicchakra, capital of Uttara Pañcāla modern
 Ramnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly
 district, U P 1053 1064
 Ahicchakrapura identified by Ojha with
 Nāgapura (mod Nagaur Jodhpur State)
 capital of Jāngludēsa (*Wāngala dēsa*)
 1063; birthplace of the Cāhamāna
 Sāmantarāja, 1061

- Abihaya (variant for Haihaya), 739
Ahikaya vamsa, 815 fn 3
 Ahila, Cāhamāna king of Naddula, 952, 1106
Ahimsā, 1213
 Ablādāna, same as Alhanadeva, 1115
 Ahmad Shāh I, mosque of, at Ahmedabad, 1033
 Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, 781 fn 2
 Ahmad Niyāl-tigīn, Yamīnī general, 773
 Ahmedabad, 746, 769, 858 fn 3, 964 fn 6, 984 fn 2, identified with ancient Āśā-pallī, 1034 fn 6, district, 840, 848, 968 fn 9, 1020 fn 1, grants (plates) of Harsa-Siyāka II, 746, 769, 984, pillar-inscription of Visaladeva, 1033
Ā'in-i-Akbarī, of Abul Fazl, 854, 857, 948, 968, 985, 999, 1001, 1196
 Ajaigarh, 700 fn 1, 707, 724, 727, 728, 729, 731, 733, 734
 Ajaigarh stone inscription of Paramardī, 717, of Trailokya, 724, Nos (i) and (ii) of Viravarman, 703, 704, 727, 730, 731
 Ajaigarh rock-inscription of Bhojavarman, 701, 701', 729, 733
 Ajaharī, in Jodhpur State, 914, 1179
 Ajaharī stone inscription of Ranasīdeva, 1179
 Ajaharī stone inscription of Paramāra king Yāsodbhava, 914
 Ajapāla, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, 949
 Ajayadeva, *Rājā Mahāpradhāna*, 904
 Ajaya-meru (Ajmer), city of, 957 fn 2, 1071, 1099
 Ajayameru durga, 1082
 Ajayapāla, Caulukya king of Anahila pātaka, 998 999, 1001, 1003, 1026, 1028, 1036, 1182, 1183
 Ajayapāla Tomara king according to Cunningham, 1149
 Ajayarāja II, alias Salhana, Cāhamāna king, built Ajaya-meru, 957 fn 2, 1062 fn 3, 1070, 1071
 Ajayarāja I, a variant of the name of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Jayarāja, also called Jayantarāja
 Ajayarāja, *Rājaputra*, 1119
 Ajayasimha, *Mahākumāra*, 800
 Ajayasimha, Sesodia prince, 1205
 Ajayasimha, son of *Mahārājaputra* Kumāra-Sīha, 1118
 Ajayavarman, Paramāra king of Mālava, 889, 890, 891 894 902
 Aj Deo, *Dīwān* or *Mahla* of Parmār, Rāi of Kālīn'ar, 721
 Ajmer, also spelt Ajmīr and Ajmeer, ancient Ajayameru, 915 fn 4, 1069 fn 4, 1071, 1074 1086, 1087 fn 3, 1091, 1093, 1099, 1102, 1122, 1133, Museum, 914, stone-inscription of Vigraharāja IV, No (ii), 1074, stone-inscription of same, No (ii), 1075
 Ajmeer (same as Ajmer), 956
 Ajmīr also spelt Ajmer and Ajmeer, ancient Ajayameru, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1090
 Akālavarsa, *bruda* of Kṛṣṇa II and Kṛṣṇa III, Rāstrakūṭa kings of Mānyakhetaka (Malkhed), 756, 839, 841, 842
 Akbar, the great Timurid emperor, 713 fn 1, 735, 802, 1090
 Akṛreśvara-*Viṣaya*, 1056, probably mod Anklesvar taluka, 1056 fn 1
Akṣa, a kind of gambling, 995
Akṣara (letter), 796
 Aksapād, 812 fn 2
Akṣapaṭalaka, an official title, 1170
Akṣapatālādhiśa, an official title, 1172
Akṣapaṭalika, an official title, 994, 1173
Akṣaya-trtiyā, 999
 Alada, *Sau*, 1008
 Alaf Khān, a general under Malik Kafur 1045, 1046
Alamkāra, 856
 Alhanadeva, same as Alhanadeva, 1115
 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī, Sultān of Delhi, 801, 907, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1099, 1101, 1102, 1134, 1163 1195, 1196 1197, 1204, 1205
 'Alā ul Mulk, the *Kotwāl* of Delhi, 1195
 Alavidagamva, village of, 1000
 Alayadina Sultānā (Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn), 734
 Al-Birūnī (sometimes spelt Bīrūnī), 825 fn 1, 865
 Alexander, 721
 Alha and his brother Udāl, heroes of the Banāphar clan, 719
 Alhādāna, Cāhamāna king of Naddula, same as Alhādānadeva, 992
 Alha-Ghāt, 794
 Alhaṇa (same as Alhanadeva, Cāhamāna king of Naddula), 1125, 1134, 1135, 1183
 Ālhana, son of Udaīrā, 1082
 Alhanadeva, Cāhamāna king of Naddula, also known as Alhanadeva and Alhādāna, 979, 1115, 1116 1117, 1118, 1125
 Alhanadevi, Guhila princess, wife of the Kalacuri king Gayā-Karna, 775, 778, 787, 788, 791, 876, 993, 995, 1173
 'Alī Muhammad Khān, author of *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadi*, 947, 958, 963, 998, 1003, 1040, 1043
Al Kāmil, one of the oldest compilations of Arab history, (67
 Allahabad, 679, 772, 774, 783, 797
 Allan, John, Keeper of Coins, British Museum, London, 1071 fn 8
 Allaṭa, Lākulīśa Pāśupata ascetic, 1065, see Bhāvīrakta
 Allata, Guhila king of Mewar, 1158, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1175 fn 2, 1176, 1179 fn 2
 Allāvadīna ('Alā ud Dīn), 1100
 Al-Ma'mūn, Abbasid Caliph, 1168
 Alp tigīn, founder of the Turki principality of Ghazni, 755, 1213
 Aluf Khan, 1103
 Amadeva, *Śābdika*, 904
 Amara, 734
 Amarkanṭak, 783 fn 1
 Amarkanṭak inscription (mutilated), mentions the name of Somalladevi, 813 fn 2
 Amarasimhadeva, Haihaya king, 815
 Amareśvara, 873, same as Amareśvara tīrtha 873 fn. 3
 Amareśvara-*kṣetra*, 904

Amareśvara *Śrīka* 808
Amara-rāgha (edict of non slaughter) 1116
Amātya *mantri* *indra* 700
Amara *śataka* 809
Amātya an official title 990 1160
Amācayā 861
Ambādevī temple of 1180
Ambala 1069
Ambaprasāda *Vyakarāṇa Mahāmāyā* 906
Ambhīprasāda *Guhila* lord of *Aghāṭa* also known as *Amraprasāda* killed by the *Cāhamāna* *Vākpati* II 1009 1162 1173 1175 1176
Ambarasena a learned man 832
Amber inscription 1031
Amber State 829 1097
Ambikā goddess, 900
Ambika river 839
Ambikā a town 858
Ambī-pāṭaka village, 763
Amāṭhya a kind of gambling 995
Amir (امير), commander leader 681 682 683 1044; assumed by the Arab chiefs of *Sind* 683
Amir *Bukn ud Din*, 1038 fn. 3
Amir *Ruknadin* same as *Amir* *Bukn ud-Din*, ruler of *Hurmuz* 1038
Amir *Shukara*, an office 1021 fn. 8 1189
Amir *ul mu'min* lord of the faithful 681
Amitagati an author 867
Amir *Khusrau* poet and litterateur composed poems on the love of *Devādevī* and *Rhār* 692 fn. 4 693 fn. 1 1045 fn. 3 1101 1150 1195 1196 1197 fn. 1 1206 fn. 1
Amoda, village, 755 802 804 810 812
Amoda plates (grants) of the *Haihaya* *Prithivīdeva* (I) of *Tuhmāna*, 755 806 804;
Amoda grant (I) of the *Tuhmāna* *Kalacuri* *Prithivīdeva* II 810 grant of the same No. (H) from the same place 810
Amoda grant of the *Tuhmāna* *Kalacuri* *Jajalladeva* II 819
Amma, *Rāyaka* 863 864
Amma *deva*, *Svātāmbara* *Āśṛya*, 863
Ammasadeva (*Haihaya*) *Kalacuri* prince 756 761
Amoghavarṇa birds of *Vākpati* II 852 853
Amoghavarṇa III *Vaddiga* *Rāstrakūṭa* king of *Mānyakbajaka* (*Malkhed*) 701 766 840 841 848 934
Amoghavarṇa IV *Nṛpatuṅga* *Kokkala* (*Kakka* II) 839 854
Amran inscription of *Sāradgadeva* 1041 1045
Amran *Jamnagar* State *Kathilwar* 1041
Amrabhaṭa also known as (*Amabaṭa*) 991, 992, 993 1002
Amṛtadevī queen of *Paramāra* king *Dhan-dhaka* 908
Amṛtapaṇi, son of *Rāyapaṇi* 1119
Amra a poet 1171
Amraprasāda (also *Ambāprasāda*) *Guhila* prince should be identified with *Ambāprasāda*, 1069
Āśṭas of level land (*prastha*) 868

Also identified with the *Cāhamāna* king *Arjorāja* 1011
Amra *Mahara-ja*, 1008
Anagāra *dharma* *śrī* of *Kāśdhara* 908
Anahila *pāṭaka* capital of the *Canlukyas* same as *Anahilvāṭaka* *Anahilla* *pāṭaka*
Anahila *pattana* *Anahilla* *pura* *Anhilvad* *Anahilvada* *Anahilavad* *Anhilvada*
Anhilvāra and *Nabarvāra*; modern *Anavada* 3 miles from *Patan* in *Gujarat* 710 763 fn. 2, 703 852 881 fn. 1, 936 938 943 948 950 960 963 981 982 984 988 990 1008 1010 1011 1018, 1020 1025 1026 1027 1038 1034 1035 1036, 1042 1110 1216
Anahila *pattana*: same as *Anahila* *pāṭaka*, 699 976
Anahilapura, see *Anahila* *pāṭaka*, 1018 1026 1033
Anahilavad 909 same as *Anahila* *pāṭaka*
Anahilvāṭa same as *Anahila* *pāṭaka* also spelt *Anhilvada* 850 937 955, 957 958 961 963
Anahilvāṭaka (same as *Anahilpāṭaka*) 1049
Anahilvāra *Śiva* temple of 1107
Anahilla *Cāhmāna* king of *Naddila* 969 1106 1107 1109 1121; also *Sādha* (a general) 670
Anahilla city of 869
Anahilla *pāṭaka* same as *Anahila* *pāṭaka*, 1009 1038 1039 1040 1086 1187
Anahilapura same as *Anahilla* *pāṭaka* 884 989 991 996 fn. 3 1108
Anala, god 871
Āpāladeva (*Arjorāja*?) 1074
Ānaleśvara, temple of 1011
Analladevī, *Rāstrakūṭa* (*Rāstrakūṭa*) queen of *Ālhapada* a 1117 1118
Anand in the *Kaira* district *Gujarat* 740
Ananda *Vāstavya* *Kāyastha* of *T* *khāṇkā*; younger brother of *Vāse* the *Vidū* of *Jayapura* (same as *Jayadurga*) 733; later appointed as governor himself 739
Anandaganara (mod. *Vadnagar*) 984
Anandapāṇi 1140 fn. 1
Anandapura (sometimes called *Anandana-gara*) modern *Vadnagar* in *Baroda* State, 849 904 979 1154 fn. 6 1155 1160 1167 fn. 4 1173 1198
Āṇḍagapāṇi, *Tomara* (king) according to *Cunningham* 1145 1149
Anaṅga *Bhīma*, *Eastern* *Ganga* king 815
Ananta *Brāhmaṇa* officer of *Kirtivarman* 700 701 fn. 1 702, 703
Ananta country (*Ananta* *govara*) kingdom of the *Cāhamāna*s so called after the name of its second prince 1034 1065
Ananta *govara* (see *Ananta* country) 1084 1065
Ananta *Kaashmirāna* king 723 fn. 3
Ananta, possibly a name of the *Cāhamāna* *Bāmanterā* 1061 1062
Ananta *gotra* 790
Anantapāṇi, founder of a *Śaiva* temple 923
Anantavarma *Coṭṭagadga* great *Orissa* king 814

- Anantavarman, Guhila prince of (Mewar), 1175
1176
- Anasura, *Thā'ira* of Sonūā, 1120
- Anavadi, the old Anahila pātaka, 3 miles
from Patin 1042
- Anavada stone inscription of Śārangadeva, 101
- Andhra, 680, 787, 986 fn 2, dśā, 951
- Andhra-khundi *Maṇḍala*, 806, 807, some
reads Andhra and Khundi
- Anga, 680, 772, 771, 916, 986 fn 2
- Āṅgiras, sage, 154
- Anhil, according to bardic tradition, the first
created Cūṭin 1052
- Anhil, old modern name of Anahila-pātaka
780, 855 913, 1010, 1016, 1021, 1043, also
written Unhilvara
- Anhilvāda (Anhilvāra) capital of the Cau-
lukya, see Anahila pātaka Anahila pura
105, 1027, 1072 1087, 1107, 1108, 1162
1183, 1191 1203, 1217
- Anhilvāra (Anahila pātaka), 954, 955, 961
- Anuruddha, 827
- Anklesar, taluka of the Broach district
Bombay Presidency, 1055
- Anna *satra*, 1070
- Ānna of Sapāḍalakṣa, 937, 983
- Ānalladevi, a variant of Arporāja, Kiel-
horn reads the name as Āvelladeva, 1076
1076 fn 1
- Annamarāja, Kākatya king of Bastar, 741
fn 2 (continued on 782)
- Antardhanadeśa 973
- Antarvedi, 702, 703, *vīṣaya*, 701
- Anuja (younger brother), 859

Aṣṭadhaṛṭka 785
Āśvagrāma (Mt.) 1171
Āśvaka same as *Āśvāṣa* 1109 1110
Āśvaka Mahārāja 981
Āśvāl near Ahmedabad 961 fn 6
Āśva-neiā 701 fn. 1
Āśvapāla Cāhamāna king of Naddāla 1106
Āśvapāl a proper name 1123
Āśvapālī 724 784, 785 789 791 795 797 798
Āśvārāja (II) same as *Āśārāja* 1109 1114 1115
Āśvatthvāma Kesi 878
Āśvaidya 731
Āśvilliyā Kōḍā village of, 978
Ātreya gotra 790
Āthala: tappa 742
Ātmaprabhā another name of the Cāhamāna queen Rudrānī 1063
Ātṣur (Ahar) 1173 1174
Ātṣur inscription of Sakṭikumāra 1154 1156 1168 1170 1171 1178 1179 (n 2)
Ātreya, a gotra 1155
Ātru sage 717 743 748, 752 770
Ātru near Sirod in Kotah State 965
ātru stone pillar-inscription of Jayasinha 965 974 1162
Andrahādī ceyaya 863
Anrecht 871 fn. 6 902 fn 2
Angai Pargana in Baberu Tahsil Banda district, U P 706
Angai plate (grant) of Madanavarman 704 710 719 fn 1
Anka Gubila of Chatau 1198
Aurābhāṣa (may be ancient *Āvalā*) 810 fn. 2
Aurva sage 750
Aurva temple inscription of Jindrapāla Khindrapāla (?) 1107
Āvalā village 810
Āvalladevī queen of the (Haihaya) Kalacuri king Karka 786
Avanāṭha 884
Avanivarman feudatory 938
Avanivarman Caulukya king 768
Avanti 737 738 767 845 885 945 966 982 988 1006, 1064, 1069 1169 *Maṇḍala* 966 *-dala* 985
Avṛki a desert country; Marwar according to Barua, 1072
Āyaskāra (worker in iron) 926
Āyodhyāpuriya family 810
Āyomukha 740 743
Āyus, 748
Āyyar Venkatarama, 887 fn. 6
Āgimābādī Talāwari 1068 fn. 3

B

Babāḍa village 833
Bābarias a tribe settled in South Kathiawar; identified with the Barbarakas 978
Bābariāṣṭha province in S Kathiawar 978
Bachhandgadh in Bilaspur C P 809
Badami, 741 756 fn. 4, 763 fn. 2, 833 862 fn. 7

Badari custom-house of 981
Bādāvi 802
Bādmerā 979 1000 fn 2
Badr ud Din Saukarlign 1180
Badrva, village ancient Bhadrāvva 1120 fn. 2
Baghari, 718 fn 1
Baghari stone-inscription of Paramardi, 711, 712 717
Baghalkhand 711 737 728, 740 761 769 791 794 797 800 Agency 773 840
Baglan in Nasik 1045
Bahāḍa son of the prime minister Udayana deva and the adopted son of Caulukya king Jayasinha 975 977 988 1073
Bahādadeva, *Mahāmāyā* 981
Bāhar Deo (Bāhāḍa Deva) see Vāghbhaṭa, 1090 1097 fn. 1
Bahā ud Din (Tughril) 722
Bahawalpur 957
Bahoghṛā goddess, 967 983 1110
Bahugṛā-māṭā 1110; temple of 981
Bhulodja (Bholada) 968
Bahurband 700 fn 2
Balhequi 778
Balijka *Mathurānāyaka-kāgarika* 801
Bala a proper name 1187
Bala (epithet of Mīlārāja II) 1003
Balabhadra 949
Balacandra author of *Vasantavīṭāsa* 951 fn 1 1022 1029 1067 1058
Balādhye, 1109
Balādhyaka 701 fn. 1
Balādīya (also known as *Bālirka* and *Bāl bhāṇa*) Gubila king of Chatau 1155 1156 1161 1187 1900
Balagamve stone-inscription of Jayasinha 867
Balaghat district of (C P) 807
Bālahaṭṭa Kalacuri king of Dābala, 759
Bala Kesi 718
Balanārāyaṇa *śruda* of Paramāra king Jai-tugi 903
Bālāprāsāda Cāhamāna king of Naddāla 918 962 1107 1111
Bālāsinha *Śūtradhara* 790
Bala-ora district (in Orissa) 758
Balban Delhi Sultan 681
Balana grant of Caulukya Mīlārāja I 948
Bālhaṇa Cāhamāna king of Ranthambhor 1094
Bali 967 981 982, 1181; a district of the Godwar division of Jodhpur 1011 1109 1110 1111 1120 1123; inscription of Jayasinha Buddharāja 967 968 986 inscription of Kumārāpāla 961 stone-inscription of *Āśārāja* 1110
Bālirā Cāhamāna king of Naddāla 865 1106 1106 1111
Bālāla king of Mālava, 886 887 914 988, 989 990 991
Bālāladevaka Rāuta 794
Baloda 609
Balotra 1123 fn 5
Balvan of Kotah 705 estate 1098
Balvan stone-inscription of Hammira 904 1086 1097-99

- Bamapūn-ro Nōrō (Nahurū grāma), 1111 fn 2
 Bambhī village, 731
 Bambhī Satī record, 731, 801
 Bamnera, 7 miles from Erumpura railway station in Jodhpur, 1118
 Bamnera grants (i) and (ii) of Kelhapa, 1118, grant No (iii), 1119
 Bamnera stone-inscriptions of Samāntasimha (i), (ii) and (iii), 1181
 Bāpa, author of the *Kādambārī* 721
 Banāphar clan, 719
 Banūras, 773
 Banas river, 719, 1073 fn 3
 Banda district (in U P), 709, 710, 711, 721 fn 2, 728
 Bandhu (relation), 875
 Bandi river, 1073, ancient Candra (?), 1073 fn 3
 Banerji, R D, 709 fn 6, 771 fn 1, 861 fn 1
 Barigar (ancient Vāridurga), 708
 Baraswara, State in South Rajputana, 871, 921, 967, 969, 1162, 1177, 1183, 1206, town, 851, 868, 867, 922, same as ancient Vāgada, 842, 920, plates (grants) of Bhoja 861, 865
 Bappa, *biruda* of Guhila king Kūla-bhoja (?) 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1166, 1167, 1192, 1193, 1194
 Bappairāja variation of the name of Vakpati I, 811, 813, 816, 818
 Bappaka, same as Bappa, 1155, 1171
 Bāpyadeva, Pandita and engraver of grants, 896
 Barah, a village in Cawnpore, U P, 741
 Barah grant of Bhojadeva, 741
 Barani, Ziyā ud-Dīn, author of *Ta'rikh-i-Firūzshāhī*, 1044, 1101
 Bārappa, feudatory of Cālukya king Taila II in Lāta, 765, 851, 855, 860, 937, 938, 940
 Barbaraka, 972, 973
 Bargujār, Rajput, 828
 Bārī, last capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, 690
 Barmer, ancient Vāgabhaṭa meru, principal town of Mallani district, Jodhpur, 1115, 1124, 1129 fn 3
 Barnett, Dr L D, 723 fn 2, 724 fn 3, 776, 784, 785, 801, 828, 845 fn 3, 848 fn 5, 861 fn 1, 864 fn 2, 896 fn 2, 900, 913 fn 4, 920 fn 4, 922, 923, 933 fn 1, 979 fn 5, 1021 fn 8, 1167 fn 1, 1170 fn 2
 Baroda, gap, 837, identified by some with ancient Vatapadraka, 862 fn 1, *prānt*, 864, State, 864, 971, 999, 1154 fn 6
 Basahi, village, Etawah, U P, 779 fn 3, 782
 Basahi, plate of Gādhavāla Govindacandra, 699, 779 fn 3, 782
 Baṭesvar stone inscription (same as Baghari stone-inscription) of Paramardī, 718 fn 1
 Bastar, State of, 781 fn 2, 807
 Baṭihādīm, town of, 801
 Baṭihagarh, a village, 21 miles S W of Damoh, 801, stone-inscription, Muslim record written in Sanskrit, 800-01
 Bauṛa is not Tomara but a corrupt form of
- Bay of Bengal, 698, 759
 Bayana, 723
 Bedwara, 723
 Behar, 1216
 Belgami inscription of Vikramaditya VI, 1789 fn 2
 Belgutti (Belagavatti=Bhogavati) in Honnali Taluq, Shimoga district, Mysore, 781
 Bellary district, 776
 Belluvalla, 863
 Benares, 669, 676 fn 1, 679, 719 fn 3, 742, 747, 751, 753, 757, 759, 768, 777, 779, 782, 786, 973, 1215, grant of (Lakṣmī) Karna, 666 fn 3, 673, 753, 757, 750, 782, 786
 Bengal, 675, 676, 678, 699, 754, 765, 779, modern, 813 fn 1, Western, 1215
 Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Jayaccandra, 751
 Berwara (probably ancient Vadavāri), 708
 Beṭma, village, 862, grant of Bhoja I, 862
 Betwa, river, 700, 702, 710, 711, 715, 728, 793, 791, 881, 887, 1085, 1217, valley, 810, 907
 Bhādīyūva, modern Badva, 5 miles S W. of Lalrai, 1120 fn 2.
 Bhadrakālī, temple of, 983
 Bhādrapada (month), 862
 Bhadrakrenya, 713 fn 1
 Bhadreswar inscription of Caulukya Jayasimha, 766
 Bhadund, 911, stone-inscription of Purnapāla, 911
 Bhagabatapura, 853
 Bhaghpat Tahsil, 1104
 Bhāgirathī, river, 763
 Bhagawanlal Indrajī, 839-40
 Bhaila, *Sutradhāra*, engraved Chatsu inscription of Bālāditya, 1200
 Bhailasvāmin (mod Bhilsa), 706, 799
 Bhāka Mīśra (Brāhman) chief-minister of Kalacuri king Yuvarāja I, 763, 767
 Bhāmāna, Kalacuri king of Gorakhpur, 744, 746
 Bhāmsara, village, 1035
 Bhanana, a Karpāta *Rānaka*, 1113
 Bhānāra *Maṇḍala*, 806
 Bhāṇḍārī, 1125
 Bhandarkar, R J, 867, 868 fn 4, 1024, 1025, 1032, D R, 842 fn 3, 862 fn 2, 963 fn 5, 909, 911 fn 3, 912 fn 1, 915 fn 5, 917 fn 2, 967 fn 2, 980 fn 2, 981 fn 3, 999 fn 8, 1006 fn 2, 1019 fn 1, 1079 fn 1, 1104 fn 5, 1109 fn 4&6, 1110, 1113 fn 1, 4&7, 1116 fn 1, 1118 fn 5, 1119 fn 4, 1121 fn 1, 1122, 1123-24, 1125 fn 3, 1128 fn 4, 1129, 1131 fn 6, 1157, 1158, 1170 fn 4, 1173 fn 2, 1179 fn 3 & 7, 1181 fn 6, 1128, 1194 fn 4, 1197, 1198 fn 2, 1199, 1200 fn 1
 Bhanrer, hills, 741, Range, 711, 755, 800
 Bhīnu, *Karanika*, 1200
 Bhāradvāja, 763, *gotra*, 722, *varṇa* of, 767
 Bharana inscription of Bhīma II, 1010, 1026
 Bharga (Bhaga) god 872

- Bharata the great mythical king 752
 Bharata the author of *Nāṭyaśāstra* 1131
 Bhāratavārṇa, 763
 Bhāra I goddess 696 799 900
 Bharṇapur State of 631 833
 Bhāravi a famous Sanskrit poet, author of *Kirātārjunīya* 1075
 Bharhut 793
 Bhārīpatta I Guhila king of Mewar 1158 1160 1168
 Bhārīpatta II Guhila king of Mewar 1161 1163 1169
 Bhārīpatta founder of the Guhilas of Chatau 1168, 1200
 Bhārīpur identical with the modern village of Bhātevar 1169
 Bhārīpaddha II Cāhamāna prince of Lāṭa 838 1034 *Paramamāheśvara Samadhigata paramamahāśabde Mahāśāmantādhipati* 1058 1057 1058
 Bhāṭakara, Sun-god 1058 1075
 Bhāṭavat identified with Bhāṭasvāmin (mod Bhūṭa) 678 678 fn 1
 Bhāṭavat Sun-god 1068
 Bhāṭa, the *Gauḍa Kṛpapatī* 1198 1199
 Bhāṭa 1113
 Bhātevar village ancient town of Bhārīpur 1119
 Bhāṭa Guhila king of Chatau 1199
 Bhāṭa a title attached to the names of Brāhmana 886 1056
 Bhāṭa grāma 696
 Bhāṭaputra 1113
 Bhāṭa Someśvara *Dikṣita* 767
 Bhāṭagrahāra 718 715 716
 Bhāṭāraka 915 999 1015 1082
 Bhāṭāraka (goddess) 966
 Bhāṭāraka Bhāṭaśarīdevī 868
 Bhāṭavila country 809
 Bhāṭaśarīpaddha *nagara* (mod Bhatnā) 981 fn 2
 Bhatnand stone-inscription of Kumārāpāla 990 988 1115 fn 4; village of 1028 1115 fn 4
 Bhat Daji 944 fn 1
 Bhaunagar 1007
 Bhāvaabrahman a Pāsupata ascetic 790
 Bhāva Brahma, erected a monastery in the reign of Prithvirāja II 1080
 Bhāva Brhaspati 983 985 987 fn 4 988 989 1006
 Bhāṭa adyaṭa Lākulīṣa Pāsupata ascetic 1065
 Bhavagupta Arpa 910
 Bhāvir kṛta, alias Alāṭa of Rānapalīkṣa (mod Ranoli) Lākulīṣa-Pāsupata ascetic 1065
 Bhāṭaśarī-patī (Bāva) 862 863 868 866
 Bhāṭaśarī temple of 1069
 Bhāṭaśarīkara, a Pāsupata ascetic, 1104
 Bhavatojas an ascetic, 790
 Bhāṭnagar State 1200
 Bharaghat, on Narmada 763 fn. 1 775 778 787 791 793 795 796 799 800; inscription of Alhapadevī (mother of Kalacuri king Narasimhadēva) 775 787 791 793, 795 796 1178
 Bhāṭanth 796
 Bhāṭa 763
 Bhāṭima same as Yālava king Bhāṭima 1121
 Bhāṭima Yādava king also called Bhāṭima 1121
 Bhāṭima 723 751
 Bhāṭa of Idar a non-Aryan tribe 1160 1166 1163
 Bhāṭa (ancient Bhāṭasvāmin) 710 810, 989, 990 fn. 6 1031 fn 8
 Bhāṭaṭa fortress and town of 906
 Bhāṭa Deo, same as Bhāṭa Dīw 1017
 Bhāṭa Dīw (Bhāṭa I Caulukya king) 1017
 Bhāṭa village of 803
 Bhāṭa Kalacuri king of Gorakhpur 744 747
 Bhāṭa I, Caulukya king of Anbilwad (Apāhī) *pāṭaka* 591 777 780 866 867 869 874 910 911 912, 923 910 946 949 950 951 952 953 959 961 669 979 984 994 1018 1060 fn. 3 1106 1177 1178 1215
 Bhāṭa II, Caulukya prince of Apāhī *pāṭaka* 809 809 917 947 fn 5 1001 1004 1006 1006 1009 1010 1019 fn 2 1020 fn 3 1023 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1033 1034 1035 1036, 1044 1085 1067 1121 1122 1123 1124 1126 1185 1184 1167 1191
 Bhāṭadāma Lāṭa Cāhamāna 1058
 Bhāṭadēva son of Devagiri Yādava Rāmadēva and brother of Sāṭhara, *śānta* of Devāṭadevī 1045
 Bhāṭaka Mahāśāntaśarīkara Tāṭhāṭhā 1007
 Bhāṭaka king of the Bhojas 743 fn 2
 Bhāṭasimha identified with Caulukya king Bhāṭa II 1090 1090 fn. 3 1091
 Bhāṭasimha, Śaodhī (Guhila) Rājā of Mewar 1205
 Bhāṭasimha a general of the Cāhamāna king Hammira 1100
 Bhāṭa I *Kṛpāṭa* Kalacuri king of Kasī 749 760
 Bhāṭa II Kalacuri king of Kasī 750 761
 Bhāṭasvāra Svāmin (god) 787
 Bhāṭasvāra temple of 1007
 Bhāṭa a town in Jodhpur identified with ancient Brīmāla 812 fn 3 912 fn. 3 1123 1129 1132 1133; inscriptions of Kṛpārāja 900 911 912, 923 fn 7 inscriptions of Jayasimha, 965 inscriptions of Cāṭiga 1182 1183 inscriptions of Udayasimha, 1127 1128
 Bhāṭagādharāja, chief physician 1170
 Bhāṭa a cultivator 1120
 Bhāṭadēvara temple of 984
 Bhāṭa a territorial division 862 863
 Bhāṭavati, 781
 Bhāṭa (Bhoja I) lord of Cojain (Ujjayini) 777
 Bhoja a natural brother of king Hammira 1100
 Bhoja a nephew of Caulukya Kumārāpāla, 984
 Bhoja Guhila king of Mewar also called Bhojāditya 1163 1164 1165

- Bhoja I, Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj, 670, 671, 689, 715 fn 2, 716, 751, 1059, 1060, 1118, 1161, 1168 fn 3, 1199, 1215, also called Bhojadeva, 711, 711
- Bhoja II, Gurjara-Pratihāra king, 753, 754
- Bhoja, also called Bhojarāja and Bhojadeva, Paramāra king of Mālava, king of Dhārā and Ujjain, 689, 699, 771, 778, 825, 831, 832, 811, 852, 859, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 876, 877, 881, 893, 900, 910, 921, 950, 951, 952, 1069, 1078, 1099, 1106, 1162, 1177, 1179, 1191, 1211, 1215
- Bhoja II, Paramāra king of Dhārā, 906 1101
- Bhoja carita*, 867
- Bhojadeva, Cūpothaka Rānaka, 1011
- Bhojadeva, Paramāra king of Mālava (see Bhoja), 689, 778, 832, 861, 862, 863, 864 895
- Bhojāditya (Bhogāditya), same as Bhoja, Guhila king, 1161
- Bhoja prabandha*, 856
- Bhoja-rāja, Paramāra king, 1177, see Bhoja
- Bhojas, 738, 743 fn 2
- Bhojavāmi, terrace of, 1191
- Bhojavarmān, Candella king, 701, 702, 721 fn 3, 733, 734
- Bhojuka, a proper name, 729
- Bhojuka, *Aśvavaidya*, 731
- Bhojuka, *Sutradhāra*, 801
- Bholada (Bāhuda), 968
- Bhomat, district, 910 fn 4
- Bhonapāla, *Thakkura*, 715
- Bhonslas of Nagpur, 815
- Bhopal, State in Central India, 892, 896, 999 fn 6, 1023, Agency, 892, 893, 895, grant of Arjunavarman, No I, 867, 896, 1013, -grant of same, No II, 887, 896, 899, 904 fn 4, 1023, grant of Mahākumāra Udayavarman, 889, 892
- Bhopalladevi, *Pattarājñī* of Kumārapāla, 977
- Bhoṭa (Tibet), 676, 677 fn 1
- Bhotanātha, 676
- Bhramaravadra country (mod Bamra), 811
- Bhr̥gu sage, 1074, 1171
- Bhr̥gukaccha (mod Broach), 896, 976 fn 1, 1032, 1056, 1057, 1167, 1171
- Bhr̥tya* (mercenaries) 866
- Bhūdā, Kalacuri queen of Kasia, 749
- Bhuj, in Cutch, 1039
- Bhūva-bala-malla, 1041
- Bhukti*, a territorial division, 670, 674, 676 fn 3, 1110
- Bhumat district, in Mewar, 1165
- Bhunāgeśi, same as Bhuvanasiṃha, 1204
- Bhupāla*, 981
- Bhupati*, 829, 830
- Bhūteśvara, temple of, 1038, 1076
- Bhuvanadevi, queen of Vijayapāla, 694, 695
- Bhuvanaikamalla, a Cāhamāna officer, 1083
- Bhuvanaikamalla, another name of Kacchapa-ghāta king Mahipāla, 826, 828
- Bhuvanapāla, another name of Kacchapa-ghāta king Mūladeva, 825, 826, 828
- Bhuvanasiṃha, Sesodia Rāṇā of Mewar, 1205
- Bhuvaneswar inscription of Eastern Ganga king Narasiṃha II, 815
- Biana, region, 832, stone-inscription of *Adhirāja* Vijaya, 821, 831, tahsil, 823, town, 823, 831
- Bibliographies, on *Candrātreyas*, 737, on *Haihayas* (Kalacuris), 820, on *Kacchapa ghātas*, 836, on *Paramāras*, 931 32, on *Gaulukyas*, 1049 51, on *Cāhamānas*, 1142 44, on *Tomaras*, 1152, on *Guhila putras*, 1210
- Bidā (بيدا), Arabic phonetic equivalent of Vidyā (Vidyādharma), 688, 690, 691, how it was corrupted into Nandā, 688 fn 4
- Bihar, 676, 699, 746, 747, 788
- Bira, prince of Kalyāna-kataka, 935
- 'Bijaiwand,' foster father of Muñja, 854 fn 5
- Bijapur, town in Jodhpur State, 980, stone-inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala, 855, 940, 1172
- Bijawar State, 723, 726, 732, 783
- Bijholi inscription, see Bijolia rock inscription, 1061
- Bijnor, in U P, 1021 fn 8
- Bijolia, a village in Mewar, 1081, rock inscription of Someśvara, also called the Bijholi and Bijolian, 1052, 1053, 1060, 1061, 1062 1063, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1074, 1077, 1081, 1081 fn 7 1082
- Bikaner, Desert of, 1087 fn 2, State, 1053
- Bikramjit, sovereign of Ujjain, 907
- Bilaspur district, 758, 774, 803, 804, 805, 809, 810, 812, 813
- Bilhana, author of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, 698, 779, 780, 865, 874, *mahāpandita*, 899, *mahākavi*, 895, *paṇḍita*, 901, 902
- Bilhari (the Balihri of the maps), one of the oldest towns in the Jubbulpore district, C P, 770, stone-inscription of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayura sect of the time of Yuvarāja II, 752 fn 1, 753, 757, 758, 759, 767, 770-71
- Binae ud-Dīn, 722
- Birbhum, district, Bengal, 765, 784
- Bird (James), translator of *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī*, 943 fn 4
- Birnagar, Brāhman of, 1153
- Biruda*, 756, 757, 828, 1158
- Bīrūnī (also called al-Bīrūnī), 670 fn 1, 689, 692 fn 4, 772
- Boher, a village in the Punjab, 1146 fn 2
- Boher Palam Baoli inscription (same as Palam Baoli inscription), 1146 fn 2
- Bōlā, alias *Bahuguna mātā*—temple of, 1110
- Bombay (city), 949, Presidency, 863, 1055, 1153 fn 4, grant of Naravarman, 882, Royal Asiatic Society grant of Bhīma I, 949, Secretariat grant of Ajayapāla, 1000
- Bonthādevī, wife of Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, 766
- Bopanava-sṭhabhana, donor in Bali stone-inscription, 967, 1110
- Bopeśvara Mahādeva, temple of, 1181
- Brahmā (god), 763 fn 2, 797
- 'Brahma Dew,' an Indian prince, 958, 959

Brahman (god) 681 900
 Brāhman (same as Brāhmaṇa; in Vol. I spell
 Brahman) 702 707 711 713 715 718
 721 48 702 707 789 794 941 1014
 1066 Karaṇika 1082; marriage with
 Katriya 1160
 Brahmapādaka 1040
 Brāhmaṇasvami temple 912
 Brahmapur near modern Mandal, Ahmedabad
 Collectorate 984 fn. 2
 Brahmapur village of 984
 Brhat saṁhitā 776
 Briggs. 780 801 fn. 2 958 1017 fn. 3 1149
 fn. 1 1068 fn. 3 1082 fn. 1
 British Museum 704 inscription of Bhoja
 861; inscription of Śālagadeva 1041
 British University 1218
 Broach district Bombay Presidency 1004
 fn. 8 1055 port ancient Bhṛgukarṇa
 898 1024 1036; centre of Cāhamāna Prin-
 cipality 1068; centre of Gurjara Prin-
 cipality 868
 Browne, author of *Literary History of Persia*
 698 fn. 3
 Buddha, author 1087
 Buddha, founder of Buddhism 748 749
 798
 Buddha Kalacuri king 789
 Buddhism 1218
 Buddhist Temples 778 Monasteries 778
 Buddha 748 748, 752
 Bujubojā village 810
 Bühler 698 fn. 1 780 fn. 1, 844 845 fn. 1
 846 847 848 850 854 855 856 857
 859 880 885 886 889 fn. 3 871 fn. 8
 879 875 fn. 2 & 4 880 938 949 948
 949 fn. 1 2 & 8 937 fn. 2 961 fn. 1 971
 984 fn. 3 1004 1010 fn. 3, 1007 fn. 4 1011
 fn. 3, 1012 fn. 1 1016 fn. 1 1026 fn. 3 &
 4 1034 fn. 3 1037 1039 fn. 3, 1040 1048
 Bulgane (same as Balgane) in Nasik 1045
 Bundelkhand (Jeṣa-Bhukti) 666 666 723
 782, 788 740 741 771 801 870
 Agency C. L. 713
 Bundarā village 812
 Burbur identified with ancient Bājubojā
 810 fn. 3
 Burgess 708 fn. 2 731 782 fn. 3 796 fn. 1
 866 fn. 4, 1030 fn. 3
 Burt Captain, 875 fn. 2
 Burtia inscription mentions Bāpadev 1184

□

Cāca same as Cālagadeva, 1121
 Cacca Paramāra prince 681 911 921 922
 Cacca a feudatory king belonging to the
 Dadhicka lineage 1067 1068
 Caccal Rājā, wife of Amma 864
 Cāciga, Cāhamāna king of Jalor 855 932,
 971 1068 fn. 1, 1071 1106 1192; also
 known as Cācigadeva, 765 1181 1182
 1183
 Cālagadeva (also known as Cāca) Cāhamāna
 king of Jalor 1181, 1182 1183

Cācinsdevi sister of Camupārāja 945
 Cādala an object of reverence for the
 Katriya, 780
 Cādārka engraver of Amode grant (u) 810
 Cādhaha town 833
 Cāhaja Mahantama; Karaṇika Brāhman
 1083
 Cāhaja Thakura 983
 Cāhājadeva Mahākumāra 1104
 Cāhājadeva of Narwar 731 fn. 1 834 fn. 1
 1108
 Cāhamāna Rajput tribe bardic tradition on
 origin one of the 4 fire-born races 1033;
 —Cāhāja Cāhāja Cāhāja Cāh-
 māna and Cāhān variants of this name
 1053 fn. 1 24 Sākha 1062 epic
 mouse Cāhamāna born from the sun 1053
 1078 fn. 1 1139; Sāmanta, the earliest
 representative of the family according to
 the Bijolia inscription born in the Vaisa
 gotra at Ahuchetrapura 1053; in the
 Savadi grant the Cāhamāna vādā is
 said to have sprung from a person who
 came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the
 East 1063 fn. 1 inscriptions of the
 Cāhamānas ignorant of their fire-origin
 as late as the 14th century A.D. 1068
 fn. 1; migrated from the upper Ganges-
 Jamna Valley (?) 1064 literary tradition
 associate the rise of the Cāhamānas with
 the lake Sākambharī (Sambhar) 1054
 cradle-land of the tribe 1054 movement
 of the tribe 1054; many branches
 1054 feudatories of the Pratiharas 1054,
 1055 Cāhamānas of Lāta 1055 ff.; of
 Dhavalpurī 1055 1068-69; of Irtabgarh
 1055 1069-80; of Sākambharī 1055
 1060 ff. 1061 1062 1148 1162 1186 1200
 1203 1216 1217 f. Rapaṣambhara
 834 fn. 1 1055, 1094 ff.; of Nudkōla
 (Nadol) 868 870 902 932 967 1035
 1104 ff. 1188; of Jāvālipura 1055
 1120 ff. 1183; known as Sonigars 1128
 trace their descent to Kirtipāla, 1122;
 of Satyapura 1055 1184 ff. 1056
 Cāhamāna eponymous founder of the Rajput
 tribe of the same name, 1053 1058 fn.
 1 a great hero 1132 (see Cāhamāna,
 Rajput tribe)
 Cāhamāna vādā 1053 fn. 1 1064
 Cāhamānas 672 673 716 720 904, 922 937
 939 957 1057 1068, 1059 1060 1061,
 1063 1076 1078 1081 1087 1089 1116
 genealogical tables 1188-41; Biblio-
 graphy 1142-44
 Cāhamāna-śaṅga, 1049
 Cāhāvāna (see Cāhamāna) 1052 fn. 1
 Cāhāvāna vādā 1058
 Cāhāla, Mahāśaṅgha śigrahika 964
 Cāhāmāna (see Cāhamāna) 1062 fn. 1
 Cāhupa (see Cāhamāna) 1062 fn. 1
 Cāhuvāga (see Cāhamāna) 1062 fn. 1
 Cātra-gaccha 1191
 Cakradurga king of 877
 Cakrakotṭa or Sakrakotṭam in C. P. 877
 fn. 3

- Cakrakūṭa, 877 fn 3
 Cakratatini, river, mod Chikna, 1098, 1098 fn 1
 Cakravarman, king of Kashmir, 676
Chakravartin, a technical title of paramount sovereignty, 738
Calingae, 783 fn 1
 Caliphs, 681
Cālisa-pathaka, 1011
 Cālukya, 699, 739, 765, 766, 769, 770, 771, 780, 781, 787, 789, 861 865, cf Badami (Vātāpīpura), 711, 838, of Kalyāni, 807, 826, 851, 861, 867, 871
 Candella (Candella), 666 fn 3, *Vamśa*, 700
 Candela (Candella), 666 fn 3
 Cākulādevī, queen of Bhīma I, 962
Cāmara, 1167
 Cambay, in the Kaira Collectorate of Gujarat, 976, 977, 1012
 Cambay, plates of Govinda IV, 810
 Cambay stone-inscriptions of Śārangadeva, 1012
 Cambridge History of India, 726 fn 3
 Cāmdapallī, probably same as Candrāvati, 1179 fn 7
Campāra: *ya* (mod Camparan in N Bihar?), 787
 Cāmunda, Cālukya king of Anahilapāṭaka, 943, 944, 951, 958
 Camundā, goddess, 1132
 Cāmunda, son of Mūlarāja, 939
 Cāmundarāja, Cāhamāna king, 1069
 Cāmundarāja, *Dātaka*, 1118
 Cāmundarāja, *Mahārāja putra*, ruler of Mandavyapura, 1119
 Cāmundarāja Paramāra king of Bunswara, 851, 920 fn 4, 923, 934, 943 fn 5 971 fn 2
 Cāmundarāja, son of Udayasimha 1131
 Cand Bardai poet, author of the Hindi epic *Prthvirāja Raso*, 719, 720, 726, 1084
 Candamahāsena, Cāhamāna prince of Dhavalapurī, 1058
 Candapa, Paramāra prince of Jalor, 924
 Candanarāja, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, slew the Tomara chief Rudrena, 1063, 1146
 Candapa, Paramāra king, 920, 921 fn 2, 922
 Candapahā, village, 784
 Candasiṁha, architect of the temple of Harsanātha, omniscient like Viśvakarman, 1065
 Candellas (Candrātreyas), also called Candella and Candela 665, 666, 667 668, 669, 671, 674, 676, 678 679, 680, 682 683, 687, 688 689 689 fn 3 690 991, 692 fn 2 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701 fn 4, 702, 703 fn 2, 705, 710, 712 718, 719, 720, 722, 725 fn 1, 727 729, 730, 733 734, 735, 740, 747 751, 753, 754, 760 761 773, 774, 775, 777 fn 4 778 780 789, 791, 792, 794 797, 800, 807, 823, 824 825, 831, 971, 1085, 1212, 1213 1214, 1215 1217, inscription at Mahoba, 697, of Bundel-khand, 870, of Jeṇā bhukti, 834, territory, 1086
 Candēśvara, *Sūtradhāra*, 1015
 Candikādeva, temple of, 974
 Candīśa, Mahādeva, 912
 Candra, a composer of *Prasasti*, 920
 Candrā, queen of Jajjuka, 1147
 Candra river, mod Bandi river according to Sarda, but it should be identified with mod Lunī, 1073
 Candra bhāgā (rivulet), 945
Candracūda (Śiva), 815 fn 3, 1193
 Candradeva, Gāḥadavāla king of Benares and Kanauj, 699, 702, 747 748, 751, 788
 Candragupta, Maurya king of Magadha 1211
 (andramā (the Moon), god, 665, 748
 Candraprabha Jaina Tirthankara, 831
 Candrapurī, 891
 Candrarāja, brother of the Cāhamāna king Viṅgararāja 1067
 Candrarāja, son of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Simharāja, 1066
 Candrarāja I, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, 1062
 Candrarāja II, also known as Śaśinrpa, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, 1063
 Candra Śarman, *Mahāsandhivigrahika*, 949
 Candrasekhara, author of *Surjan carita* 1061 fn 1, 1084
 Candrasimha, 798
 Candrātreyas (Candellas) of Jeṇā-Bhukti (Bundel-khand), 665, 670, 684, 686, 713, 715, 717, 722, 732, 734
 Candrarvarman, traditional founder of the Candellas 665, 666, 667
 Candrāvati, capital of the Paramāras of Abu, 747, 812, 886, 914, 917, 990, 1009 1021, 1042 fn 4, 1127, 1153, 1182, grant of, 699 fn 2, 747, town of, 910
 Candrāvati-pura, 1027
 Candrell-ānvaya (Candella), 666 fn 3, 677
 Candrikā daughter of E Ganga king Anangabhīma, wife of king Paramardī, 315
 Candurāja, Khaśa king of Lohara, 676
 Capala *gotra*, 1008
 Cāpas, 936, 850
 Cāpotkata, 850, 1041, also called Cāvotaka, 935
 Carlleyle, 824 fn 2, 1164 fn 1 & 2
 Carmanvatī (mod Chambal), river, 863 fn 1, 1059
Cārana (bard), 995
 Cartellieri, 714, fn 1, 1009 fn 2
Cārāka viśāla-malana, 812 fn 2
 Castana, Western Kṣatrapa, 1956
 Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta 709
 Cāteśvar, 815
 Cāteśvar stone-inscription of Anaṅga Bhīma II, 815
 Cātṭa a Brāhman, 805
Caturanga, a kind of gambling, 995
 Caturāṅga (quadriform), according to bardic tradition the name *Cauhan* derived from this word, 1052
 Caturbhūva Cauhan, four armed like his creator Viṣṇu, 1052 fn 3
 Caturbhūva temple of (same as temple of Rāmacandra), 677
 Caturbhūja *Thakura*, 795
Catuṣkikā (a four-pillared hall), 705

- Caubān (see Chāmāna) 1052; Caturbhāja (four-armed) 1052 in 3
 Caulokikā (pañcāyat system) 1112
 Cāllihga a driver of the royal elephant 987
 Cāṇḍarāvara image of 1009
 Caunāth Jogini temple 783 in 1
 Caulokya vernacular from Solāhki 699
 702 in 2 710 768 in 4 763 765 766
 767 780 786 in 3 792 797 883 885
 891 891 909 913 933 931 939 910 913
 957 1011 1011 1015 1058 1070 1081 in
 4 1081 1107 1111 1162 1171 1177 1178
 1181 1186 1191 1201 1206 1316 1317;
 of Vyāghrapāli 681 in 1; Genealogical
 tables of 1016 1047 Bibliography of
 1010 61
 Caurāmalaka prince of Vāgaḍa 1183
 Cawra in the Javapura Durra 717
 Cāvḍā 860 935 950
 Cavalry 670 in 2
 Cedi 690 696 697 725 in 1 756 760 763
 770 777 791 806 807 808 860 951
 Cedi candra an epithet of Kalacuri king
 Lakṣmanarāja 1 767
 Cedi dāsa 678 946
 Cedi dāsa (Cedi kula) 770 in 2
 Cedi māṇḍala 814
 Ceditā 678
 Cedi 675 702
 Cedi-Sakpat (year) 790 813 818
 Central Asia 1918
 Central Gujarat 888
 Central India 679 680 723 774 860 889
 899 1216
 Central India Agency 853
 Central Provinces 741 756 758 900 908
 Ceylon (Serendeepe) 960
 Chākra river see Cakratāpini 1096
 Chāmāl ancient Cāmanvāl river 689
 690 863 in 4 1050 1218
 Chāmāl (upper) valley of 907
 Chāmpān district (may be ancient Cham
 pāraṇya) 788
 Chānd Hindu post 710 in 4
 Chānda district 907
 Chānda Rāj Bahadur II P 774 in 1
 Chānderi 700 in 1 901 in 2 810 1103
 Chānderi Bhilsa route 907
 Chāndod Yādava of 938 in 4
 Chāndreha 781
 Chāndreha stone-inscription of Prabhāvatīva
 762
 Chāpan district 1180
 Chārwa town of 900
 Chātra 1167
 Chātradhāra village of 1066
 Chātau 1197
 Chātau branch of the Gubila potras 1164
 Chātau inscription of Bāḍāḍīya 1154 1161
 1197 1200
 Chāwund Ray (see Govind HMe) 1069
 in 2
 Chochādīya mod Chochil about 4 miles to
 the north of Savadi 1109 in 3
 Chhatarpur State (C I) 668 723 723 736;
 town, 723
 Chhattisgarh 783 in 1 800 803 815
 Chatterton Bishop 802 in 1
 Chochil village ancient Chochādīya, 1109
 in 3
 Chhachaudā village, 799
 Chik chit o of Yuan Chwang 670
 Chikula Rāyaka 791
 Chikdūr (Chikloder Mata s Hill) 957 in 3
 Chihchā nagara 862
 Chipaka 801
 Chirwa village of; about 10 miles north of
 Udaipur and 2 miles east Nagda
 1192
 Chirwa inscription of Samarasimha 861
 in 3 670 1057 in 5 1162 1167 1185
 1187 1188 1189 1192
 Chitor in Mewar ancient Chitrakūta 670 968
 1078 1096 1099, 1154 1166 1179 1180
 1183 1190 1191 1191 1195 1196 1197
 1201 1206 fort of 1162, 1189 1193 in-
 scription of Kumārpalā 1177; of the
 Gubila, 1174 1175; stone-inscriptions of
 Samarasimha 1166 1193 1194; of Teja
 sīkha 1191; garh, 979 in 1
 Chitorgarh stone-inscription of Kumārpalā
 961; Nos. (i) and (ii) 978-79 1162,
 1166 in 3
 Chitrabāṇu Vāstavya Kāyastha 819
 Chitrang Morris tank same as Chitrānga
 tank 1194
 Chundery (Chanderi) 906
 Churk (dagger) 1049
 Chik HMe (mod Lakula Chikhaldā in
 Holkar's State) 853
 Cintāmaḥ Pārivāṇtha, temple of at Cam-
 bay 1042
 Citra, 1041
 Citra stone-inscription (pradasti) of Śaraṅga
 deva, 1037 1040 1041 1043
 Citrakūpa, mod Chirwa 1192 in 4
 Cis-Butole districts 1217
 Citrakūpa (Chitor) 1090
 Citrakūpa 840 976 in 1 965 (Chitor in
 Udaipur State) 861 in 3 870 934 1194
 1195 fort of, 1176 1180; mahādurgas
 1191; nagaradurga, 1193; hill in Bundel
 khand) 673 678 in 3
 Chitrānga tank mod. Chitrang Morris tank
 1194
 Coḍ gaṅga, prince 906, 813 814
 Coḍagaṅga Anantavarman Gaṅga king of
 Orissa, 1216
 Coḍasimha same as Coḍa 1179
 Coḍa 769 in 1 772 in 3 778 1022
 1168
 Coḍa also called Coḍasimha Gubila king of
 Mewar 1179
 Coḍa a form of dress 1066
 Coḍa 776 in 4 854 855 879, 880
 Coimbatore district 778 in 3
 Corāya village, 797
 Crooke 1187
 Cūḍasimā Khfirā chief of Junagarh 923
 Cūluka 763 in 2
 Ouyakāra (Persian artisans), 1069

Don João de Castro, 1041
 Dorasamudra city of 877 990 fn 2, 1037
 Dr Gerson Da Cunha, 940
 Drāksharāma (Godāvari district) 767
 Drama a kind of coin 699 fn 3 709 767
 984 1008 1169 1110 1119 1120 1128
 1170 1173 1194 1107 gold 701 709
 710 728 733; copper 701 728; Half
 699 Quarter 701
 Davidian 783 fn 1
 Droga Bhāradvāja 763 fn. 3
 Dvadpur village of 965
 Dubkund 76 miles to the S W of Gwalior
 on the left bank of Kunu 831 823 830
 831 832
 Dubkund inscription of Vikramasimha 689
 624 830 811 832 872
 Dadhar (also spelt Dad hi and Doodhar) a
 village in the south of Lalitpur Jhansu
 district U P) 708 714 716 1081
 Dadahi stone inscription of Devalabhin 666
 fn 3 677
 Dādāddhya an official title, 1066
 Dulha Raj alias Te keran last Kachwāha
 king of Gwalior 828
 Dundā wife of the Dadhika prince Vairi
 simha 1068
 Dungarpur State 860 974 1177 1181 1182
 1183 1184 12 6
 Durgasimha Afakah 1185
 Durdama 743 fn. 1
 Du ga (fort) 1185 1190
 Durgā (goddess) 881
 Durgapāl (mod Junagadh according to
 Indrajī) 941 941 fn. 6
 Durgavati, Candella princess 735 803 fn 1
 Durjaya Rājyapāl 724
 Duriabharāja 948
 Duriabharāvi Naddāla princess the bride
 (and queen) of the Candakya king
 Duriabharāja 945 1106 fn 4
 Duri bhāpura 770
 Duriabharāja grandfather of Vīrabharāja
 the husband of Lāhri the sister of the
 Arbuda Paramāra Purapālā 911
 Duriabharāja Candakya king 944 946 1106
 Duriabharāja Sāndhivigraha 1 69
 Duriabharāja Pertabgarh Cāhamāna 1059
 Duri bhārāja I Sākambhari Cāhamāna
 1063
 Duriabharāja II Sākambhari Cāhamāna
 1067 1068
 Duriabharāja III also called Virasimha
 Sākambhari Cāhamāna 1068
 Duriabharāja mura an epithet of the Cāha-
 māna king Duriabharāja II 1068
 Dūala probably same as Duriabha III 1068
 also spelt Dūala 1070
 Dūala Cāhamāna king 964
 Dūta (envoy) same as Dēta 904 1075
 Dūta, technical title of an officer in con-
 nection with charters usually recorded on
 copper plates 649 fn. 1 893 943 949
 964 1000 1007 1009 1011 1012, 1015
 1016 1045 1066 1116 1118
 Dūta, Prof. B 876 fn. 1 1189 fn. 8

Dēdāda 919
 Dēdāda a territorial term 714 1060
 Dryādāya of Hemacandra 710 137 941 944
 fn 3 951 963 968 fn. 7 970 972 973
 fn 3 987 983 fn 2 998 1072, 1073 1100
 Dynastic History of Northern India Vol. I
 728 fn 2 731 fn 3

E

Eastern Candakya 878
 Eastern Kathiawar 850
 Eastern Rajputana 621
 Eṅgeling 1145 fn 6
 Enod Moolk Mooltany 907
 Ekādāga (Śiva) god 1154 1167 1160 1166
 Ekalinga mahātmya 1158 1170 1180 fn
 1 & 2, 1201
 Ek liṅga stone-inscription of Jaltrasimha
 1185
 Ek liṅga stone-inscription of Naravāhana
 1171
 Ekādāga temple of 1185 1190
 Elephants 690 fn 3
 Ehot 721 fn 1 730 fn. 1 801 fn. 2, 625
 fn 1 829 fn 1 947 fn 1 965 fn 1 966
 fn 3 & 4 957 fn 2 960 fn 2 961 fn 3-5
 1031 fn 1 1092 fn 1 & 2 1098 1096
 fn 2 1101 fn 2, 1102 fn 1 1149 fn. 6
 1185 fn 4 & 5
 Elora (same as Elora) 1045 caves of in
 the neighbourhood of Dewgur (Deogir-
 Devagiri)
 Epla 751
 Epigraphia Indica 711 fn. 2 712 fn 3 714
 fn 1 716 fn. 2 716 fn. 4 718 fn 1 723
 fn. 2 727 fn 2 & 3 729 fn. 1-3 781 fn. 2
 783 fn 3 781 fn. 2
 Eracha Vāgya (mod Erich) 715
 Erich on the Betwa 715

F

Farrukhī a court poet of Mahmūd of
 Ghazni 857 fn 2
 Farishta, author of the famous Tarikh (chro-
 nicle) 690 692 fn. 4 721 729 834 fn 1
 907 857 959 961 963 1014, 1045 1067
 fn 2 1088 fn 3 1090 fn. 2, 1093 1102,
 1149 fn 3 1190
 Firūz (Jalāl ud Din) first of the Khalji kings
 of Delhi 1095
 Firūz Shāh a prince of the House of
 Taghluq 1076
 Firuzpur (Ferozepore) 1067 fn 3
 Fleet 738 fn 3 755 fn 5 758 fn. 4 777
 784 fn. 2 788 824 fn 2 831 fn 5 833
 fn 3 838 fn 4 890 fn 3 893 fn 2 3
 4 6 & 7 949 fn 3 1000 1004 fn. 8 1009
 fn. 4
 Forbes, 777 fn. 5 858 fn. 3 984 fn. 3
 998 fn. 6

Ghelo the insane prince popular name of Karpadava II the Vāghela (Caulukya) ling 1013; also called *Ghelo*
Ghelo insane popular name of the Vāghela (Caulukya) Karpadava II 1013 fn 6
Ghiyāth ud Din Balban the Sultan of Delhi 1096 fn 3 see *Ulugh Khan* 1105 1205
Gholardo talar tank of Guhila rāja, 1108
Ghoptāvara identified with *Ghotarai* 1169
Ghoptāvatika village modern *Ghotarai* near Partabgarh 1060
Ghor (Ghūr) 1086
Ghoṭaka-cigraha (battle of horses) 785
Ghotarai ancient *Ghoptāvara* and *Ghontā varatā* village 1063 fn. 1 1160
Ghūr 765 1316 hills of 1078 Sultāns of 681 sometimes spelt as *Ghor* 1086
Gīṣaḍḍī village of 1015
Gīrīśdevī Mahārājī 960
Gīrnar 999
Gīrnar hill 1039
Gīrnar stone-inscription of Arjuna 1039
Gir a stone-inscription of *Vastupāla* and *Tejapāla* 1030
Gīrnar in *Mīrōhī* 918
Gīrī Govinda of *Jayadeva* 1042, 1164
Goa 1004 fn 1
Gobhila 793
Gobhila putra, same as *Guhila-putra* 1158 fn. 1 1178
Gobhila putra gotra 791
Gobhilaputra V. *Jayasinha* 876
Goderapur village of 93
Godavari district 776 fn 2 river 706 783 in 1 788 858 878 1068 fn 2 1213 1916 valley 858
Godhā 1024 1032
Godhā 98
Godwar a division in *Jodhpur* State 916 984 1109 1109 1110 1112 1115 1118 1123 1124 1183 1203
Goga Nārāyaṇa 978 temple of 967
Goga Sūtra 1039
Gogga Bhānūtha a *Tomara* prince 1147
Goggrā a 910
Gogra river 747 751
Golād āvara (god) 885
Golara a village in *Allahabad* district 761 772, 779 786 786 grants of *Lakṣmi Karna* 764 768 772 783 788
Gollivad Mehr Chel 992
Gokarnanātha temple of at *Visalpur* 1084
Gokulaghatṭa, 744 747
Golak corrupted into *golak* or *kolak* means an illegitimate offspring 1087 fn. 3
Golaki Maṭha 163 fn 1
Golhana the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, 790 fn 2
Gomatha 801
Gonda 809
Gondwan 802
Gowl (of grain ?) 888
Goomsar 783 fn. 1
Gopa hill (*Gwallor* hill) 678

Gopagiri same as *Gopādrī* (mod. *Gwalior*) 678 fn. 1 823
Gopāla *Brāhman* general and chief minister of the *Candella* king *Kirtivarma* 698 698 697 698 700 780
Gopāla of *Harwar* 831 fn 1 1103
Gopāla Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince of *Kanauj* 702
Gopāla ruler of *Mathura*, 723
Gopāla II *Pāla* prince of *Bengal* and *Bihar* 676 760
Gopallikera adhipati of 828
Gopalpur stone inscription of *Vijayasinha*, 797 793 fn 1 799 village 797 799
Gopati son of *Rucra*, 733
Gopendrarāja *Śākambhari Cāhamāna* 1062
Gorakhpur district in U P 742 745 747 752 164
Gosāladevī queen of *Haibaya* (*Kalacuri*) *Jayasinha* 797 793 fn. 1
Gosāladevī Śrīmad Mahārājī 800
Gōṣāka (*Gosa*) learned teacher of the *grammarian* (*śabdika*) *Amadeva*, 904
Go thapālī village 763
Goṭhī (guild) 1145
Goṭhika (trustee) 1006
Gosama the sage 832
Gotra 711 713 718 723 744 781 790 1008, 1061 1155
Gotra prarasa subandha-kadamba 1155
Govind the *Rāo* of *Dhili* 1088 1090, sometimes called *Khan* or *Rai Chawand Rai* a *Rai* *Go* ind 1083 fn 2
Govinda a learned man born in the family of *Hā* a *prī* ca 1076
Go inda *Brāh* and *was* 883
Govī da *Parohita* 825 847
G inda *Thak* ra *Mahāk* apatalika, 1035
Govinda III *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king of *Malikbed* 839
Govinda IV *Rāṣṭ* kūt king 746 840
Govī decandra *Gāḍagavha* (*Gālarw*) king 699 743 779 fn 3 782 88 807 872 1215
Go i dātā wife of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king *Jagatwudga* 758, 757 761
Govinda & a II *Cāhamāna* king of *Śākambhar* 1068 1169
Govindarāja *Kṛṣṇapāla* 780 781 fn 1
G vindarāja, *Par* i bhar *Cāhamā* a 1059
Govind rāja son (?) of *Prthivī* a III founder of *Rupatan* bhupura branch of the *Cāh* rāṇas 905 1002 1022 fn. 5 1094
Govindarāja I, *Śākambhari Cāhamāna* 1062, 1063
Govindarāja son of the *Śākambhari Cāhamāna* *Budharāja* and brother of king *Vijayaharā* a 1066 1067
Grahepati family 686 707 709
Grāharipu the ruler of *Sor* th 941 969 fn. 8
Grāma 714 721 800 912, 913, 965
Grewa 1211
Guaria village, probably ancient *Guvāḷa* ghatṭa, 843 fn 1
Guṇpur besieged by *Nāgarjuna* 1066
Gubadatta, same as *Guhila* 1155 115, 1160 1164 1167 fn. 4 1173, 1179

Helamba (Heramba, i.e., Ganesa), 795
 Hemcandra, Jain scholar, author of *Daśavaśīkālika sūtra*, *Kumārāpālacarita* etc., 780, 792, 941, 942, 973, 974, 976, 987, 988, 993, 994, 997, 998, 1002, 1072, 1106, 1185, 1191
 Hema Sūri, *Prabhu*, same as Hemcandra above, 983
 Hemāvatī, daughter of Indrajit and mother of Candravarmā, 665
 Hemrā, Cāhamāna prince, 1092 fn 3, 1093
 Hem-rā, *purohit* of Gaharwar Rājā Indrajit, 665
 Heramba (Ganeśa), god, 902
 Herambapāla (alias of Mahāpāla), Gurjara Pratihāra emperor, 676, 677 fn 1
 Heron, river, 797
 Himadri bhava (Mt Abu), lord of, 1105
 Himalayas, 674, 678, 1063, 1076, 1087 fn 2, 1171
 Hind (India), 692 fn 4, 1088
 Hindi epic (*Prithvīrāja Rāso*), 1085
 Hindi poetry, 692 fn 4
 Hindukush, mountain, 1211
 Hindus, 721, 727, 824, 1044, tongue of (رَبانِ هندی), 692, downfall of, 1218
 Hindustān (India), 1087, 1096, eloquent men of, 692
 Hindustānī, 692 fn 4
 Hiradevī, queen of Jaitrasīmha, 1097
 Hirāj, Elliot thinks it to be an abbreviation of *Dhirāja*, but probably it is a corruption of Harirāja, 1091, 1092, 1093
 Hirālal, 715 fn 2, 734, 754 fn 6, 758 fn 4, 759 fn 1, 763 fn 1, 766 fn 3, 773, 781 fn 2, 789 fn 5, 790 fn 2, 801 fn 2, 802 fn 4, 804 fn 3, 807 fn 5, 810 fn 2, 811, 812 fn 1, 813
 Hirū, a proper name, 1193
 Hīśamādīm (Hī-ām ud Dīn), also called Chipaka, commander of the Kharpara armies and lord of Cedi-deśa, 801
 Hīśam ud-Dīn, 801
 Hissar district, 1078, 115 fn 6, 1202
 Hoernle, 733 fn 1
 Hoey, W., 702 fn 2, 715 fn 1, 718 fn 1
 Honnali Taluq, 781
 Hooghly river, 779
 Hoshangabad, district of, C P., 900
 Hoshangabad (ancient Narmadapura), town of, 893 fn 2, 3 & 4
 Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, 871 fn 4, 878, 886 fn 3, 990 fn 2, 1037
 Hṛdayaśiva, 767, 770
 Hultzsch, 697 fn 1, 700 fn 2, 718 fn 1, 724, 748 fn 2, 828 fn 1, 862 fn 2, 897 fn 5, 898, 899, 949 fn 4, 964 fn 4, 999 fn 7, 1008 fn 7, 1023, 1039 fn 2
 Hūna, a Rajput tribe, 1076, chief, 850, king, 859, 860
 Hūna desa, 946
 Hūpa-Gurjara stock, 841
 Hurmuz (Haramuza), 1038 fn 4
 Hyderabad, 868 fn 2

I

Ibn Batuta, African traveller, 670 fn 1, 1115 fn 2
 Ibn ul Athīr, author of the *Kāmil*, 679, 682, 688, 690 fn 2, 691, 693 fn 1, 830, 954, 958, 960, 961
 Ibrāhīm the grandson of Maḥmūd, 692 fn 4
 Icchiwar village in Banda district, U P., 714
 Icchawar giant of Paramardī, 714
 Idar, a State in the Bombay Presidency, 1153 fn 4, 1155, 1160, 1163, 1164
 Ilā, daughter of Manu and wife of Budha, 718
 Ilutmish, the greatest of the Turki Slave Sultāns of Delhi, 829 fn 1, 834 fn 1, 906, 1021 fn 8, 1089, 1096, 1129
 Inganapaṭa (mod Ingoda), 885
 India, 752, 755, 772, 826, 953, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218
 Indian Antiquary, 711 fn 4, 712 fn 2, 715 fn 1, 725 fn 1, 726 fn 1 & 2, 722 fn 3
 Indian Peninsula, 766
 Indica of al-Birūnī, 865
 Indilā, village of, 107
 Indore, 862, 863, 900 fn 4, 903
 Indra, god, 675, 773, 1110
 Indra, lord of the East, *Cāhamāna vaṁśa* said to have sprung from his eye, 1053 fn 1
 Indra III, Rāstrakūṭa, emperor, of Mānyakhetaka, 754, 756, 761, 671, 673 fn 2, 839, 840, 841, 846, 847, 934
 Indrādityadeva, Surgod, 1059, 1060
 Indrajī, Bhagvanlal, 937, 939, 949 fn 4, 968, 969, 973, 982, 1028
 Indrajit, Gaharwar Rājā of Benares, 665
 Indrapura, a town, 1075
 Indrarāja, Cāhamāna *Mahāsāmanta*, feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, 1054, 1059, 1060
 Indrarāja, Rāstrakūṭa king of Malkhed, 839
 Indrarāja, Rāstrakūṭa feudatory of Lāta, 842
 Indrarājāditya deva of Ghontāvarṣi, 1169
 Indraratha, 866
 Indumauli (Śiva), 793
 Indus, river, 1217
 Indus, valley, 1214, 1217
 Infantry, 690 fn 2
 Ingoda (ancient Inganapaṭa), 885
 Ingoda stone inscription of Vijayapāla, 885
 Isāka (Ishāq) rāya, 801
 Iśāpa (god), 1116
 Iśāpa-bhaṭa, Guhila of Chatsu, 1198
 Isarahara-pancela, 714
 Islam, 1019, 1088, 1089, 1211, encroachments of, 611, army of, 692
 Ismā'il Yamīnī Sulṭān of Ghazni, 682
 Isuka, Dhavalapurī Cāhamāna, 1058
 Išvara, god, 731, 823
 Išvaraśiva (sage), a donee, 763
 Itāva pancela (mod Itawa), 714
 Izzu-d-dīn, son of Muwayyidu d-dīn, Balkh, 1019
 Izz ud-Dīn Bakhtiyar, 1130

J

Jābālipura (Jālor) 982
 Jackson 912 fn 1 933 939 949 fn 4 1004
 Jaddha *Karamika Gauda* 68
 Jadurji founder of Gaud kingdom of Garha, 803 fn. 1
 Jagaddava Paramāra prince 876 877 878
 Jagamalla, Mehara rāja 1007
 Jagapāla alias Jagasinhha minister of Jājāladava 808 809
 Jagasinhha, alias Jagapāla, minister of Jājāladava 808
 Jagarvāmi god 1128 1123 temple of 912
 Jagata village in the Chapen district of Mewar 1150
 Jagataurha Mahāmātya 1185
 Jagat stone-inscription of Śāmantasinhha 1180 1183
 Jagati: an architectural term 1191 fn 4
 Jagatnaga Rājkrakūja king 745 fn 2 753 756 757 761
 Jāgavāra temple of 1123
 Jāhān Pahlwan 1018
 Jaharpur district of Mewar 1079 1083 1197
 Jāhnavi (mod. Ganges) 070
 Jāhnu offspring of (Ganges) 676
 Jācand Rā's of Kanau (Gāhājavāla king Jaysocandra) 722
 Jaijāipur village 10 miles from Amoda 805
 Jaikop lake, at Bhromal 1183
 Jain (Jai a) chronicles 886; chronicles, 869 devotee 888 idols, 995 image 790 fn 2 image inscription of Gwallor of the time of Kacchapegāta Vajradāman 823 prebendhas 858 record (Bh'ola rock inscription) 1081 religion 993 sage 792 832; statue 714 temple 831 908 1199 Turhakāras 832; tradition 994, 897 899
 Jainad inscription of the Paramāra feudatory Arjuna 866 fn 5 868 fn 8 876 877
 Jainam 997 1218
 Jaipāla Patā[dita] 784 fn. 2
 Jaipur city of 937 fn 4 1197; State 967 969 1054 1061 1063 1068 1070 1088 1084 1097 1200
 Jainamer 967 1069
 Jaitrakarṇa (probably Guhila Jaitrasinhha) 919
 Jaitramalla 1188
 Jaitrasinhha Cāhamāna king of Ranthambhor 1097 1098 1100
 Jaitrasinhha Guhila king of Mewar 912 1177 180 1185 1186 1187 1188, 1189 1190 also known as Jayetasinhha Jaysinhha Jaysinhha Jitansinhha Jaitala and Jecala 1185 fn 5
 Jaitrasinhha Rājyāsas 1080
 Jaitogi Paramāra prince, 902 903 904 905 1093 1097 1184
 Jajāl de a I Kalacuri king of Turhāna, 669 fn 6 843 fn. 1 806 807 808
 Jājāladava II Kalacuri king of Turhāna, 808, 812, 813, 814

Jājālapura 806
 Jajhoti (also spelt Jajāhōti and Jajāhōti), 670
 Jajjuka Tomara prince 1147
 Jala durga (water fort) 771 fn. 5
 Jalāl Khwājah local Muḥammadan ruler of the town of Barīhādīm 801
 Jalāl ud Din Firūz Sulṭān of Delhi 801 907 1102 1190
 Jalandhara 9 6
 Jajasaal son of Vāgaḍī Sakakhana in whose honour a memorial was set up 1083
 Jālower (Jālor) fort of 1130
 Jālhana Mahādīgaka of Pipal(oan?)durga 794
 Jālhana a daughter of the Cāhamāna king Arṇavā's who was given in marriage to Kumirapāla, 987 1073 1190
 Jalāladins Saka (Muslim) prince 1094
 Jalūi Shojī (Jalāl Khwājah) Muḥammadan ruler 801
 Jālor (ancient Jābālipura Javalapara or Jābālipura) the principality of the Sonigars (also spelt Songrā or Sonagarā) Cāhamānas 842, 934 982 1077 1111 fn. 2 1194 1126 1126 1133 1185 1184 1189 1206; district 1111 fn. 2
 Jālor inscription (1118 A.D.) of Paramāras, 924
 Jālor stone-inscription of Kumirapāla 982 976
 Jālor stone inscriptions of Samarsinhha 1126 1134
 Jāmāthā (= Jamā at Muslim congregation) 1039
 Jāmnagar State Katbiewar 1010 1041
 Janaka, *Adesa neubendhika* (Recorder of orders) 744
 Jāngala a fore or waste, 1063
 Jāngala 915 1023 1187 fn 2; king (or ruler) of 983 987 fn. 4 988 1068; (Cāhamāna) king Prithvirā's III 915
 Jāngala-defa 1063 identified by some with Bikaver and N Marwar
 Jānjgir headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in Bilāspur 804
 Jāngūdesa (Jāngala-defa) 1063
 Jasadhavalā Samantak: general of Gajāsinhha 1117
 Jasadhavalā Paramāra king 918 917
 Jasakara memo as Jasakarna 1204
 Jasakarya (Jasakara) Beodia Rājā of Mewar 1204
 Ja Śnanda Thakkara 810
 Jaswa II Singh Rathor prince of Mewar 1183 fn 5
 Jasodhara Thakkara 810
 Jasrā's (Y Śarā's) ann of Navottama Śārā ditya of Kīnyakubā 885
 Jāśka Śreṣṭhina 833
 Jasrantapu a town and district in Jodhpur State 1128 1132
 Jātī (caste) 707 717
 Jā la, Rājā Tomara ruler 1147-48
 Jāul pottāla 793
 Jāvāla Pāṇpatācārya and devotee of Caṇḍīśa Mahādeva 913

- Jāvālapura (Jalor), 985, same as Jāvālpura
 Jāvālpura, mod Jalor in Jodhpur State,
 also spelt Jāvālapura, and Jābālpura 842,
 924, 1077 1125, 1129 fn 1, 1131 1132
 1135, 1183, 1188, Cāhamānas of, 1055
 Jayabhūta III, Gurara prince of Lāṭa, 838,
 1057
 'Jayacandra' (Jayaccandra) of Kanauj,
 1201
 Jayaccandra, Gāṭhāḍavāla king of Kanauj and
 Benares, 719, 720 742, 751, 783 fn 1,
 784 fn 2, 972, 1035
 Jayadeva, of the Kā amāla race, 809
 Jayadeva, author of the *Gīta Govinda*, 1042,
 1154
 Jayadeva or Jayarāja, variants of the names
 of Ajayarāja, 1071 fn 3
 Jayadurga (Ajnigarih) 734
 Jayakeśin, Kadamba king of Goa, 965
 Jayamangala, Jaina Sūri, 1132
 Jayantasimha, same as Jaitrasimha, 1185
 fn 6
 Jayantasiimha, 1026-27
 Jayanāka, Kashmirian poet, according to
 Sarda, author of *Prthivirāja-vijaya*, con-
 temporary with Prthivirāja III, 1060 fn 3
 Jayanta (founder of the lunar line of Kānya-
 kubja), 702 fn 2
 Jayantarāja, a variant of the name of the
 Śākambharī Cāhamāna Jayarāja, 1062
 Jayantasimha, Cāhamāna king of Naddūla,
 1123, also known as Jayatasīha
 Jayantasimha, son of Vastupāla, 1030
 Jayanti (goddess-), 964
 Jayanti mātā (Jina mātā), temple of, 1070
 Jayapāla, Kāyastha of Jayavarman, Gauḍa
 origin, 703
 Jayapāla, Śāhi prince, 682, 787
 Jayapura, 733
 Jayapura-durga, 707, 717
 Jayapura viṣaya, 1066
 Jayarāja, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, also known
 as Jayantarāja and Ajayapāla 1062 fn 3
 Jayaśakti (Jejā, Jejjāka), Candella prince,
 666, 669, 670, 706, 713, 723 732
 Jāyasapura, a guild of merchants came from,
 832
 Jayasimha (Siddharāja), Caulukya king of
 Anahila-pāṭaka, 866, 867, 868, 883, 884,
 886, 887, 897, 898, 899, 914, 942, 943, 944,
 965, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974,
 975, 976, 977, 983, 984, 1000, 1026 fn 2,
 1072, 1073, 1080, 1110, 1111, 1114, 1177,
 1202 1216, *Mahī mahendra*, 1022
 Jayasimha, dependent (*āsrita*) of the Guhila
 king Jaitrasimha (Jayatasimha), 1186
 Jayasimha, Dāhala Kalacuri, 778, 728, 768,
 793, 795, 796, 797
 Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa, 908, 1097
 Jayasimha, Jain author of *Hammira-mada-
 mardana*, 902, 973 fn 1, 985, 986, 993,
 997 1020, 1021 fn 8, 1022, 1029, 1057,
 1058, 1189
 Jayasimha, same as Jaitrasimha, 1185 fn
 6, 1186
 Jayasimha, Sesodia Rānā of Mewar, 1205
 Jayasimha, *Śilpi*, 725
 Jayasimha I, Paramāra king of Malwa, 851,
 865, 873, 874 875 876, 881, 906, 921,
 923, II, 903 fn 4, III, 905
 Jayatasimha, brother of Jagapāla, 811
 Jayasvāmī god, 1128, 1132
 Jayatala, same as Jaitrasimha, lord of Meda-
 pāṭa, 1021 fn 1, 1185
 Jayatala, *Thakkura*, an author, 1186
 Jayatalladevi, queen of Tejasimha, 1192,
 1193, 1195
 Jayatasīha, same as Jayantasimha, 1123
 Jayatasīha, *Yuvārāja*, 1114
 Jayatasimha, same as Jaitrasimha, 1185
 fn 6, 1186
 Jayasimha, *Mahāmandalesvara*, *Mahā-
 rājaputra*, a Dadhīca feudatory, 1094
 Jayavarman I, Paramāra king of Malwa,
 father of Paramardin, 710, 717 889, 890,
 891, 892 894, 897 fn 1, 1023, 1023 fn 1,
 1026 fn 1, 1037
 Jayavarman II, Paramāra king probably
 same as Jayasimha, 1043, 1097, III of
 Mandapa, 897 fn 1
 Jayavaman, Candella prince (*nṛpati*), 703,
 704
 Jayavarman, *Mahārānaka* of Kakaredika,
 724, 795
 Jeā (Jejāka, Jayaśakti), Candella prince,
 669
 Jeā *Bhukti* (Bundelkhand), 665, 669, 669 fn
 6, 699, 834
 Jejābhuktika (also called Jejāka-bhukti), 669
 fn 6 806 807
 Je āhoti (see Je āhūti), 669
 Je āhuti (or Je āhoti), old name of Bundel-
 khand, 669
 Jejāka bhukti (also called Jejā-bhukti), 669
 fn 6 716, 727, 775, 1084
 Je āka-bhukti-deśa, 669 fn 6
 Jejaya, a Cāhamāna, 1172
 Jejāka (Jejā, Jayaśakti), Candella prince, 669
 fn 4
 Jeka, *mahājana*, 1165
 Jendarāja, see Jindurāja, 1107 fn 3, 1111
 Jendrarā eśvara (Śiva) temple of, 1108
 Jesa, Cāhamāna king of Jalor, 1205
 Jesala, same as Jaitrasimha, 1186 fn 6
 1188
 Jesaladeva, see Jindurāja, 1107 fn 3, 1111
 Jetana, an officer of Viravarman, 731
 Jhalrapatan, in the Jhalawar State,
 Rajputana, 875, 883, 884
 Jhatrapatan stone inscription of Yaśovarman,
 883
 Jhalawar State, 875, 883, 894, 965, 969 fn 4
 Jhampāthāghaṭṭa (battle of) 1097
 Jhamvara, a village in Jodhpur, 1117
 Jhamvara stone inscription of Kelhana, 1110
 Jhamvara stone inscription of Ālhanadeva,
 1117
 Jhansi, 701 fn 4, 702 fn 2, 1084, city, 715,
 district (U P), 705 715, 723, 726
 Jhansi fragmentary stone inscription of Sal-
 laṣaṣasimha, 702 fn 2
 Jhansi stone inscription of Viravarman, 731

Nahar P C 812 fn. 8 1113 fn 3
 Nahara the furious 1131
 Naharwāla, Muslim corruption of Apahila
 pāṭaka 955 956 957 fn. 3 961 1014
 Nahrwālah 1005 1017 same as Naharwāla
 1020
 Naburā grāma modern Bamaṣṭan to Nōtrō in
 Jalor district in Jodhpur 1111 fn 3
 Nabuqa father of Yayāti 748
 Nāḥ the son of Karavika Dhīra writer of
 Bilhārī stone-inscription 770
 Nāik Caulukya queen 1004
 Nainital 1051 fn 1
 Naṇṇ (Nuhapati) author of a Rajput
 chronicle 1125 1175 fn 7
 Nāṇṇadha classical name of Narwar 831
 Nākhuyā nauwika (shipowners) 1039
 Nākṣatra 976
 Nakulāsa god figure of 900
 Nal RA & founded the kingdom and city of
 Narwar 821
 Nalapura (Narwar) 731 fn. 1 834 fn. 1
 Nala pura mahādurga 831 833
 Nalataḍḍā village 803
 Nalaya a kind of gambling 995
 Nāmādeva the royal priest a donee, 813
 Nāmāṇḍe village, 703
 Nāna in Bali district Godwar 911 1011
 Nana stone-inscription of Bhīma II 1011
 Nānāka a Nāgara Brāhman court-poet of
 Vīśaladeva, 1038
 Nandā نندا a mistake for Biddا بید 688
 688 fn 4 690 fn 3 691 692 693 698 fn.
 1 825
 Nandana Kasi (poet) 887
 Nandāvali Nandesama a village in Mewar
 1185; Mandala of 807
 Nandesama stone-inscription of Jayasimha,
 1185
 Nandi in the courtyard of the temple of
 Ekādaga 1185
 Nandigap of Siva 1167
 Nandini 1065
 Nandini the cow of Vasīṣṭha, 848 fn. 2
 Nandini village; modern Nandandoo or
 Nundoleo 714
 Na dipura tank of 731
 Nandul fort of 1019 1122
 N ndyā river 1169
 Nānigaa śmī temple of 1173
 Nānika founder of the Candela dynasty 717
 Nanna, engraver 771
 Nann rā a Ha haya (Kalcuṛi) king of Kasā
 749
 Nan uka Candella prince 666 667 668 669
 684 686
 Nanyaura village in the district of Hamir-
 pur U P 604
 Nanyāra (now Bengal Asiatic Society) grant
 of Dhaṇḍa (V S. 1056) 673 685
 Nāpad town; may be ancient Nālyapadra
 802 fn 5
 Napoleon, the French emperor 779 780 1215
 Nār (Nā); may be ancient Nāṇṇadaga 862
 fn. 4

Narala now called Tirowry 1068 fn. 3
 Narapati 721 760 781 785 789 794 795
 797 799
 Narapati Kāṣṭhīyā Kāyastha; mantri-
 mukhya; pedigree of 1038
 Narapati Sododiyā Rāṇā of Mewar 1201
 Narapura (mod Narwar) 1069
 Narasimha Ha haya Kalacuri) king of
 Dāḥ la, 722 790 791 792 793 798 same
 as Narasimhadeva 1178
 Naravāhana Guhila king of Mewar 1167
 1169 1170 1171 1173 1198 also called
 Nṛvarman 1175 1176
 Naravarman Paramāra king of Malwa
 (Malava) 703 788 834 868 878 881
 882, 883 967 970 971
 Nārāyaṇa a Brāhman 1118
 Nārāyaṇa Mahākāśīśaṅkaraṇi-Ṭhakkura
 903, fn. 6 965 The references are from
 the same inscription I think it more
 probable that he was an officer of the
 Caulukya king Jayasimha of Anahilavād
 Nārāyaṇa the Amātya of Arjunavarman 809
 fn 7
 Nārāyaṇa the donee of a grant 1119
 Nārāyaṇpal stone-inscription 807 fn 8
 Narbada river 690 738 740 741 743 fn. 3
 783 fn 1 793 864 1027 1053 1058;
 valley 739 same as Narm dā
 Narmadā (Narbada) ri er 763 783 831 863
 869 865 893 897 900 903 921 915 935
 1067 1171
 Narmadapur pratīṣṭhagrapaka 898
 Narmadā tafa māṇḍala 1000
 Narotama (prince ?) 866
 Narwar a town in Gwalior State; ancient
 Nalapura 688 733 738 891 894 fn 1
 1108 grant of Vīśalimha, 891 893 king
 dom of 891; pillar inscription 1160 fn 4
 Narwar situated in Kishangarh territory at a
 distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer;
 ancient Narapura, 1069 fn 4
 Narwa (a printing mistake for Narwal)
 grants of the Paramāra Vākpati II; new
 inscriptions (dated V S 1038 and V S.
 1047) 853
 Nāik 1068 fn 2, district 789 863 868
 Nāṣṭr ud Dīn Alī 1180
 Nāṣṭr ud Dīn Husat 1018-19
 Nāṣṭr ud Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān of Delhi 801
 1006, 1109 1190
 Nāṣṭr ud Dīn Mardān Shāh 1180
 Nāṭaka (drama) 1047
 Nāṭakū vill geol 1011
 Nātha temple of 1171
 Nāṭ in Prabodha-candrodaga 696
 Nāṭikā in four cts 897
 Nāṭikādevī (also called Nāṭā) Candella
 queen of Dābala Haḥaya) Kalacuri
 Kokkalla 873 753 754 757
 Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata 1131 fn 1
 Naugava, 715
 Nāṣṭr grant of Pulakēśī Avāṇijānāraya,
 935 1168
 Naw citta (shipowners) 1042
 Navaghana Abhira ruler 469

Narāyaṇa, daughter of goat abolished on, 944
Nava bhānna, burial of the Parimāra Sindhya, 849
Nava bhānna carita, 843, 850, 854, 856, 859-861
Nava bhānna of Indra II, 839
Nava bhānna of Narwar, 959, 1156
Nava bhānna, 853
Nayānā Sura, father of *Hammira Maha*, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1100, 1101
Nayānā, 766-767, 1061
Nayānā, also called *Pravara*, a lady detest of image, 785
Nayānā, Pili king of Bengal and Bihar, 780
Nayānā, wife of *Naripati*, 1079
Nayānā, queen of *Luvaka*, 1147
Nayānā, Muhammad, editor of *Kitāb Zam*, 1147, of *Gardi*, 954 fn 2, 957 fn 2
Nemānā (godi) 768, shrine of, 1012, 1162, temple of, 109, 1011, 1029, 1039, 1203, at *Nadā*, 1112
Nepāl, 774
Nettar (gold) (blood gift), 723 fn 2
Nevā, 1102
Nāgrantha (Siva), 718-881
Nāgrantha (Siva), 1123, temple of, 1011, same as *Nāgrantha* (Siva)
Nāgrantha (Siva), 99
Nāgrantha (Siva), 852
Nāgrantha (Siva), 778, 872, 900, 901
Nāgrantha the chief minister of *Sumarānna*, 1194
Nāgrantha, village, 1066
Nāgrantha, temple of, 879
Nāgrantha, 849
Nāgrantha village, 763
Nāgrantha, a *Vyāga* (one act drama) of *Rāmeśvara*, 1131
Nāgrantha, *Dhruva*, *Rāstrakūta* king of *Mal*, 839
Nāgrantha (Siva), temple of, at *Dhava*, 1079, 1082
Nāgrantha (Siva), temple of, 1006
Nāgrantha, a measurement of land, 861, 864
Nāgrantha ud-Dīn, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 682, 689 fn 3, 690, 691, 692, 825, 953 fn 3, 955, 958, 1017, 1095, 1101, 1121
Nohālā wife of the *Haihaya* (*Kalacuri*) king *Yuvarāja* I, 763, 770
Nohālā, monastery of, 770
Nohālā, queen of the *Haihaya* (*Kalacuri*) king *Ratnārāja*, also called *Ratnēśvara* of *Tummāna*, 804
Noradīnā Pīroja, same as *Nūr ud Dīn Fīrūz*, 1038 fn 6
North Kosala, 821
Northern Bengal, 746, 839
Northern Gujarat, 764
Northern India, 740, 838, 865, 1211, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216

Nipa (king), 837
Nipati (king), 759, 761, 791, 860
Nirupā (*Viṣṇu*), god, 818
Nirupā (*Man*) lion incarnation), 696
Nirupā (same as *Naravarman*), *Guhila* king, 1175
Nur ud Dīn Fīrūz, 1038 fn 6
Nurwar (same as *Narwar*), 1103
Narwar (*Khān* and *Ulugh Khān*) besieged *Ranthambhor* 1102, invaded *Gujarat*, 1014
Nyāy philosophy, 684
Nyāyapīṭha *Saptadāśaka*, 86

O

Odra, 761, 765
Odra nripati (prince of *Odra*), 761, 765
Oḥi, R G, 864 fn 6
Ojha, *Rai Bahadur G H*, 860 fn 2, 867 fn 6, 876 fn 1, 905, 905 fn 3, 909, 909 fn 7, 915 fn 1, 917 fn 3, 919, 920 fn 1, 921, 1093 fn 1, 1158, 1159, 1164, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1170, 1179 fn 2, 1180 fn 1, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1197 fn 1, 1198, 1201, 1202, 1204
Onkāra, 896
Oḥi (*Ujjayinī*), modern *Ujjain*, 777, 907
Oriental Congress at Oxford, 842 fn 2
Orissa, 759 fn 5, 765, 774, 808, 814, 1216
Oriya, 805
Ozha, V G, 984 fn 3, 1010 fn 3

P

Pachapattana, same as ancient *Pañcapura*, 1203
Pachar grant of *Paramardī*, 715-16, village of, 12 miles N E of the city of *Jhansi*, 716, 715
Padama-sī (*Padmasimha*), *Cāhamāna* king of *Satyapura*, 1135
Paddhati or *Sārṅgadharā*, 1077 fn 1, reference to *Hammira* of *Śākambharī*, 1099 fn 2
Padma, a favourite of king *Paramardī*, 719
Padma, *Silpi*, 857
Padmagupta—*Parimala*, court-poet of the *Paramāra* king *Sindhurāja*, author of *Navasāhasānka carita*, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 850, 852, 856, 958-59, 865, 1053
Padma-nātha, god (*Harī*), named after *Padmapāla*, 826
Padmapāla, *Kacchapaghāta* king of *Gwalior*, 826, 827
Padmāsana, *Lakṣmī* sitting in the, 706
Padmasimha, 798
Padmasimha, *Guhila* king of *Mewar*, 919, 1184, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1192
Padmasimha, *Sutrādhārādhurī*, 1034
Padmāvatī (mod *Narwar*, *Gwalior* State) 686
Padmāvatī, *Mahānācari* (chief court danseuse), 705
Padmāvatī, queen of *Kumārāpāla*, 977

Padmāvatī wife of Lalārka (alias Arjuna) a great favourite of Udayāditya 878
 Padmīnī queen of Mewar 1196 1197 fn 1
 Padraḍā villāḥ 1100
 Paḡāra prattijāgarāḡaka, 897
 Pāharpur in N Bengal 678 fn 1
 Pāhīllā son of Śreḡ hira Deḡḡ 708
 Pāhīnī, son of the Śātradhāra Māhāḡḡa constructed parts of the temple of Pūḡaḡḡaśr in a coat of 330 dramma 1120
 Pāhāj a tributary of the Sind 720; battle on 1085
 Pāḡḡanī Talālī 714
 Pāḡḡa village in Bīrbhum district 765
 179 7 4 find spot of the decorative pillar inscription of the Pāḡḡa Kalacuri (Lakḡḡa)-Kāḡḡa 779
 Pāḡḡam (4 acres) 704
 Pāḡḡa a kind of weight, 1113 fn 6
 Pāḡḡa river 800
 Pāḡḡa river 679 fn. 3
 Pāḡḡa ancient Pratiḡḡḡa 1200
 Pāḡḡa-lacḡḡī a prakrit dictionary of Dhana-pāḡḡa 886
 Pāḡḡarāl a lieutenant of Prithvirāḡa III 720
 Pāḡḡa Rāḡ (same as Pāḡḡarāl) 724
 Pāḡḡa fourth or fifth descendant of Duḡḡa Rāḡ 899
 Pāḡḡa cḡḡḡa manuscript of written by Thāḡḡa Jay pāḡḡa in ġḡḡāḡ 1186
 Pāḡḡa Pratiḡḡa Māhāḡḡa and Rāḡḡa 1194
 Pāḡḡa kings, 745 774 rulers of Gauḡḡa 746
 Pāḡḡa Rāḡḡa inscription of the time of Bal-ban 1146
 Pāḡḡaḡḡa 967 fn. 8
 Pāḡḡa Kūḡḡa village identified with Parāḡḡa, 1169
 Pāḡḡa-vāḡḡa grāma 899
 Pāḡḡa re identified with ancient Pāḡḡa vāḡḡa 899 fn 8
 Pāḡḡa 765 of Bengal and Bībar 676
 Pāḡḡa in Sirohi State 1121; stone-inscription of Kēḡḡa 1121
 Pāḡḡa 1179 stone-inscription of Vijaya Sūḡḡa 1179
 Pāḡḡa grāma 742
 Pāḡḡa, i Sirohi 1121
 Pāḡḡa officer in charge of Saurāḡḡa 1041
 Pāḡḡa, Vāḡḡa (skilful artist) and pḡḡa ḡḡa (brass-worker) 714 715
 Pāḡḡa 9 tra(ḡḡa) 1006
 Pāḡḡa cḡḡa (Pāḡḡa) Paramāra prince of Candravatī a d Arbuda 917
 Pāḡḡa (ancient Pāḡḡa grāma) in Jodhpur State 757 768, 769 980 1115 fn 4 fort of 1019 1123
 Pāḡḡa inscription of Kumārapāḡḡa 980 1115 fn 4
 Pāḡḡa village in Belasore district Orissa; ancient Pāḡḡa 788
 Pāḡḡa (a measure) 1119 1118
 Pāḡḡa State 992 1048 fn. 2 1200
 Pāḡḡa 1051, 1058
 Pāḡḡa (settlement), 858
 Pāḡḡa 1077
 Pāḡḡa-grāma (mod. Pāḡḡa in Jodhpur) 980

Pāḡḡa identified with Pāḡḡaḡḡa on the Butḡḡa 1070 1070 fn 2 1203
 Pāḡḡa a son of Yogarāḡa 1149
 Pāḡḡa in Banawara State, Rajputana 874
 Pāḡḡa stone-inscription of J yādḡḡa 873 874
 Pāḡḡa office of 1138 1133
 Pāḡḡa grāma a title 1188
 Pāḡḡa ḡḡa race 809
 Pāḡḡa 1034 1012 village of 1120
 Pāḡḡa 711 763 fn 2 1053
 Pāḡḡa jādḡḡa 1053
 Pāḡḡa mahāḡḡa a technical title allowed to persons of high rank and authority 809 1000 1055
 Pāḡḡa-ḡḡa, 986
 Pāḡḡa 718
 Pāḡḡa (same as Pāḡḡa) identified with Pāḡḡaḡḡa 1203
 Pāḡḡa 1036
 Pāḡḡa 790
 Pāḡḡa (modern village in Vadḡḡa) between Guḡḡa and Cutch centre of Cāḡḡa (Cāḡḡa) power 935 980
 Pāḡḡa Mahāḡḡa, 884 885 804 966 989 171
 Pāḡḡa Mohanāl Viḡḡḡal 719 fn 3
 Pāḡḡa 716 784 835 899 904
 Pāḡḡa Rāḡḡa 848
 Pāḡḡa cāḡḡa 749
 Pāḡḡa, 748 fn 2 764 king 766
 Pāḡḡa 921, 928 sometimes spelt Pāḡḡa see above
 Pāḡḡa inscription of Māḡḡḡa, 851 921
 Pāḡḡa Śreḡḡḡa of the Grahapāḡḡa family 709
 Pāḡḡa cḡḡa (probably mod Pāḡḡa) 723
 Pāḡḡa (the) 1090; same as Pāḡḡa
 Pāḡḡa-devatā (goddess of scrip-ture) 833
 Pāḡḡa State (C I.) 723 796
 Pāḡḡa a village in the Rewar State 709
 787 hoard of coins 791
 Pāḡḡa Jaitpur Thāḡḡa in district Hamirpor U P 804
 Pāḡḡa Rāḡḡa 723
 Pāḡḡa bhāḡḡa a technical title of para-mount sovereignty 896 704 706 713 723 724 744 775 783 784 785 789 790 798 799 707 799 833 848 861, 878 882, 891 900 901 948 980 981 1000 1006 1026 1034 1035 1038 1340 1079 1082 1166 1190 1198
 Pāḡḡa brahmanya 843
 Pāḡḡa Mahāḡḡa-devatā; Gḡḡa Kadambe, king 1001 1001 1
 Pāḡḡa-māḡḡa, a Śeḡḡa sectarian title 695 706 713 723 734 744 747 775 fn 6 778 784 784 785 789 794 795 797 799 900 1000 1055
 Pāḡḡa Vāḡḡa a sectarian title, 768 883
 Pāḡḡa Rāḡḡa title vernacula form of the name Pāḡḡa 703 810 746 777 fn 6 778 779 780 788 791 792 831 837 841 842 848 848 849 850 854 861 866 868 880 882 884, 885 886 887 890 891 894

- 872, 904, 906, 907, 908, 910, 913, 921, 940, 971, 990, 1011, 1013, 1052, 1053, 1057, 1081, 1084, 1112, 1162, 1177, 1178, 1212, 1213, 1216 of *Īṣṭa* and *Mahā* 788, 811, 812, 813, 871, 1107, 1176, 1180, 1187, of *Candrayā* and *Abā*, 812 fn 3, 908 ff., 913, 922, 1007, of *Bhāṣya* (*Vāṇī*), 812, 920 ff., 922, of *Iskṛ* (*Iskṛpura*) 812, 921 ff., *śaṅkha* copper *Prasāda* 30 fn 1, 877
- Paramārka* or *Paramārka* king of *Hahva* 815, married *Candrayā*, daughter of the *Paṇḍita* king *Amāga Bhūma* II, 815
- Paramārka*, Candella king of *Jatila Bhūta*, 787, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 723, 723 fn 2, 726, 728, 972, also known as *Paramārka*, *Paramārka*, *Paramārka*, *Paramārka* and *Paramārka*
- Paramārka*, birth of the *Kalyāṇa* *Calukya* *Varmādhitya*, 967, 972
- Paramārka* king of *Hindia* 931, 956, 958, 961, 962, name wrongly spelt by Muslim chroniclers. The king in question is the *Calukya* *Bhūma* I
- Paramārka*, a technical title of *paramārka* sovereignty, 691, 704, 706, 713, 713, 721, 714, 768, 772, 781, 781, 791, 791, 797, 799, 813, 818, 861, 862, 885, 889, 891, 892, 900, 913, 950, 981, 1006, 1026, 1031, 35, 1034, 1010, 1075, 1079, 1082, 115, 1118, 1126, 1130, 1138
- Paramārka*, 785
- Paramārka* *Calukya*, 818
- Paramārka* (*Paramārka*), 719
- Paramārka*, *Paśupāta* teacher, 1201
- Paramārka*, identified with *Palāsa Kūpikā*, 1169
- Paramārka*, a great warrior, 695, 895, 1071, 1155, 1198
- Paramārka*, *Mahātara* *Gandārī*, great teacher of *Paśupāta*, 1038
- Paramārka* river, 891
- Paramārka*, district and town, 1068
- Paramārka*, 738 fn 2, 713 fn 2, 752 fn 3
- Paramārka* (*Pratibharā*), 666, 667, 668, 1052, of *Gwalior*, 823 fn 1, 831 fn 1
- Paramārka* *Raṣṭra* 828
- Paramārka*-*maṇḍarī* of *Madana*, also known as *Vijayaśrī*, 771, 866 fn 7, 897, 898, 899, 901 fn 3, 1022
- Paramārka* tree, 867 fn 6
- Paramārka*, see *Padmagupta*, the author of *Navasāhasāṇka carita*, 860 1053
- Paramārka* (*Paramārka* or *Paramārka*), *Candella* prince 719
- Paramārka* (same as *Paramārka*, *Paramārka*, *Paramārka*, *Paramārka* and *Paramārka*), 721 fn 3, 722
- Paramārka* (*Paramārka*), *Candella* prince, 829 fn 1
- Paramārka* (*Paramārka*), *Candella* prince, 720, 721
- Paramārka* *Raṣṭra*, 828
- Paramārka*, Jain *Tīrthankara*, 1042, 1081, 1082, 1120, image of, 982
- Partabgarh*, 746, 838, 847, 1059, *Cāhamānas*
- Partabgarh* inscription of *Mahendrapāl* 676 fn 1, 716, 838, 840, 847, 931, 1059, 1161, 1168, 1169
- Partabgarh* inscription of *Vyāyoga* (a or drama) 913, 918, 1023, 1085
- Partabgarh*, 690
- Partabgarh* king of *Kashmir*, 676
- Partabgarh*, 938
- Partabgarh* (goddess), 699 fn 3, 718, 718, 1132
- Partabgarh* (Jain), 1009 fn 7
- Partabgarh* village, 827
- Partabgarh*, temple of (*Siva*) *Mand* *vari* or *Mandileśa* 921
- Partabgarh*, a *Śaiva* sect, 790, 1038, 1076, 1191, 1201, ascetic, 793, *Lakulīśa* 1011, yoga, 1171
- Partabgarh* 911
- Partabgarh*, vow of the, 983
- Partabgarh* (village) 711
- Partabgarh*, tank 721
- Partabgarh*, in the *Kadi* Division of *Gujarat*, 956 fn 3, 912, 957 fn 3, 1010, 1012
- Partabgarh*, in the *Jubbulpore* district, *C. P.*, record of *Vijayaśrī*, 731
- Partabgarh* inscriptions of *Bhūma* II, 998, 1000
- Partabgarh* stone inscription of *Pratibharā*, discovered near *Girvar*, in *Sin* 918
- Partabgarh* temple, near *Girvar* in *Sin* 918
- Partabgarh* 863, 901, 1000, 1007, 1015, 1026, 1031, 35
- Partabgarh* (landholders), 1039
- Partabgarh* inscription of *Jayasimha* (*Jayav* II ?), 905
- Partabgarh* (measure of land), 1008
- Partabgarh*, State of, 1087 fn 2
- Partabgarh*, 803 fn 1
- Partabgarh*, identified with *Pratāpa* *Simha*, *Cā* *māna* king of *Sanchor* 1135
- Partabgarh*, 1066
- Partabgarh*, 725, 784, 784
- Partabgarh* (a), *Partabgarh* *Jāna*, 875
- Partabgarh*, 951, 963, 964
- Partabgarh*, 896, 945, 946, 970
- Partabgarh*, 977
- Partabgarh*, 1131
- Partabgarh*, 1099
- Partabgarh* *Bharata* *Dasyanti*, 752
- Partabgarh* a *Gotraśrī*, 1155
- Partabgarh*, 763
- Partabgarh* (mod *Purna* in *Berar*), 749 fn 2
- Partabgarh*, ancient *Prthudaka* in *Kurukset* 1147, *prastā* of *Mahendrapāl* I, 1147
- Partabgarh* *Zamindari*, 804
- Partabgarh*, river, 878
- Partabgarh*, learned men of, 692, 693 fn 3
- Partabgarh* literary history of, 693 fn 3
- Partabgarh*, 1056
- Partabgarh*, 1213, 1217
- Partabgarh* *Peter* on, 1099 fn 3
- Partabgarh*, the *masāhant*, 1033
- Partabgarh*-*bhāṭṭagrahāra*, 715
- Partabgarh* *sāhi* identified with *Rukn ud-D*

Phukahali village of 915
 Phulsāda father of Lakṣarāja king of Kaccha 910
 Phular (ancient Phulsara) 1009 fn 5
 Pīawan a small valley 25 miles to the N N E of Rewa 772 775
 Pīawan rock inscription of Kalacuri king Gādgeya 772, 773
 Pīdviḍi village in the Sakapura Prats-jāgaranaka, 896
 Pīl khūṭi-paṭela in the Viṣaya of Dudalim 714
 Pīndwara town in the *fehāil* of the same name in Sirohi 917
 Pīndwara stone inscription of Dhārāvārja, 917
 Pīṅgala work in metrics of 836
 Pīṅgallikā wife of the Rākṣasa (non-Aryan?) chief Barbaraka 978
 Pipad inscription of Vijayasinhha, 1179 fn. 3
 Pipaltona (?) curga Makhārupaka of 791
 Pipalāhikā grant of by Kirtuvarman 701
 Pipalainagar grant of Arjunavarman 837 1023
 Pipalainagar grant of Makhākmāra Hanā-candra 858
 Pipalainagar village in the Shujalpur Par-gana Bhopal Agency O I 692 895 1029
 Pippalāpāda mod Pipad in Jodhpur State 1179 fn. 8
 Pipparka Taḍāra 858
 Pīṣāca Urtha 853
 Pīṭalākāra (brass worker) 714
 Pīṭa parvata tala (valley of the yellow moun-tain) 785
 Pīṭasala-rājya 701 710 fn. 2
 Pīṭhana donee of Amode grant (n) 810
 Pīṭha Sūtradhāra, 793
 Pīṭhmade a, same as Pīṭhvirāja III 1084
 Pīṭhara (Pīṭhvirāja III) the Rai of Ajmer 1087 fn 3
 Pīṭhara Rāo also called Rāo Pīṭhara (Pīṭhvirāja III) 1090
 Pīṭhwar rā; see Pīṭhvirāja III 1093
 Pliny 783 fn. 1
 Poṇḍi village probably near about Bīlhari 783
 Postans with Tod discovered the Venaval stone inscription of Śrīdhara, 1009
 Prabandha cūṣamāni of Merutunga 778 792 847 854 858 883 939 944 950 962, 961 968, 971 985 993 1001 1008 1016 1022, 1087 1068
 Prabandhakakāśa of Rājasekhara 1061 1062 fn. 1 1074 1078 fn 5
 Prabhā wife of Lāhaja, a Minister of king Madana 718
 Prabhasa 941 942
 Prabhasa chief minister of Dhaṅga born in the lineage of Aṅgira and Gautama Akapāda 834
 Prabhasarāṭhī Bhaktāraka 1082
 Prabha adiva a Śaiva ascetic 763
 Prabodhacandrodaga of Kṛṣṇa Mīdra an allegorical drama 695 697 fn. 1 700 995
 Prācetasā (Valmiki) 810

Prāci (East) 743
 Pradhāna (chief minister) 603
 Pradyumna son of Ananta Brāhman officer of allākṣa pa varman 702
 Pradyumna Śūrī 1103
 Prāyavaṭa (kindred) Jādiga 1009
 Prāyavaṭa family 1029
 Prāyavaṭavardha 950
 Prāyavaṭa Vimala Daṇḍapati of Bhīma I 910
 Prāyavaṭa vaspāda 1178 1178 fn. 5
 Prabhāda Cāhamāna king of Banathambhor 1091
 Prabhādana a Brāhman 1031
 Prabhādana author of the Vydyoga Pārtha-perākrama, 1023
 Prabhādana Paramāra king of Abu 913 1001 1183
 Prabhādanadeva Yasarāja in the reign of the Abu Paramāra Māṇḍalika Dhārāvārjadeva, 1008 1009
 Prabhādanadevi queen of Udayasinhha, 1131
 Prajāvara lord of creatures 697
 Prakhāsa negert, lord of in the Abhira-rājya 966
 Prākṛt 718, 845 847
 Pramāra a variant spelling of Paramāra 837 fn. 1, 877
 Prāsāda (temple) 717
 Prasavajña 977
 Prasasti 781 785 798, 827 833 866, 881 897 987 992 1014
 Prasastikāras 827 830 846
 Prasiddhadha aka Kalacuri king of Pāhala, 767 768 769
 Prastha (level land) 868
 Pratāpa son of Vīṇavasaṅgha 1127
 Pratāpadevi queen of Harṇā's, 1133
 Pratāpa Lakṣmīnara, a brother of the Śākhambharī Cāhamāna Somesvara, 1033
 Pratāpamallā daughter's son of the Candukya Kumārapāla 998
 Pratāpamallā (second son of the Vāgbhata Vīṇadhava) 1037 1049
 Pratāparudra Kākatya prince of Warangal 781 fn 2
 Pratāpasinhha Śūpī 725
 Pratāpasinhha alias Pāto, Cāhamāna king of Banchor 1185
 Pratāpasinhha Makhāṇḍalika, feudatory of the Candukya Kumārapāla 961
 Pratāpasinhha Paramāra prince of Abu 918 919
 Pratāpavarmā a younger brother of the Candella Madanavarman 711
 Prathama Rājā same as Pīṭhvirāja 1204
 Prathāra (also spelt Prathāra) Ra'put tribe; vernacular form Parhār according to some a clan of the Gur; see 672 703 704 731 741 810 845 935 937 1152 1034 1085 1016 1059 1060 1063 1064; empire 1161 1162 family 1191
 Prathāra (door keeper) 1003
 Pratyāgaranaka 882
 Pratyāghana-bhakti 676 fn 1

- Pratoli* (gateway), 1079, 1203
Pravara, 713, 1155
Pravarā, a lady, donor of an image, 785
Prayāga (Allahabad), 679, 773, 777, 783, fn 1
Premalladevī, sister of the *Caulukya Kumāra-pāla*, one of her sons *Bhoja* worshipped *Somanātha* under the guidance of *Bṛhaspati*, 984
Prinsep, 731 fn 1
Prthā, son of (*Arjuna*), 826
Prthu, mythical king, 669, 822, 866
Prthudaka (mod *Pehowa*), 1147, 1148
Prthivīderīśvara, 1008
Prthivīvallabha, *biruda* of *Vākpati II*, *Paramāra* king, 852-53
Prthivībhata, *Cāhamāna* king of *Śākambharī*, 1078
Prthivīdeva also known as *Prthivīśa*, *Kalacuri* king of *Tummāna*, 755, 803, 804, 905, 896
Prthivīdeva II, *Kalacuri* king of *Tummāna*, 808, 809, 810, 812, 813, 814
Prthivīdeva III, *Kalacuri* king of *Tummāna*, 813, 814, 815
Prthivīdeva, *Cāhamāna* king, same as *Prthivībhata* and *Prthivīrāja II*, 1079
Prthivīdevī Sethāhe-rājñī, mother of the *Mehara-rāja Ana*, 1008
Prthivīdhara, *Dharmalekhā*, 714
Prthivīdhara, *Kāyastha*, 715, probably the same as the person of the same name above
Prthivīpāla, a *Paramāra* prince, 885
Prthivīpāla, *Cāhamāna* king of *Naddūla*, 965, 1108 1111, 1114
Prthivīpāla, *Sesodia Rānā* of *Mewar*, 1204
Prthivīrāja I, *Cāhamāna* king of *Śākambharī*, 1 70, 1072
Prthivīrāja II, *Cāhamāna* king of *Śākambharī*, 1079 1080 1081, 1162 fn 1, 1202
Prthivīrāja III, *Cāhamāna* king of *Śākambharī*, 915, 1023, 1052, 1081, 1083, 1084, 1089, 1092, 1093, 1097 fn 5, 1098, 1104, 1145, 1188, 1212 1217
Prthivīrāj Rāso, *Hindī* epic of *Caṇḍ Bardai*, 719, 721 fn 3, 722, 781 fn 2 971, 1085
Prthivīrāja-vijaya, a *Sanskrit Kāvya* by an unknown author, which appears to have been composed in the life time of *Prthivīrāja III* (c 1179-92 A D) According to some the author was possibly the *Kasmirīan* poet *Javanāka* (?) edited with the commentary of *Jonarāja*, 872 fn 5, 957 fn 1, 1052, 1053 1060, 1060 fn 3, 1062 1063 1064, 1067, 1069, 1070, 1072 1073 1074, 1078, 1080, 1083, 1086, 1093, 1121, 1174
Prthivīvarmadeva (also known as *Prthivīvarman*) *Caṇḍella* prince, his copper-coins 704 705 706 712, 713
Prthivī Raj Chauhan (same as *Prthivīrāja III*, 829
Pulakeśi Avamīnāśraya, repulsed a formidable *Tājika* (Arab) invasion which advanced as far south as *Navasārikā*, 935, 1156
Pulindas, a wild tribe, associated with the *Bhillas* and *Sabaras*, 729
Pūnāpākṣadeva, *Naddula Cāhamāna* prince, 980
Pūnasiha, *Śilpīn*, incised the *Cintra prasasti*, 1041
Puṇḍra-deśa, 951
Puṇḍra-varḍhana bhukti, 936 fn 2
Punjab (the), 741, 778 fn 3 880, 1077, 1145, 1146 fn 2, 1202, 1213, 1214, 1216, sometimes spelt *Pañjab*
Puppādevī (*Puṣpadevī*), queen of *Yaśovarman*, 677
Pura, 768
Pura-balādhyakṣa, 701 fn 1
Purajit (*Śiva*), 749
Purāna Mahādeva, 1065
Purānas, 738, 783, 784, 974
Purapāla, same as *Pūrṇapāla*, *Sesodia* prince, 1204
Purārī (*Śiva*), 719
Purāśā queen of *Bhaṭṭa*, 1200
Purṇamalla king of *Malava*, 1037
Purṇapāla *Paramāra* king of *Abu*, 908 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 1105, 1107
Purṇapāla (*Purapāla*), *Sesodia Rānā* of *Mewar*, 1204
Pūrṇa pathaka, 1000
Purṇa-pathaka mandala, 873
Purṇarāja, *Tomara* prince, 1147
Purnatalla, *Śākambharī Cāhamāna*, 1062, 1062 fn 2
Purodhas (priest) 836
Purohita, 665, 896, 1030
Purūravas 743, 748, 752
Purusottama (*Viṣṇu*), 697 718 724
Pushkar ancient *Puṣkara*, 1073 fn 3
Puṣkara (*tīrtha*), holy lake near *Ajmer* in *Raṣṭhana*, 1063 1064, 1070, 1099, 1074
Puṣkarāranya 1073
Puṣpadevī (*Sanskrit* form of *Puppā-devī*), 677 fn 4
Puṣpavatī, a *Paramāra* princess, the queen of *Śilāditya*, 1153
Pūtiga, 980
- Q
- Qanungo*, as author, 1197 fn 1
Qanungo of *Mahoba*, 666
Quarter dramma (gold coin weighing 15 grains, and also of copper) 709
Quarter-drammas of *Sallakṣaṇavarman*, 701
Quāz of *Tūlāk*, 1089
Quinta of *Don João de Castro* at *Chintra*, 1041
Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibāk, *Slave Sultan* of *Delhi* 720, 721, 722 829 fn 1, 918, 1017, 1020, 1091, 1093 1094, 1122, 1146 fn 3, 1188, 1189, also sometimes spelt *Kuṭab ud-Dīn*, 1091
- R
- Rācamalla I*, *Sinda Mahāmandaleśvara*, 776
Rācamalla II, *Sinda Mahāmandaleśvara*, 776

- Raddhade ancient Lātahra, 1115 fn. 6
 Rādha 1023
 Rādha, 680
 Rādhadevi a courtesan 1100
 Radhanpur State in Palanpur Agency North Gujarat Bombay 918
 Rādhapur grant of Bhīmadeva I, 918, 963
 Rāḍapāṭipati 850
 Rāo Kulah 1089 see Kolah
 Rāo Kolah Pithorā 1087 1087 fn. 3
 Rāo of Dihil (Govind Rāo) 1068
 Rāo Pithora Pṛthvirāja III also called Pithora Rāo, 1080
 Rāghava the astrologer a donee 813
 Raghu 755 family of 1065
 Raghuśāla (Gurjara Pratihāra) princes of 1067
 Raghuśāla-ekavartana 1064
 Rāhādā Mahādēvi wife of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmaṇarā 768
 Rahamāna, one of the aśvika wedded to the principle of a ushter 996
 Rāhapa Gubilot Rāyā of Senoda 1160 1204
 Rāhgaḍh (also sometimes spelt as Rahatgarh) a fort in the C P 903
 Rāhgaḍh stone-inscription of Jayavarman II 903
 Rāhat ṣaḍdūr Ed by Muhammad Iqbal 683 fn. 8
 Rabib river, 690
 Rāhula Candella prince 668 671
 Rāhulavara temple of at Ahar 1114
 Rāj Govind see Govind Rāo 1068 fn. 2
 Rāj K ran identified with Naddōla (āha mān Kelh pa 918 1019 1019 fn. 2 1020, 1021 1123 1123
 Rāj of Gu ar t Karā (Karpa II) 1044
 Rāj of Kalin ar Paramār Paramarī 729
 Rāj Pithora see Rāo Pithora 1001 1002
 Rāj S lankh Pāl ruler of Gwalior 820 fn. 1
 Raipur 768 811, 815 fn. 8; district, 8, 9
 Rājā a feudatory title 721 745 758, 754 821 850 999 1165 1194
 Rajab (month) 791
 Rā abrahm purī 891
 Rā adavi, Rāuts Thākura of Naddōla 1119, 1119 1114 1118 1194
 Rā devī, queen of Viś la 1070
 Rājādhirāja a title of sop emacy 979 1183
 Rājgar 866 911
 Rā akadraha 833
 Rājāśāla 913 1179
 Rāwla a 1031
 Rāśa son of Mahām Rāmvata 1184
 Rāśa devī queen of K l curi king Pṛthivī deva I of Tuth āpa 816
 Rāmālar e 849
 Rājasi gāḥkārā 885
 Rājā pradasti-mahādēya 1169
 Rā, pura a 695
 Rājapurī H II State 674 f. 8
 Rājaputra an official title 749 753 999 1077 1104 1117 1119
 Rāj, putr Kalachuri king real founder of the Gorakhpur line 740 745 785
 Rājāśāna 904
 Rājāśāna bhoga 883
 Rājāśākhara, author of the *Karpāra-maḍari*, etc. 770 1064 fn. 5
 Rājāśākhara author of *Prabandhakota*, 1061 fn. 3 1131
 Rā a Sindhavale maternal uncle of Viśraha rāja IV 1076
 Rājāśī Para āra queen and Cāhamāna princess 923
 Rājāśī wife of Kalacuri king Guṇasāgara II 744
 Rā, avallabha 867 fn. 6
 Rājendra Coja I 866 fn. 2
 Rājendra Coja II Kulottunga 877 fn. 2 880
 Rājī prince of Kalyāṇa kṣatras; the father of Mālarāja I the founder of the Caulukya dynasty of Aṇahila pāṭaka 935 936 942
 Rajm in the Raipur district 808 80
 Rajm stone-inscription of Pṛthivīdeva II 608 609 811
 Rājha queen of Guhila I and daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja 1109
 Rajkot capital of State in Kathiawar 966 fn. 2
 Rajore or Rajorgadh in the Rajgadh district of Alwar State 823
 Rajor stone-inscription of Methanadeva, 823 850 fn. 1 936 fn. 5
 Rāmāhal in Jaipur State 1084
 Rājā a title generally taken by the wives of paramount sovereigns, 695 1035 1169
 Rājpipla State 1900 fn. 2
 Rājpurī village 1035
 Rājput 1020 1160 1200 traditions 823 tribe 821
 Rāputana, 678 fn. 3 741 823 831 860 875 881 883 910 914 915 917 920 921 940 965 967 978 979 980 1001 1038 1065 1071 1074 1079 1084 1088 1121 1184 1184 1179 1181 1188 1189 1197 1216 1217 Eastern 828 Southern, 837
 Rāputana Museum 915 fn. 4 917 fn. 1 918 fn. 5 921 1068
 Rājvalera Mahāmāṇḍalika 882
 Rājī pāla, Cāhamāna king of Naddōla 960 1209
 Rājyapāla, a feudatory title 734
 Rājyapāl Gurī ra Paramāra emperor 680 693, 699 610 837 840 1170 fn. 2
 Rājyaṅgal Mahādāśakanka 983
 Rājya pāla, Pāla prince of Bengal and Bihar 676
 Rakhetra stone-inscription of Viṇḍyapāla 676 fn. 1
 Rāma (Vishnu) god 794
 Rāma an a gr er 731
 Rāma erī be o, 670 811 875 895 1079 1060 1083 1113
 Rāma poet grand-uncle of Kars Nandana of the Śā ar v thā. 687
 Rāma son of Kholāvara, 1011 1033
 Rāma Sū adhā a 706
 Rāmaoandra a pr per name 1190
 Rāmacandra author of *Nirbhayabhīma Vyayoga* 1131

- Rāmacandra, Jaina monk, 928, 1002
 Rāmacandra, temple of, 677, 809
 Rāmacandra, Yādava king of Devagiri, 1013
 Rāmacarita (Kavyā of Sandhyākara Nandi), 631 fn 1, 780
 Rāma Dco (Rāmacandra Deva), Yādava king of Deccan (Devagiri), 1011
 Rāma Deva (see Rāmacandra Deva and Rāma Dco), of Devagiri, 1015
 Rāma Deva, Kalacuri prince, 815 fn 3
 Rāma Deva, Paramara king of Abu, 913, 914
 Rāma Deva, Rājasthāna 703
 Rāma Deva, 911 fn 3 10 8 fn 3
 Rāma Deva, chief of the Durgavara, 978
 Rāmapura, 769
 Rāmapura, modern Rāmrao, in Marwar, 1129, 1132
 Rāmapura 774, Sundarakhanda of, 1167
 Rāma, G., 743 fn 1
 Rāma Deva, 871
 Rāmapura, 1191
 Rāma, ancient Rāmrao, 1129 fn 6
 Rāma Deva, Mahārā, in office of Prthivīrāja III, 1084
 Rāma Gohel, son of Senha, 1201
 Rāma, 1025 1178, 1179 fn 3, 1187, 1196 fn 1, title of the chief of the Sesodia section of the Guhilas, 1180 1201
 Rāma, 785 fn 2, 863 1007, 1012, 1027, 1033, 1034, 1041, 1113
 Rāmapura, in Rājputra-avastha, 695
 Rāmapurāṭh, mod Rāma, 7 miles west of Harasanth, 1065
 Rāma of Hind, 1088
 Rāmasimha, Guhila king of Mewar, identified with Rāma Deva, 1179, 1180, alias Kārma, 1234
 Rānastambhapura (mod Ranthambhor), Cāhamāna of, 831 fn 1, 904, 1055, 1091, 1097
 Rānastambhor (also spelt Ranthambhor, and Rantambhor), ancient Rānastambhapura, 906
 Rānavagraba, son of Kalacuri king Kokkalla, 745 fn 2 756, 757
 Rānavīra, son of Vanavīra, 1134 fn. 5
 Rāga mandapa, 1169
 Rānī, 1046 fn 1
 Rānōd, 767 fn 1
 Rānpur, town, founded by Rān Gohel, 1201
 Rānpur Jain temple inscription of Kumbha, 1157 fn 5
 Rāntanhor (Rānastambhapura), 1091, 1092
 Rānthambhor (also spelt Rantambhor and Rānastambhor), ancient Rānastambhapura, 1053, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1102
 Rāpso, 622 fn 5, 1058
 Rāsika-priyā, a commentary by Rānā Kumbhakarṇa on the Gīta-Govinda of Jayadeva, 1154
 Rāsika samjñā, 899
 Rāsōittana, 1068 fn 1, see Āsōittana
 Rās-Mālā, 777, 876, 877, 997
 Rāstrakūṭa, 702 fn 2, 740, 745 fn 2, 754, 756, 757 758, 760, 761, 764, 766, 767, 769, 770, 840, 843, 854, 934, 937, 940, of Hathundi, 855, of Kanauj 702, of Mānyakheta (Malkhed), 671, 672, 673, 674, 679, 837, 839, 851
 Rāṭabrada, 1129
 Rāṭapur (ancient Ratnapura), a centre of power of the Kalacuris of Tummāna, 758, 1078, 1115 fn 1, fort of, 813, inscriptions of Jājalladeva, 807, inscriptions of Prthivideva, 811, 813
 Rāṭapur, a town, in Jodhpur State, 980
 Rāṭapur inscription of Kumārapāla, 980, '87, 976, 1115 fn 1
 Rāṭul, village, in tahsil Baghpat, district Meerut, U P, 1104
 Rāṭul grant of Mahākumāra Cāhadadeva, 1103
 Rāṭi Tālāb, 645
 Rāṭa, Mahājana, 1191
 Rāṭadeva I, Kalacuri king of Tummāna, see Ratnarāja
 Rāṭadeva II, Kalacuri king of Tummāna, 808, 809, 812, 812
 Rāṭadeva III, Kalacuri king of Tummāna, 813, 814, 815
 Rāṭapāla, Cāhamāna prince of Naddūla, 1053 fn 1, 1110, 1111, 1114, 1116
 Rāṭapāla, composer of *praśasti*, 731
 Rāṭapāla, Mahāmātya, 1009
 Rāṭaprabhā Sūri, 1191, 1192, 1193
 Rāṭapura (mod Rāṭapur in Bilaspur district, C P), 742 fn 2, 755, 803, 804, 806, 807, 1129 fn 8, stone-inscription of Jājalladeva, 669 fn 6
 Rāṭarāja, alias Ratneśvara, Kalacuri king of Tummāna, 803, 804, 808, same as Ratnadeva I
 Rāṭaśarman, 715
 Rāṭasimha, composer of the Malhar stone-inscription, 812
 Rāṭasimha, Guhila king of Mewar, 1180, 1196, 1197, 1205
 Rāṭasimha, son of Māme, 814
 Rāṭavālī, a Sanskrit drama, 898
 Rāṭneśvara, god, 804
 Rāṭan, Rawal, same as Rāṭasimha, 1196
 Rāṭavā queen of Bālāditya, 1200
 Rāṭa, an abbreviation of Rājaputra, 706 fn 1, 717, 723, 794, 1113, 1114, 1203, 1204
 Rav, a village in Cutch 1039
 Rav stone-inscription of Arjuna, 1039
 Rāval (Rājakula), title of the main branch of the Guhilas, 1180, 1204
 Rāvana, 752
 Raverty 722, 727 fn 1, 730 fn 1, 1018 fn 8, 1021 fn 8, 1089 fn 1
 Rāyamalla, Guhila king, 1158
 Rāyapāla, Cāhamāna king of Naddūla, 1111-14 1116, 1203, 1204
 Raychaudhury, Dr H C, 738 fn 3
 Rāziyya (Sultān), the famous Muslim woman-ruler of Delhi, 1095
 Rehi, village, 724
 Reu Bisheswar Nath, 968 fn 1
 Revā (Narmadā river), 789, 851, 879, 893, 896, 901, 904, 922, 985, 1067
 Revāra, Mahāmāndaleśvara, 789
 Revāra stone-inscriptions of Arjorāja, 1072

Revasa stone-inscription of Prithvirāja I 1070
 Revasa stone inscription of Somadeva 1082
 Revatichala 911
 Rewah 770 797 799; Durbar of 791; grant
 of Jayasiddha 795 797 grant (a)
 of Trailokyavarma 733 fn. 2 7.1 25 grant
 (b) of same 725-28 grant of Ballakapa
 varman, feudatory of Vijayadeva 900
 stone-inscription of Karna 785 stone
 inscription of Malayasiddha feudatory of
 Vijayasiddhadeva; State of 799 770 785
 789 794; town of 762 798
 Rewna, a village 1062
 Ripasahasaga, village 1034
 Rindhuwal (= Rayadhavala) elder son and
 heir apparent of Udayāditya 877
 Rohtak district in the Punjab 1146 fn 2
 Rohtas castle (of Rohtasga h) on the river
 Son historic hill fort in the Shahabad
 district Bihar 8 1
 Ross (Sir) E D 1917 fn 2
 Royal Asiatic Society Bombay branch 919
 Royal Asiatic Society's grant of Bhims II,
 1009
 Rābhā temple of 910
 Rābhā-vāmin Jaina Tirthakāra 883
 Rāj a Jaina trader 839
 Rājādēvi Rājī (queen) of the Vāghelā
 Virasiddha 1046 fn. 1
 Rādādevī daughter of Kīrtipāla built a
 temple of Śiva at Jalor 1125
 Rādā god 684 686, 696 813 871
 Rādā Mādhakāla temple of at Bidhapur 973
 Rādamahālay: 943
 Rādā Suri, writer of the *Veraval prasāda* of
 Hīva-Bhāspati 984
 Rādā, Tomara chief see Rādrenā 1064 fn 4
 Rādāditya, *Bhīyagādhirāja* 11 0
 Rādāditya, Dāpaka 868
 Rādāditya prime-minister of Paramāra king
 Vāspati II 866 867 881; probably the
 same as the Dāpaka of the same name
 above
 Rādāpī also called Itwaprabhā and Yoginī;
 queen of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna
 Candana set up 1,000 *śrāgas* on the banks
 of Puskara 1063 1068 fn 7
 Rādāpāla son of Rāyapāla 1122
 Rādārambhu one of a line of Śaiva ascetics
 who emigrated from Kādambagubhā 787
 Rādrenā (Rādā) Tomara chief 1063 1068
 fn. 4 1146 fn 8
 Rākū ud-Dīn Firūz 1146 fn 5
 Rākū ud-Dīn Hamza 1130
 Rāpādēvi a daughter of Cōlga married to
 Gubhila Tejāsiddha 1183 fn. 4 1181 1192
 Rāpaka (coin) 961 1008 1071 1170
 Rāpākāra 703 708 810 904
 Rustam 1088
 Rājī Rājī temple at Dhod 1082 1079

B

Sabara vathā, 687

Sabarmati, river 839 1027; valley 1160 1161,
 1163, 1164

Sabara 749
 Sabadāva 703
 Sābdika 904
 Sābhā 832
 Sābdasandaga 980 981 fn (c) 1068 1079
 1083 1110 1118, 1171
 Sābhramati river 1021
 Sabuk-tigin Yāmīn Sulṭān of Ghazni 692
 1213
 Sachau 689 772 fn 2, 865 fn 3
 Saciva 691 701 fn. 1 718 733 731
 Saciva pade (post of minister) 694
 Sadadi a village in Jodhpur State 1108 1132
 Sadadi inscription of Kumbha 1158 1173
 1175 1178 1179 1180 fn 2 1184
 Sadadi stone inscription of Jojalla 1108
 Sādhā ādambhu Śaiva teacher of Pāhala
 māyājāla 703
 Sādharmacakra-pravartana Māhāvīhara 785
 Sādhā, a general of the Mālava king Bhola
 780 1108
 Sādhava grandfather of Nohālā the Cau-
 lukya queen of the Kalacuri Yuvārāja I
 68
 Sādhā family 920
 Sādhā Sāthē 708
 Sādhā Sarvadeva 639
 Sāgar (also spell Saugar), district C. P. 718
 Sāgar dharmadēva of Sādhāra 694 fn 8
 903 fn 1 903
 Sāhajapāla Cāhamāna prince 1114
 Sāhajga Gubhila of Saurāstra commander of
 the forces of the Candukya Kumārāpāla
 977 1201 1202
 Sāhajgēśvara god (Nābhēvara) 1201
 Sāhājga Hāhaya king 748 fn 1
 Sāhājga Gubhila of Saurāstra 1201
 Sāh rasapur district in U P 987 fn 3
 Sāhasakāpā village of 949
 Sāhasrāda a Hāhaya prince: same as Paurā-
 gā Sāhasarājī 748
 Sāh sajjit a Paurāgā Hāhaya prince 786
 743 fn 1
 Sāhasrālīnga lake 973 974
 Sāhasārjuna Hāhaya prince 761 798
 Sāhasārjuna (Kalacuri) princess wife of the
 Hāstrekūja king Rājā III 760 761
 Sāhva (fina *malacca*) (Shihāb ud-Dīn Ghūrī)
 1146 fn 1
 Sāhāvāhāna (?) 865 fn 1
 Sāhī (dynasty of the Punjab and Afghani-
 stan) 681 689 693
 Sāhī king of Kīra 676
 Sāhīb-Kīlū a lieutenant of Quṭb ud-Dīn
 Aibak when he invaded Kalinjar 720
 Sāhū of Afghanistan and the Punjab 1218
 1214
 Sāhū D R. 749 fn. 1
 Sāindhava destroyed by the Arabs (Tājikas)
 935
 Saiva a religious sect devoted to god Śiva,
 761 767 770 771 773 775 1127 ascetics
 767 771; temples 813 814 831
 Saurya district 960
 Sājara Sātradhāra 885
 Sājāhālī, village 763

- Sajjana, composed the Bilhari *prāśasti* jointly with Śrinivāsa, 770
 Sajjana, *Dandādhīpati*, 969
 Śaka, country, 986
 Śaka, year, 867
 Sakala-*Sāmanta cūdāmanī*, 695
 Sākambharī, lake and town (mod. Sambar) 755, 886, 937, 938 941, 973 fn 3, 978, 981 982, 986, 988, 1023 1054, 1060, 1066, 1067, 1072, 1074, 1076, 1079, 1080, 1091, 1100, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1115, 1148, 1162, 1177, 1186, 1187 fn 2, 1200, 1202, 1203, 1216 1217, Cāhamānas of, 957, 972 fn 7, 988 90, 1055, 1060 ff
 Sākambharī, goddess, 1061, shrine at Sakrai, 1066 fn 9
 Sākambharī-pradeśa, 1061 fn 5, also Sākambharī-deśa, 1099 fn 3
 Sākambharīndra, an epithet of Lakṣmaṇa, 1105
 Sākambharīśvara, title of Cāhamāna kings, 1061
 Sakapura-pratyāgarānaka, 896
 Śakendra Suratrāna (Sultān), 801
 Sākhā (Vedic), 744
 Sākhadā, *Pratī(hāra)* of Bhīma II, 1007, 1008
 Sakrai, some 20 miles distant from Raghunathgarh Jaipur State,
 Sakrai stone-inscription of the Cāhamāna prince Vīgraharāja, 1066 fn 9
 Śaktikunāra, Guhila prince, 855, 1069, 1155, 1156, 1163, 1170, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1176, 1177, 1201
 Sālā, 701 fn 3
 Salāya, 3 miles from Bamhni village, Damoh district, C P, 734
 Salakhana (Sallakṣaṇa), father of Āśādhara, 894, 897, 899
 Salakhanadevī, *Rājñī* (queen), mother of Rānā Lunapāsāū, 1035
 Salakhanapura, 1012, 1015
 Salakhanēśvara, temple of, 1011
 Sallakṣaṇa, *Pundita*, writer of the Narwar grant, 833
 Sālār (commandant), 692 fn 2
 Sallaṣaṇavarman (i.e. Sallakṣaṇa), Kaurava *Mahārānaka* of Kakaredikā (mod. Kakrerī), 724, 725, 728
 Salavaṇa, Tomara chief, 1064, according to some the word means 'together with Lavana,' 1064 fn 3
 Salem, district, Madras, 778 fn 3
 Sālha, Cāhamāna king who liberated the people of Śrīmāla from the Turuṣkas, 1135
 Sālhe, *Sādhu*, 708
 Sālīpura (not identified), 978 fn 3, 988
 Śālīvāhana, ancestor of Sejakjī, 1201
 Śālīvāhana, Guhila king of Mewar, 855, 1172, 1173, 1176
 Śālīvāhana of Paithan, 1200
 Sallakṣaṇa (see Sallakṣaṇavarman), 702, 703, 718
 Sallakṣaṇa, *Rājaputra Mahā-mantri*, 1077
 Sallakṣaṇadevī, mother of Lavaṇaprasāda, 1027 fn 5, see Salakhanadevī above
 Sallakṣaṇapāla, Tomara king according to Cunningham, 1149
 Sallakṣaṇasimha, 701 fn 4, 702 fn. 2
 Sallakṣaṇavarman, Candella king, 701 fn 4, 703, 704, 789
 Sallakṣaṇavarman, the feudatory chief of Kakaredī, 799
 Sālo, Cāhamāna king of Sanchor, 1135
 Salya, enemy of the Jalor Cāhamāna Cāciga-deva (Cāca), 1131
 Samadhigata-*Pañcamahāśabda*, epithet of rulers, usually of feudatory rank, indicating that they are entitled to the privilege of the *Pañcamahāśabda*, 1055
 Sāmanta (or Sāvanta), *Rāuta*, 723
 Sāmanta, the earliest representative of the Cāhamāna family (according to the Bijolia inscription), born in the Vatsa-gotra at Ahicchatrapura, 1053
 Sāmanta, a feudatory title, 697, 697 fn. 3, 700, 863, 1061
 Sāmanta-cakra, 695
 Sāmanta *pati* (tributary chief), 764
 Sāmantarāja, Sākambharī Cāhamāna, 1061, a feudatory prince (*Sāmanta*), possibly known as Ananta, *vīpra*, Vatsa gotra, 1062
 Sāmantasimha, alias Bhuvata, Cāpotkaṭa king, 935
 Sāmantasimha, a Cāhamāna prince, 1133, 1136
 Sāmantasimha, an officer of Saurāṣṭra, 1010
 Sāmantasimha, Guhila king, 918, 924, 1001, 1125, 1180 1181, 1181 fn 6, 1182, 1183 fn 1, 1184, 1206
 Sāmantasimha, *Mahāmanḍaleśvara*, Rānaka ruler of Mandali 1034
 Samara (conflict), 785
 Samara (also known as Sausara and Saṁsara), 992
 Samarāja, a Guhila chief of Saurāṣṭra, 977
 Samarapura, a town founded by Samarasimha, 1126
 Samarasimha, Cahu(māna)-Rāna(ka), identified with Samarasimha, 1007, 1126
 Samarasimha, Cāhamāna king of Jalor, 1125, 1126, 1184
 Samarasimha, Guhila king of Mewar, 861 fn 3, 870, 1155, 1161 fn 1, 1162, 1165, 1173, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1179 fn 6, 1182, 1184, 1185 1187, 1188, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1197
 Samarasimha, Nadḍula Cāhamāna, 983 fn 1
 Samarjit, a son of Parmāl Candella Parmardi, captured Mahoba from Pajjun Rāy, 722, 729
 Samasadiṇa *Hammira* (Shams ud-Dīn Iltutmish), 1094
 Samavala-pattala, 797
 Sāmbā, village, 814
 Sambalpur, 803 fn 1, district, 783 fn 1
 Sambhar, lake, ancient name Sākambharī, 1054, 1073 fn 3, region possibly the cradle-land of the Cāhamānas, 937, 967, 968, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1107
 Sambhar Nizamat of Shekhawati, Jaipur, 1070, 1080

- Śāraṇeśvara temple-inscription of Allata, 1172 fn 4
 Śaraṅg Deo, last Parihar king of Gwalior, 829 fn 1
 Śāraṅga, a horse, given by Viṅraharāja to the Paramāra Udayāditya, 1070
 Śāraṅgadeva, Caulukya king of Anahilapātaka, 1037, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043
 Śāraṅgadhara, author of *Paddhati*, 1077 fn 1, 1099 fn 3
Śāraṅgadhara-paddhati, 1052 fn 1
 Sarangarh, to the east of Raipur, C P, identified with ancient Saraharāgadh, 758, 811
 Sarasapura, Arjuna of, 1099
Sarasvata mandala, 937
Sarasvatī (goddess), 793, 796, 856, 897, 967, 1005, 1013, 1171, 1200, image of, 864
 Sarasvatī, river, 880, 936 fn 3, 944 fn 3, 963, 1021, 1089 fn 2, 1118, valley, 937
 Sarasvatī, (same as Sarasvatī), river, 936 fn 3
 Sarayu, river, 744, 747
 Sarda, H B, 1061, 1073, 1093 fn 5
 Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, 908 fn 1
Sarga, 860
 Śarman, 715, 716
 Sarnath, 784
 Sarnath stone-inscription of Karṇa (Lakṣmīkarṇa), 784
 Sarsavni grants of the Kalacuri of Malwa, issued from Anandapura, identified with Anand in the Kaira district, Northern Division, Bombay, 739, 742 fn 3
 Sarsuti (Sarasvatī), probably the river of that name, which flows though Ambal and Karnal, 1089, 1089 fn 2
Sārvaabhauma, an imperial title, 866
 Sarvadeva, *Sādhu*, 832
 Sarvakalā, Kuntala princess, wife of Paramāra king Arjunavarman, 898
 Sarvānanda, *Karamika* 784
 Sarway inscription of Ganapati, 834
 Śāryātas, a branch of the Haihayas 738
Śāsana, 715, 915
Śāsana-patra, 1007
Śāsbahū ka dehrā, in the fortress of Gwalior, 827
 Śāsbahu temple inscription of Mahīpāla, 822, 824, 825, 826, 827
 Śaśidhara, of the Mauna *gotra*, composer of the Bheraghat stone-inscription (*prasaṣti*) of Narasimha and the Nagpur Museum inscription of Jayasimha, 793, 795
 Śaśinrpa (see Candrarāja II, Cāhamāna prince), 1063
 Śaśiprabhā, a confidante of Deśaladevi, 1075
 Śaśiprabhā, Nāga princess, wife of Paramāra king Sindhurāja, 859
 Sassanian Naushirvān, king of Persia, 1153 fn 3
Sūstras, 856
 Śāstri, 919 fn 1
 Śāstri, Bāl Gangādhara, 881 fn 2
 Śāstri, Hīrānanda, 864 fn 4
 Satajana, village, ancient Satājūnā, 901 fn 1, 904 fn 1
 Satajit, 743 fn 1
 Satājūnā, village of, modern Satajana, 901
 Satamakṣa (Indra), 845
 Saṭaśadikā Ghaṭ, 794
 Sātavāhanas, of the Deccan, 838
 Sātavāhana, king, 838, 856
Satī, 734, 1058, 1083, 1181 fn 6, pillar, 1082, 1084, record, 734
 Sālga, 980
Satrāgāra (alms-house), 1035
 Satruñjayā (Setrañj river), 1008 fn 2
 Satruñjaya, *mahātīrtha*, 1030
Sattra 1034
 Satyapura (mod Sanchor), 1129 fn 9, 1135, 1136; Cāhamānas of, 1055, *mandala*, 943
 Satyarāja, Banswara Paramāra king, 871, 920, 921, 922
 Saubhāgyapura (mod Sohagpur in Rewah State), 770
Saugata (Buddhist), 1171
 Saugor, district, in C P, 713, 800, 1084
 Saurāstra, 941, 941 fn 3, 969, 977, 1010, 1039, 1117, 1161, 1162, 1201, 1202
 Sauri (*viṣṇu*), 717
 Sāvairisole, district of, 896, according to some the word may mean, the 16 villages of Sāvairi, 896 fn 3
 Sāvantas, *Mandaleśvara* of, 808
 Savar, estate of, 1084
 Savara (mistake for Śabara), 687
 Savipāṭi (mod Sevadī), 1109, 1109 fn 4
 Ścabhravatī, river, 939
 Sehāwā or Sihoa, identified with ancient Kāndāse(hva)ra, 811
 Sehare, in Bhopal, 896
 Sejakī (same as Sejakī), 1201 fn 1
 Sejakī (sometimes called Sejakī), Gubila prince, 1201, 1201 fn 1
 Sejakpur, town, founded by Sejakī, 1201
 Sekhāvāṭi (Shekhawati), situated in the north of Jaipur State, 1063, 1065
 Seljuq, Turkish ruler, 693
 Selluka, town of, 863
 Sembalapuraka, village of, 853
 Semra, a village in the Bijawar State, Bundelkhand Agency, 713
 Semra plates of Paramardī, 706 fn 2, 708, 713, 714, 715, 719 fn 1, 723 fn 2
Senūpati, 715, 966, 971
 Senas, of Bengal, 1155, 1217
 Seorī Narayan, on the northern bank of the Mahanadi, Bilaspur district, C P, 813
 Serendeeep (Ceylon), 960
 Sesayī-grāma (mod Sajee?), 714
 Sesoda, chiefs of, Gubila Rūnās of this place were the leaders of the Sesodia clan, 1180, 1204
 Sesodia clan, 977 fn 2, 1180
 Sevadī, a village in the Balī district, 931 fn 1, 1109, 1114
 Sevadī grant of Ratnapāla, 1053 fn 1, 1110, 1119 fn 5
 Sevadī stone-inscriptions of Āśūrāja, 1109
 Sevadī stone-inscription of Kaṭudeva (Katukarāja), 1114

Shahgarh a police station in the Saugor district C P 713
 Shamagadh Pargana of the Bhopal State, 892
 Si amand din [Shama ud Din Altamash (Ilut-mish)] 720
 Si ame ud Din (Ilutmiab) Suljan of Delhi 1095 1130 1116 fn 4; sometimes spelt as Shamsu u-Din Altamash
 Si anderaka (mod Sanderav) gaccha 1100 fn. 6, 1116
 Shansabaniyah dynasty of Ghūr of Iranian origin 1078 fn. 2
 Shansabānī of Ghūr 1216 1217; same as Shansabānīyah dynasty see above
 Sharfu-d din Muhammad Jarah a lieutenant of Mu'izz ud-Din Ghūrī 1019
 Shekhawati in Jaipur State 1070 1083
 Sheopor district in Gwalior 1060
 Sher Shah Afghan emperor 785
 Shihab-ud Din (Ghūrī) 1093 1146 fn. 1
 Shojavarma Mahārāja 794
 Shujapur pargana, in Bhopal Agency C I. 892, 895
 Shūf according to Rajput tradition grandson of Rādhā Jayacandra (Jayacandra) of Kanauj 1201
 Shīl Anūnar 760
 Siddapura ancient Śrīsthala-Urtha 078
 Siddhaāja (Jayasūbha) Caulukya king 710 877 987 1201
 Siddhas 1055
 Siddhāvāra temple of 900 1078
 Sīhākā village of 849
 Sihawaton inscription of Karpārāja 811 fn 4
 Sindh river 954
 Sikar principality of Shekhawati in Jaipur State Rajputana 1065
 Sīkhā village, 796
 Sīkottari mahāyānapali 1088
 Sīla, Gubila king of Mewar; also called Śīlāditya, 1168 1163 1164 1165
 Śīlāditya same as Gubila Śīla, 1166
 Śīlāditya Valabhi prince of Gujarat, 1168 1164 1166
 Silahara, feudatories of the Rājatrādīyas of Mānyakhetaka 764
 Silāhara prince 992
 Sīlākṛtja 833
 Silana a Brahman donee 810
 Sīlappaṭṭa varha 801
 Sīlha Sarman a Brahman donee, 797
 Sīlā, queen of Harparāja 1189
 Sīpi 715 718 725 837 1041
 Sindhava Yādava king sometimes spelt Sindhava and Sindhava 1084
 Sindhā a maternal uncle of the Vāghelā king Vīsaladava 1038
 Sindhā Gubila king of Mewar 1168
 Sindhā lord of Lāṭa deśa; uncle of the Cāhamaṇa Saṅgrāmārāja, 1031 1067
 Sindhabbha another name of (Sīyaka II) Harja, 847
 Sindhadantabhaṭa (Sīyaka II) 854
 Sindhagōṭha village 1066
 Sindhaka corrupted into the Prakrit form Sīyaka, 847

Sindhala Ceylon 680
 Sindhapa Kalacuri prince of the Aṅgaya varha 815 fn 3
 Sindhapa (same as Sindhapa and Sindhapa) Yādava prince of Devagiri 903 1024 1025 1037 1058 1129
 Sindhārā Cāhamaṇa king of Śākambharī 1055 1061 1063 1068 1068, 1105 1146
 Sindhārāja khaṭa prin e of Lohara 676
 Sindhārāja, 81p; 837
 Sindhāṭa, father of Dūśala 1009
 Sindhavarman Caulukya prince 763
 Sindhā, summer capital of India 731 fn 1
 Sind 91^o 946, 981 972 1166 1180 1211 1214 Arab chiefs of 681 682; rulers of 1005
 Sinda Mahāmāyādātara Rācamalla I 776
 Sind rāṭja son of Doḍa Rao Sindhārāja 1069
 Sindh country of 869 950 951
 Sindh river 720 733 833 fn 2, 1037 the valley of 834 sometimes sp lt Sind.
 Sindhudeśa Rājā of 941
 Sindhula (Sindhārāja) Paramāra king 858 866 fn 2 859 881 1071
 Sindhurāja (a king of Sind) 923 946 947 972
 Sindhurāja, father of the Cāhamaṇa Saṅgrāmārāja, 1031 1067 1129
 Sindhurāja Paramāra king 858 859 861 883 921
 Sindhurājātara 924
 Sindhapa Yādava king, of Devagiri; same as Sindhapa and Sindhapa 1023 1025 1037
 Singhapur Bagra near Mahoba 717
 Supra, river 885
 Sindh boundaries of the tract known as 1037 fn 2
 Sirkar Santhal; Sursuti one of Mahallas in Akbar's time 1090 fn. 1 see Sursuti
 Sirmur State 1060 fn 2
 Sirod (ahar) 965
 Sirohi State 910 914 915 917 949 1191, 1194 1166 1167 fn 4 1161 1184
 Sipur stone-inscription of Sivagupta Bālārjuna 788 fn 4
 Sirul village 608
 Siwargadh on the banks of the Pahuj a tributary of the Sind 790
 Sītā a poetess 844
 Sitabaldi (hill and fort near Nagpur C P) 760
 Sitabaldi stone-inscription (of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI) 760
 Siva (god) 674 675 686 700 718 783 747 761 763 770 775 778 783 783 785 790 793 796 806 861 878-76 881-83, 891 921, 924 951 993 1006 1041 106; 1065 1075 1167 1171 1177 1201 temple of 700 fn. 1 1084
 Siva Mahāvāra temple f 865
 Siva Vaidyanatha, 1033; temple of, at Dabhol 1034
 Sivagupta, the first prince of the Somavāhātis of Orissa, 759 fn. 5

Sonpur capital of Sonpur State 808
 Sonpur State 808
 Sonpur grant of Kumāra Somadevara 807 in 3
 Soorautti (Sarasvati) river 1039 in 3
 Sorab in Kathiawar peninsula 1201 1213
 Southern Gu'arat (Lilja) 764, 838 839
 Southern India 753
 Southern Rajputana 837 881 874
 Spalaga-dama 1056 in 7
 Śrāvaka 880 1012
 Śrāvaka pratikramana-extra cārgs of Kamala
 candra manuscript of 1190
 Śravanibhadra vakhā 865
 Śrāvastī 674 in. 1
 Śrāvastī 707 708 833
 Śrīdēva Śvetāmbara Jain 974 in 2
 Śrīdhara of the Vastrikula family honoured
 among the officials of king Bhūma II 1010
 Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu) 1116
 Śrīdhara Mantri of Vigraharāja IV 1075
 Śrīdhara Thakkura Mahāśāhivirahika
 1035
 Śrī Dhomarāja, Paramāra king 917
 Śrī Gukhla or Gukhla śrī legend on silver
 coins found at Agra 1164 1190
 Śrī Harja Paramāra king of Malwa 921
 Śrī Jāt feudatory of the Dhākele Kalacuri
 Karja 796
 Śrī-Jaya Mahāśāhivirahika, officer of
 Mālarāja 948
 Śrīkantha (Mahādeva) 859
 Śrīmad Madanavarmadeva, same as Candella
 Madanavarma 705
 Śrīmāla (mod. Bhinmal) 912 1126 1129
 1192 1193
 Śrīmāla vakhā 997
 Śrī Nīlakantha temple of at Kalinjar 705
 Śrīnivāsa composed the Bilhari stone-inscrip-
 tion on (pradasti) jointly with Sajjana 770
 Śrīpāl 780 979
 Śrīpereda holy lord of Viṣṇukundina medi-
 tate on the feet of 776 in. 2
 Śrīpethā city of (ancient name of Biann
 acc. to Fleet) 681
 Śrīpati a Gaṇḍa Kāyastha writer of the
 Delhi Śivalik pillar inscription of the
 Cāhsmāna Vigraharāja IV 1077
 Śrīpati Akṣapatalādhikā of the Gubhila
 Naravāhana, 1172 Akṣapatalika of the
 Gubhila Saktikumāra 1178
 Śrī-Puṣpa another name of Vikramasimha
 1180 in 1
 Śrīpura (mod Sripur in Raipur district
 C P) 769
 Śrīpura king, 579
 Śrī-Ratnapāla rūpakāra 810
 Śrī Śāhila Thakkura 809
 Śrī-Simha Rātī 717
 Śrī-Somaladevi, 1071
 Śrī-Somadeva-deva the legend on the obverse
 of the coin of Somadeva, 1068
 Śrīsthala śrītha (Siddhapura) 978
 Śrī Vaghadēva Mahārājaputra 784
 Śrī Vallabha śrīdā of Vākpati II 859 858
 Śrī-Vatsarāja writer of Amoda grant (?)
 1110

Śrī Vappa the legend on the obverse of a
 coin 1166
 Śrīdevatā (goddess of scripture) famous in
 the world under the name of Parakāśa
 vāsinī 833
 Śtambhatīrtha (mod Cambay) 1030 1057
 Śtālesman the 853
 Śtan Konow 918 in 2
 Śthali (Vāgaḍa) 971 in 2
 Śthali mapḍala 802
 Śthānapati, an official title connected with
 the management of a temple 1011 1015
 1035
 Śthānviśvara mod. Thanagar Karnal district
 Panjab 862
 Śthapati 911 in. 2
 Stone-inscription from Kāsia belonging to
 the Kaala branch of the Gorakhpur
 Haliya (Kalacuri) 743
 Stone-inscription of Naravāhana, 1167
 Subhaskara Śrāvaka 960
 Subhānanda of the Vastavya vakhā writer
 of the Pachar grant of Paramardī 716
 Subhāpta ratna sakhāka of Amitagati 857
 Subhāta, Vastavya Kiyastha of Takṣāpikā;
 Śaroca and Kāśādhikārdhipati of Candella
 Bhōjavarman 738
 Subhāta donations to god Jayasvāmī by
 1133
 Subhāta of Karpuradhārā also known as
 Subhātalāya, 1135
 Subhātavarmā same as Subhāta Paramāra
 king of Mālava 895 1023 in. 2
 Sudravarma Gubhila prince of Mewar 1178
 1178 1178
 Sudākṛpā (a mountain pass) 964
 Sudālī vappa, 707
 Sudavāsa residence of the Candella Deva-
 varman 695
 Sūdhā (?) Mahāśāhivirahika, Thakura
 1007
 Sudhāvi, a queen of the Cāhsmāna king
 Arporā, 1079 1074 1078
 Sugalladevi wife of Gorakhpur (Kahla) Kala-
 curi king Śrīvarāja (II) 744
 Sugandhādri (Sundha Hill) 1182
 Suhavadevi Mahārājai queen of Pṛthivīra
 II, 1079 1060
 Suhavadeva, god, 1079
 Suhila born in the Vastavya family 717
 Sukla-śrītha, on the Narmaḍā 945
 Sukri river 1077
 Sukṛta kīrti kālolaḥ of Udayaprabha 986
 in. 2 987 993 in 2, 1027
 Sukṛta-sankīrtana 987 in 6 944 in. 5 1001
 1004 1006 1025 1026
 Sukthanka 917 in 8 919 in 3
 Sūladhara (S va) god 696
 Sulhapa king of Mālava (?) 1071
 Sulhapa a commander-in-chief possibly of
 the Paramāra Yaśovarman 1071
 Sulkaṇḍapikā (custom house) 1116 1203
 Sulān 781 1044 1045 1068 1069
 Sulān Alā ud Dīn 736
 Sulān I yal timlah (Dhotmish) 728
 Sulān-i-Ghāni (Muz as ud Dīn) 1067 1068

Sulān Mahmūd I, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1215, 1216
 Sulān Muḥammad Saḥibshāh, 1019
 Sulān Muḥammad II, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016
 Sulān Nāṣir al-Dīn, 770, 1011, 1012
 Sulān Kā, 726
 Sūlāpa, Sūlāpā, 1013
 Sūlāpā (7) 1013, 71
 Sumatra, a descendant of the emperor Rama of the Solar line, 1111
 Sunat (Persian name of a deity), 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016
 Sumra (Rajasthani), 1011 in 1, rulers of Marṣaḥ in Rajasthan, 1016, 1111 in 1, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136
 Sumwara, chief of Sumwara, 1012
 Sunḥol (Hindavi), temple of, 1010
 Surak village, 151 miles S.E. from Pattin in N. Gujarat and 5 miles N.E. of Ungha railway station, 1011
 Surak grant, of the Cālukya Karna I, 963
 Surdara, sister of the author Dharmapala, 150
 Sundha hill, 1112
 Sundha hill inscription of Cālukya, 855, 870, 952, 967, 971, 972, 1013, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1109, 1117, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1126, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1135, 1139
 Sunwar, station, 1191
 Supūtarāṣa, a Śūnyasāctic, of the Lokulīśa sect, 1172
 Suracind, ancient Sūricandī, 1129 fn 1
 Sūricandī, modern Suracind 1129 fn 1
 Sūrāditya (Sūricitya) Narottama 865
 Sūrāpāla, Pāla king of Bengal, 1199
 Sūrāsani, belonging to (sambaddha), 882
 Sūrāstra, 900, 992, 993, 1020, 1021, mandala, 1009, cīṣaya, 986, sometimes spelt Saurāstra
 Surat, city and district in Bombay, 898
 Surat grant of Kirtirāja, 851, 860, 938
 Surat grant of Trilocanapāla, 938, 939, 918
 Suratrāna Cāhamāna prince of Ranthambhor, 1097
 Sūri (Jaina teacher), 831
 Sūri Nayacandra 1053
 Surjan carita of the Gauda Ambaṣṭha Candrasekhara, 1061, 1071
 Sursutī, Ibn al-Baṭūṭā calls it a great city. In Akbar's time it was one of the Mahallas of Sirkar Sanbhal, 1090 fn 1
 Sūrya, god, temple of, 1181
 Sūrya mandala (sun), eponymous Cāhamāna born from, 1053
 Sūryamatī, queen of the Kashmirian king Ananta, 728 fn 2
 Sūryapāla Kaccapaghāta prince of Gwalior, 826, 827
 Susāwat Minās, Amber wrested from the, 829
 Susi. grāma (village), within the limits of the land of Kasi, 783
 Sutlej, river, 1077, 1078, 1087 fn 2, 1203, 1217
 Sūtradhāra, 687, 706, 707, 771, 793, 794, 797, 801, 911 fn 2, 1009, 1015, 1033, 1089, 1120, 1200

Sūtradhāra (in Sanskrit drama), 698
 Sūtradhāradhārī, 1031
 Suviraprasādhika, 899
 Suvirapūra (modern Soṅpur), 808, lord of, 807
 Suvratadeva, Muni, 864
 Sūman, 809
 Svarga-dvārāśritha, 717
 Svāṅga(?), Vijaya skandhācāra of (Lakṣmi)-karna situated at, 783
 Svayambhū, god, 776
 Svayambhara, 915, 1037, 1085
 Svetambara, a division of the Jainas, 831
 Svetipada (identified with North portion of Nasik district), 713, 864
 Sjadada (Jaina), 1171
 Śyama Pārśvanātha temple of, 1193
 Śyamaladevī, daughter of the Paramāra Udjayāditya and wife of the Gohila putra Vijayasinha, 791, 876

T

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, of Nizām ud-Dīn, 692, 961
 Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, of Minhāj ud-Dīn, translated by Raverty, 726, 727, 908, 1017, 1089
 Tabarhindah, 1087 sometimes spelt Tabarhindh, Tarbindāh, Pathindah, Biṭhandah or Bhatindah, some identify it with modern Bhatinda in the Patiala State, 1087 fn 2, fort of, 1089
 Tadāra named Pipparika, 858, some read Vadar, 853 fn 1
 Tahsil Baberu (U P), 706
 Tahsil Pailau, 711
 Tahsil Teonthar (Rewah), 709
 Taila II, Cālukya king of Kalyani, 765, 766, 769, 770, 774, 851, 857, 878, 938
 Taila ghānaka (oil-mill), 864
 Tailapa II, Cālukya king of Kalyana, 854, 855, 857, 858, 867, same as Taila II above
 Tailapa, king of Telingana, 857, 937, same as Taila II above
 Tailapadeva, king of Telinga country, 856, same as Taila II above
 Tailika (oilman), 876
 Tāi shī (sometimes written Tā Yasa'i), Nuṣrat ud-Dīn, a lieutenant of Iluttmish, 726, 727
 Tāṭikas (Arabs), 1156
 Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir of Hasan Nizāmī, 720, 721, 825 fn 1, 829 fn 1, 1018, 1091
 Takārī, Brāhman Śilana emigrated from, 810
 Takka, merchants of 1170
 Takkārīkā, town of 733
 Talahārī-bhūmī, 808
 Talahārī-mandala, 806, 811 fn 1
 Talahatī, town, ancient Talahatī, 1191 fn 2
 Talahatīkā, modern Talahatī, a town, 1191
 Tālajangha, Haihaya king, 738
 Tālajanghas, sons of king, 738
 Talājhā, mahāsthāna, 1008
 Talapāda, a territorial division, 1035

- Talāra an official designation 1185 1187
1189 1192
- Talāraṭṭa 1185
- Talwara in the Banewara State, Rajputana
970 inscription of Jayasinhha, 967 972 1162
- Tāmbulika 1116
- Tāmraka, 725
- Tāmrapaṭṭi river 879
- Tāmrapaṭṭa 744
- Tāmrarāja family 1185
- Tārtoṭṭi village modern Tantoli 1033
- Tāmvar same as the Tomara of the inscriptions 1063
- Tāthvāraṭṭi, situated in the north of Jalpur State; name said to be derived from Tāthvar (Tomara) 1063
- Tāṭṭa(?)-dvādaśaka, 711
- Tāṭṭarāja family 1192 probably same as Tāṭṭarāja above
- Tantoli image-inscription of Harirāja 1093
- Tantapilla 1063 may denote the designation of an individual 1064 fn 1
- Tāpasa-maṭṭha (monastery for ascetics) 806
- Tapti river 779 781 839 1024
- Tārā goddess, 748
- Taragadh hill 1074
- Tārāṇ situated on the bank of the Soor only 14 miles from Thanoswar and 80 miles from Dohly 1088 fn 8; first battle of 1088 1088 fn 8 second battle of 1089 1208 1317
- Tarhind (Tabarhindah) 1090
- Ta rikk - Alai 1101 also known as Khasānī Pūṭh of Amir Khwarazm, 1195 fn. 5 1197 fn 1 1205
- Ta rikk i Aṭṭ 956 967
- Ta rikk i Firiska 956 968
- Tārīkk i Firās Shāhi 1101 1195 fn 4
- Tā rikk ut Kāmīl 954
- Tarkārīka 686 687
- Tawney 948 949 fn 3 950 fn. 5 1006 fn. 1
- Taylor J translator (English) of the *Prabodhaśaṅkaraśloka* 695 fn. 4
- Tejapāla subordinate of the feudatory chief tain Madanabrahmadeva 1006
- Tejasinhha Devda (Deora) Cāhamāna of Candrāvati and Arbuda, 919 1137 fn. 2
- Tejasinhha Guhila king of Mewar (capital Aghāta) 1134 fn 1 1037 1186 1190 1191, 1192 1193
- Tejapāla Jaina Bania minister of Bhīma II, 1012 1014 1029 1030 1036; a tabular account of his family 1018; Mount Abu *prafats* of 990-91
- Tejkarān alias Dulla Rai last Kachwāha king of Gwalior 828 829 fn. 1 884 fn. 1
- Telanga country king Tallapadeva (Cajukya Talla II) 856
- Telūgana Tallapa of 937
- Temple of Vastupāla and Tejapāla at mount Girnar 1030
- Tesuka Yādava king of Chandel 938 fn 4
- Tewar a village about 6 miles to the west of Jubbulpore O P ancient Tripuri capital of the Dāhala Kalachuris 770 790 790 796 797
- Tewari stone-inscription of Jayasinhha 796 797
- Tewar stone-inscription of Gayā-Karṇa 790 793
- Thābū (?) Mahākā (Mahāwāṭya) 1008
- Thakkura 687 715 723 961 980 1000 1035 1070 1119 1113 1114 1201 1203 1204
- Thākura 704 705
- Thallaka Jaina 1109
- Thalner on the Godavari near Nasik Bombay 1063 fn 2
- Thāndapāli of Pritivīrāṭa III 723
- Thanosar 1149 town 1088 fn. 8 ancient Thanvāra
- Thar (desert) 957
- Thāśaśudha Dharmalekhā 707
- Thāśi-Supratā Sāradhāra 707
- Thāṭṭhārā (copper smith) 801
- Therdall of Kertunaga 944 fn 1 948 fn. 4 960 fn 3 963 968 985 998 1000 1003 1016 1038 1035
- Thakkarika village of 883
- Thirika a Brahman 806
- Thirika Karpika (father of Dhīranaga composer of the Harja inscription) 1066
- Thornton 1089 fn. 2
- Tiauri (Tewar) 688 fn. 4 772
- Tibet 677 fn 1
- Tibetan tradition 778 780
- Tihupāka Devda Cāhamāna of Candrāvati and Arbuda 1137 fn 2
- Tihupāka Rājā 1110
- Tikarika district of 1744
- Tilakarika an astrologer 1077
- Tilaki Wama Deo (Candella Trailokyavarman) 780
- Tilaki Wā Mīlāli 780
- Tilakwada the head quarters of a mahal Baroda Print Baroda State 864
- Tilakwada grant of Bhojadeva 864
- Tihaga Sijikā, 633
- Tilwara 1190 fn 5
- Timana grant of the Mehra Jagamāla, 1007
- Timbūka, (mod Timana) 1007 Mahājana of 1006
- Timurids 1168
- Tinlapadra-dādāśaka 853
- Tira-bhukti (mod. Tirhut) 670 788
- Tirhut, derived from Tira bhukti 670
- Throwry (same as Tārāṇ) 1068 fn 11
- Tirika 864 896 of Somasātha, 1041
- Tirika kalpa of Jinaprabha, 1195
- Tirikaṭṭhara, 832 1029 1100 1118 1189
- Tod Colonel; author of *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* 964 fn 8 1009 1063 1104 1106 1145 fn. 2 1165 1168 1173 1217
- Toggala (?) an unidentified enemy of king Bhoja, 866
- Tomara Rajput tribe 1054 1063 1064 1077 1146 also known as Tuar and Tonwar 1145 fn 1; of Delhi 1145ff bibliography 1182; genealogical tables of 1181
- Tomarada (Tomara chief) 1063
- Tomk State 894
- Tons river 794

- Tenwar, same as Tumara, 1145 fn 1
 Tetra, a village 15 miles to the south of Shahjahanpur, near Aligarh, immediately west of the Jumna at the foot of Siwalik mountains. Original site of the Delhi Slave pillar, captured of Chahamanas (Vardhana) (see Vardhana IV). See Delhi Slave pillar inscription
 Tetra 2, 1011, 1122
 Trahaka, 714
 Trahakyamalladevi, wife of the Caulukya king Vikramaditya II, of 1, fn 1, 766 fn 1
 Trahakyamalla, Candella king, also called Trahakyavarman, 725
 Trahakyamalla, a friend of Caulukya king Karna, 763
 Trahakyamalla, another name of the Kiechha-legendary, Mulaveva, 825, 826
 Trahakyavarmanadeva, Candella king, 723, 724, also called Trahakyamalla
 Trahakyavarman, Candella king, 722, 723, 727, 728, 729, 733, 800, same as Trahakyavarmanadeva
 Tribhuvana-Narayana, god, temple of, at Chitor (Chitrakuta), 871, 1177
 Tribhuvana-Narayana, appears to be a *biruda* of Paramara king, Bhoja, 861
 Tribhuvanaditya, Caulukya king of Anahilapataka, 974, 975, 979, 1035, 1036, 1187, 1191
 Trikalunga, 724, 763 fn 1
 Trikalungadhipati, 760, 794, 795, 797, 799
 Trilocana (Śiva), 763, 765
 Trilocanapala, Liṅga Caulukya king, 785 fn 3, 938, 948
 Trilocanapala, Śibi prince, 681
 Tripurāntaka, god, 1084
 Tripurāntaka, Lakuleśa-Pāśupata ascetic, 1011
 Tripurī (modern Tewar near Jabulpore), 675, 745, 756, 765 fn 2, 767, 769, 770, 774, 782, 788, 789, 790, 800, 802, 803, 808, 834, 866, 869, 879, capital of the Haihaya (Kalacuris) of Dāhala, 1081, 1081 fn 4
 Tripurī-purandara, 1081 fn 4
 Tripurūṣaprasāda, temple of, 963
 Triṣaṣṭi smṛti, of Āśādhara, 902
 Tritasaurya, 755, 802
 Trividha-vīra, *biruda* of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman, 89
 Trṛtsu, a Vedic tribe, 802 fn 4
 Trübner, 772 fn 2
 Tryambaka (Śiva), 724, 1084
 Tuar, same as Tomara, 1145 fn 1
 Tuhinapāla, father of king Vijayapāla of Ingoda stone-inscription, 885
 Tulak, 1,200 horses, all men of, 1087, Quāzī of, 1089
 Tumana, village (ancient Tummāna), in the Lepcha Zamindari of Bilaspur district, C P, 755, 803
 Tummāna (a variant of Tummāna), 812
 Tummāna (modern Tumāna), 742, 755, 789, 792, 800, 802, 803, 804, 806, 808, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, *deśa*, 809, Haihayas of, 804, Kalacuris of, 815
 Tūnakūpaka *dvādaśaka*, 1066
 Tundikera, name of a Haihaya group, 738
 Tungabhadra, river, 878
 Turagapati, 743
 Turkish sultans of Delhi, 1044
 Turta 723, 755, 906, 941, 1162, 1203, 1213, 1214, 1216, 1217, prowess of, shown in catching elephants, 692
 Turusha (land) limits of the Caulukya Kumāripālī's *digvijaya*, 986
 Turusha vīra, 1020
 Turushas, 683, 723, 726, 727, 755, 797, 866, 880, 1073, 1074, 1077, 1105, 1106, 1121, 1124, 1129, 1187, 1188
- ### U
- Ubhloda, *pathaka* of, 978
 Uccakalpa, *Mahārāja*s of, 740
 Uch, 1217
 Uchechah, 1017
 Udaipur, 769, 940 fn 3, 970, 974 fn 1, 1084 fn 2, 1157 fn 7, 1165, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1173, 1179, 1186 fn 3, 1192, 1197, capital of Mewar, 1081, State, 978, 988, 1079, 1183, station, 1069
 Udaipur (misprint for Udayapur) *prasaṣṭi* of the Paramāras of Mālava, 769, 778 fn 5, 811, 845, 847, 850, 852, 854, 859, 866, 871, 872, 921, 952, see also 875 fn 4
 Udaipur (misprint for Udayapur) inscription of Jayasimha, 906
 Udaipur (sometimes called Nagda) inscription of Aparāṇṭa, 1158
 Udaipur stone inscription of Prthvīrāja III, 1081
 Udal, hero of the Bonāphar clan, 719
 Udāleśvara, god, temple of, 982
 Udayā, *Thakkurājñī*, 809
 Udayāditya, Paramāra king of Mālava, 699, 701 fn 4, 702, 778, 780, 790, 791, 792, 796, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 885, 893 fn 6, 1070, 1178
 Udayamatī, queen of Bhīma I and mother of Karna I, 962, 968
 Udayana, 'great minister,' 976, 977, 992, rich merchant of the Śrīmāla vamsa, 997, father of son Amrabhaṭa, 998, 1002
 Udayanadeva, prime minister of Siddharāja, 975, 987, 991, same as Udayana above
 Udayaprabha, author of *Sukṛta-kīrti-kalloṇī*, 1027 fn 4, 1031, 1039, also composer of some of the Gīrnar *prasaṣṭis* of the time of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, 1031, Jaina priest, 1039
 Udayapur, a town in Gwalior State, 875, 894, 901, 905, 967, 982, 999, 1078, sometimes spelt Udaipur
 Udayapur (also spelt Udaipur), 921, *prasaṣṭi*, 875 fn 4
 Udayapur stone-inscription of Ajayapāla, 985, 999
 Udayapur stone-inscription of Devapāla, 901
 Udayapur stone-inscription of Jayasimha, 884, 908, 967

- Udayapura inscriptions of Kumārapāla 887
980 983 989
- Udaypur stone-inscription of Udayāditya 876
- Udayarāja writer of the Dubkund inscription
of Vijayapāla 833
- Udayarāja Paramāra king 969 fn 1 978
fn 3
- Udayasimha Cāhamāna king of Jalor 1031
1126 1127 1128, 11 9 1130 1181 1182
1183 1184 1186 1188
- Udayasimha Karaṇika Thakkura 726
- Udayavarmadeva Paramāra king 893; same
as Udayavarma below
- Udayavarma an Paramāra king 889 890-93
901
- Udbhara Rācamalladeva god 776
- Uddharapa a prince of the Dadhika lineage,
1068
- Uddharapa Rāsta, 1203 1204
- Uddharapa Talārakṣa 1185 1192
- Uddharapavāmin (Viṣṇu) temple of 1193
- Udi Sāb same as Udayasimha 1130
- Ujjain city in Gwalior State, O. I.; ancient
Ujjayini 710 840 846 817 858 860
862, 863 885 887 901 909 970 989
1091 fn. 11 1069 1060 1071 1099
- Ujjain gra t of Bhoja, 862
- Ujjain grant of Jayavarman 883 fn 1 888
- Ujjain grant of Lakṣmivarman 883 886
888, 901 fn 1
- Ujjain grant of Naravarman 883
- Ujjain grant of Vāṅpati II 883 887
- Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman 891 fn 1 904
- Ujjain fragmentary stone-inscription of
J yasimha 884 887 966
- Ujjain Nagari (same as Ujjayini-nagari) 907
- Ujjayanta mahādīrṅha, 1030
- Ujjayini, capital of ancient Avanti 673 739
754 837 838 889 863 906 976 fn 1
- Ukha mandar an old Hindu temple at
the town of Biana in Bharatpur State
Rajputana 824 831
- Ukha Mandar stone-inscription of Maṇḍa
lārāja 883
- Uladana (mod Ouldana) 714
- Uljamun village of 802
- Ulabha Kalacuri king (Gorakhpur Kalia
branch) 744 746
- Ullakhāna (Ullah Khān) brother of Sulṭān
Alā ud-Dīn 1100
- Uluḡ Khān, minister of Nasir ud-Dīn
Mahmūd 730 1096 1096 fn. 3, 1007 fn 1;
same as Ghuyāth ud Dīn Balban 1195
- Uluḡ Khān brother of Sulṭān Alā ud-Dīn
1100 1109 and Nuḡrat Khān invaded
Guprat, 1044
- Umā goddess 675 881
- Umar Caliph 681
- Umarathā village of 999
- Umballa (Ambala) 1087 fn. 2
- Unā in 8 Kathiawar 954 fn 5 51 fn 3
- Una grants of the Cālukya feudatory Avanti-
varman 933 985
- Unhilpoor (mod Patan) 936 fn. 3
- Unhilwāra (Anahila-pāṭaka) 777
- University British 1218 fn. 1
- Unjha 909; Railway station 963
- Unatra (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) devli
inscription 1181 fn 6
- Upadragā (overseer) 1033
- Uparamāla Antari 1079 1079 fn. 8
- Upendra, Paramāra prince 845
- Upendrabhaṭa Gubila of Chattru 1198
- Upendrapura-maṇḍala 883
- Upendrarāja Paramāra king 844 846 same
as Upendra above
- Urdha meḡkra 1065 fn 5
- Urvaśī 713 718, 763
- Uṣā 847
- Usapattana 1113
- Uṣbi author of *Ta rikh-i-Yamini*, 682
- Uthavapaka, 892
- Uthman inscription of Samantarimha, 1181
- Utkala 773 803
- Utkala nṛpa 803
- Utpalarāja Paramāra king 854 908, 919
913 921; also called Maṇḍārāja and
Vāṅpārāja 851
- Uttar Mahab 943
- Uttara-Paṇḍala, capital Ahmochatra 1058
- Uttarāpatha horse dealers of 1066
- Uttarāyana village of 890
- Uttarāyana śaṅkṛanti 744 790
- Uṭṭhaka, capital of the Banawara Para-
māra 920
- Uttanaka identified with Arthuna 1188

Y

- Yacca sage 1063 fn 1 see Yacca
- Yacchakācārya 943
- Yacchala Brāhman donee, 663
- Yacchika, Dharmalekhin 789
- Yadabara-deva 809
- Yadāṇa clan (anceps) 981
- Yadāṇa, village of 883, 904
- Yadavāḍa (mod. Badwara) village, 723
- Yadavāri (probably mod. Berwara) 708;
village 714
- Yādha a measurement of land, 715
- Yadharā Pattala, 725
- Yad'ā devī, queen of Harṣa Siyaka II 832
- Yadnagar ancient Anandapura, 964 fn. 2
979 1163 fn 4 1164 fn 11 1165
- Yadnagar pradeś of Kumārapāla 887 937
946 947 948, 964 970 979 984 fn. 4
988 989
- Yadyavā-grāma 793
- Yāḡ ga, area occupied by the States of
Dungapur and Banawara 842 860 920
924 971 fn. 2 1177 1182 1183 1186,
1206
- Yāḡḡī Salakhana see Jalasala 1063
- Yāḡabhāṭa, Cāhamāna king of Ranthambhor;
identified with Bāhar Deo (Bāhaḍa-deva)
1095 1096 1097 1098
- Yāḡbhāṭa younger brother and minister of
Ranthambhor Cāhamāna Prahlāda, 904
1094 1095
- Yāḡbhāṭa minister of Cālukya king Kumā-
rapāla, 792

- Vāgbhaṭamēra, mod Barmer in Mallani, Marwar, 1129 fn 3
- Vāghadeva, *Mahārūpūtra* feudatory of the Candella (?) Hammūradeva, 731, 735
- Vāghelī, a branch of the Caulukyās of Anahila pāṭaka, 877, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1034, 1041, 1042, 1057, ruled in Gujarat as petty chiefs in the Muslim period, 1046 fn 1
- Vāha (water channel), 791
- Vābudasiṃha, a son of Udayasiṃha, 1131
- Vāhadavarman, *Mahārānaka*, 725
- Vāhali, lord of horses (*Turagapati*), 743, 745
- Vāhinī pati, 966
- Vāhirahadī, 1013
- Vāhni vamsa, 844
- Vahudeva, *Mahāsāndhi (vīgrahika)*, Thakkura, 1011
- Vaidagdhī-Viśvaḥarman (a master of art and craft), 716
- Vaidi desa, 946 fn 1
- Vaidya, 711 fn 5
- Vaidyanātha, god, 767, 800, temple of (at Khajuraho) 683 686 (at Bheraghat) 800, (at Chitor) 1194
- Vaija, erected an image of Nityāprasādita-deva, 1006
- Vaijāditya, the *paurāṇika* in the court of Hammūra, 1099
- Vaijāka *Dandanāyaka*, 981
- Vaijalladeva, *Mahāmandaleśvara*, 1000
- Vaijavāpa, *gotra*—the Guhila Bappa belonged to this *gotra*, 1155
- Vaijalladeva, the Cāhamāna *Dandanāyaka* of Caulukya Kumārāpāla, 1115, 1118, also named Vaijā and Vayaḥaladeva
- Vaikunṭha, god, 676, 684
- Vairāgara *Mandala*, (mod Wairgarh in Chanda district), 806, 807
- Vairata, Guhila king, 1175 fn 7, 1176, 1178
- Vaiśālya of Karpurabhārā, 1135
- Vairisimha, a feudatory king, 1068
- Vairisimha, Guhila prince of Mewar, 791, 1178
- Vairisimha I, Paramāra king, of Malwa 845, 922, his brother Dambarasimha possibly founder of the Banswara (Vāgada) line, 920
- Vairisimha II, Paramāra king of Malwa, 841, 844, 847, 848, 852
- Vaisnava, religious sect, 775, 1200, *prāsasti*, 824, temple, 677
- Vajavāpa, a *gotra*, same as Vaijavāpa above
- Vājela cave, in Girnar, 1031
- Vajra (identified with Vairāgara), 807 fn 5
- Vajradāman, Kacchapaghāta prince, 678 fn 1, 822, 823
- Vajrāṅkuśa, Asura, 859
- Vajraṭa, Tomara ruler, 1147
- Vajrutasvāmin, another name of Vairisimha II, Paramāra king, 847
- Vājika, of Kakaredī, 799
- Vajjuvarman or Vajjuka, the prince of *Kōmō-mandala*, 804
- Vakigala, a member of a commercial community (*nagara*), 864
- Vākpati, Candella prince, 666, 669
- Vākpati I, Paramāra king of Malwa, 841, 845, 846, 847, also called Vākpatirāja
- Vākpati II, Cāhamāna prince of Śākambharī, 1177
- Vākpati II, Paramāra king, 852, 854, 855, 857, 860, 861, 867, 769, 909, 924, also known as Utpalarāja, Muñja and Amoghavarṣa
- Vākpati-Muñja, Paramāra king, 856, 1212, see Vākpati II, Paramāra king
- Vākpatirāja I, also called Vappayarāja and Vindhyanrpati (?), Śākambharī Cāhamāna, a great warrior and a Śaiva, 1063, 1064, 1068, 1105, 1116
- Vākpatirāja I, Paramāra king, 847
- Vākpatirāja II, Cāhamāna king, 1069, 1162, 1174
- Vākpatirājadeva II, Paramāra king, 853, 878, alias Amoghavarṣa, 852, same as Vākpati II, Muñja, see above
- Vala, State, 1200
- Valabhī, 1056, 1153, 1154, 1155, of Gujarat, 1160, 1164
- Vālabhya, 1056, from Valabhī (?), 1056 fn 2
- Vālahī, mod Bali in Godwar, 981, 1110
- Valapala, *Śreṣṭhin*, 1008
- Vālanya-pathaka, 1015
- Vālbana, *Pandita*, 979
- Vallabha, a title assumed by the Paramāras, in imitation of the Rāstrakūṭas of Mānya-kheṭaka, 842
- Vallabharāja, mentioned in the Kugda stone-inscription of the Tuṃmāṇa Kalacuri Prthivideva II, 809
- Vallabharāja, Guhila of Chatsu, 1200
- Vallabharāja, Paramāra king, 1199
- Vallabharāja, Rāstrakūṭa king, 745 fn 2, 753
- Vallanadeva, see Bālbana, 1094
- Vāmadeva, a name of Śiva, 724, 725 fn. 1, 775, 776, 783, 784, 785, 789, 790, 794, 795, 797, 799, given the epithet P.M.P., An interesting aspect of Indian belief, see 775ff
- Vāmadeva, *Uparati* (*Uparika* ?), 1000
- Vāmana, son of Ananta, Brāhman officer of Sallakṣanavarman, 702
- Vāmanasthali (mod Vanthali), 941, 1009, 1032
- Vamharadā, village, 707
- Vamśa, 714, 716, 730, 767
- Vamśapāla, same as Hamśapāla, 1178 fn 3
- Vamśopaka, tax of one, 833
- Vānārasi, city of, in Kānyakubja, -viśaya, 983
- Vanavira, 1134 fn 5
- Vandipati, an official title, 1170
- Vanga, 755, 778 986 fn 2
- Vangāla, 764 765
- Vānī, the goddess of eloquence, 910
- Vanijāraka, 1113
- Vanik-hattāh (shops), 864
- Vaṅkeśa, god, 804
- Vankau, river, 880
- Vanthali (Vāmanasthali), 1009 fn 5
- Vāpanadeva, *Mahāmandaleśvara*, 855, 978, 989
- Vāppayarāja (see Vākpatirāja I, Śākambharī Cāhamāna), 1063

Vapula (also called Vapullaka) a chief 785
 Vapulesvara (Siva) 785
 Vapulleka (also called Vapula) 785
 Varāṇa a kind of gambling 905
 Varāhasiṃha, Mahārāja leader of the Guhila troops 1165
 Varāṇa grāma 943
 Varān si (mod Benares, in U P) 945
 vṛṣa in Pratihāna-bhakti: 676 fn 1
 Varbhari village 729
 Vardhama Rānaka and a Mahāpradhāna 1033
 Vardhamāna (mod Wadhwan capital of State in Kathiawar) 891 960 1069
 Vardhi Pathaka 1011 1016 1026; see also 1026 fn. 2 1034; vṛṣa 948 949
 Vardurga (mod Barigar) 708 710
 Vardurga grant of Madanavarman 708
 Varman rulers of East Bengal 765 king 779
 Varman village in Sirohi 919
 Varṣa, a distinctive title assumed by the Paramāra, 843
 Varṣa a mistake for Vardhi; see Vardhi-pathaka 1026 fn 3
 Vasa in Sirohi State 915
 Vasahā village 805
 Vasanta Acārya, a donor, 868
 Vasantagadh in Sirohi 910 1165; also spelt Vasantgarh
 Vasantagadh stone inscription of Puṣpapāla 908 910 914
 Vasantapāla a prince Kielhorn suggests that he may be a Tomara chief 1075
 Vasantapāla Mahārājaputra 969
 Vasantavilāsa of Bālasandra 884 981 970 987 989 996 fn. 3 1064 1029 105
 Vasantagadh inscription of Varmalāta 910 fn. 4
 Vāsvacandra, Mahārāja-guru, 685
 Vāśaka or Vāsa appointed Vṛṣa of Jayapura by Trailokyavarman, 783
 Vasaṅga sage 843 881 887 918 920 1019 1162 fire altar on Mount Abu 1052
 Vasiṣṭha, gotra 718
 V A. Smith 700
 Vastocya (family) 717
 Vastocya Kāyastha, 701 799 788
 Vastocya Kāyastha-saṁhita 687
 Vastocya-saṁhita 714, 715
 Vastavya race 819
 Vastakula family 1010
 Vastupāla Jain Banis minister of the Caulukya Bhīma II and Vāghela Caulukya Viradhavala 909 1012 1014 1020 1031, 1039 1036 1067 1181 1189
 Vastupāla-prabandha of Rājasekhara, 1081 fn 3
 Vastupāla Pujapāla Prastāvi of Jayasinha 912, 987 1029 1030 1031 fn. 3
 Vāsudeva alias Adbhuta Kṛpārāja, Paramāra king 909
 Vāsudeva Brāhman 940
 Vāsudeva Cāhamāna became Śākambharī-śa by the favour of the goddesses Śākambharī and Aśṭapuri, 1081 1069 1069 fn. 1

Vāśudeva, god 684 685 717 900 1117; temple of 1105
 Vāṣa (Vāṣa nagara) 910
 Vāṣanagara, identified by some with Vasanta-gadh 1165 fn 2
 Vāṣapadra, 976 fn 1 see Vāṣapadraka.
 Vāṣapadraka 803; identified by some with mod Baroda, 803 fn 1
 Vāṣa Yakṣiṇī-devī goddess 1059
 Vāṣadevara Kāyastha 949 964
 Vāṣikā (gardens) 635
 Vāṣa a Rāj (sage) 1183
 Vāṣa (also called Vāṣarāja) Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj 671, 687
 Vāṣa (also called Vāṣarāja) chief minister of Kṛtivarman 700
 Vāṣa son of Ananta; Brāhman officer of Ballakṣapavarman 709
 Vāṣa gotra 1053 1061 sage 1053 fn. 1 also known as Vāṣa 1063 fn. 1
 Vāṣarāja, Gurjara-Pratihāra king; also called Vāṣa 700
 Vāṣarāja Mahārājaka of Kakkareṣikā 794 725 705
 Vāṣarāja brother of the Śākambharī Cāhamāna Śiṅharāja 1066 1067
 Vāṣarāja writer of Kumbhi grant 798
 Vāṣarāja (also called Vāṣa) chief minister of Kṛtivarman 700
 Vāṣarāja ghalla 100
 Vāṣara, identified by some with Vyāghraśaka, mod, Baghar 1076 1076 fn 2
 Vāvulika (Babbulika) a field situated by the river Nandī 1169
 Vayajaladeva a Pratihāra (door keeper) 1003 see also 1003 fn 1; probably the same as Vayajaladeva, 1008 1008 fn. 2
 Vayajaladeva, Cāhamāna Dandanāyaka also Vajjalladeva Vajjalla 981 fn. 1 982 1115 fn 1
 Vayajaladeva Thakkura Mahāsādhivigraha; the Dātaka of the Kadi grant (V) of Bhīma II 1016
 Vayajaladeva Thakkura the Dātaka of a Kadi grant of Tribhubanapāla, 1065
 Vayajānṭha, temple of 1186
 Vedagarbharāṣi Śikānpati of a matha and temple 1015 1035
 Vedāṅga, sage 1171
 Vedakarman 1198
 Vedgi p 787
 Venī river 788
 Venis, A 716 fn. 2
 Veraval, seaport and town ancient Somnath, 968 998 1006 1010 1038, 1041
 Veraval grant of Arjuna, 1038, 1040
 Veraval inscription of Bhīma II 1004
 Veraval stone-inscription (prastāvi) of Bhāva-Brhspati of the reign of Kumārāpāla 983 984 987 fn 4 988 989 990 fn. 1 1008
 Veraval stone-inscription of Śridhara (of the time of Bhīma II) 1009
 Vesāla, village 788
 Vēṣaka an official title connected with the treasury of the God Jayasāmi 1188

- Vetravatī, also called Mālavānadi (mod Betwa), 678 fn 1
- Vicārasreni of Merutunga, 913, 915, 917
- Vidā, village, 763
- Vidarbha, region round mod Berar, 680 fn 3, 713 fn 2
- Vidyā, wife of Kalacuri king Sankaragana II, 711
- Vidyādhara *Thakura*, 795
- Vidyādhara(-deva), Candella (Candrātreyā king, 678 fn 1, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691 fn 2, 691, 695, 698, 700, 768 fn 7, 771, 774, 821, 825, 829, 830, 831, 870, 1213, 1214, 1215, known in Muslim chronicles as *Bidā*, misspelled *Nandā*
- Vidyādhara, 697, 860
- Vidyānanda, engraver, 784
- Vigrahāditya, god, 1132
- Vigrahapāla, Cāhamāna prince of Naddūla, 1105, 1111
- Vigrahapāla III, Pāla king of Bengal, 699, 779, 786
- Vigrahapura, same as mod Visalpur or Bisalpur, 1084, 1084 fn 3
- Vigraharāja, Guhila of Chatsu, 1200
- Vigraharāja, husband of Paramāra princess Lāhīnī, 910, 911
- Vigraharāja I, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, 1062
- Vigraharāja II, Śākambharī Cāhamāna, 937, 939, 964 fn 10, 1054, 1060, 1061, 1065, 1066, 1067
- Vigraharāja III, Cāhamāna king of Śākambharī, probably same as Visala and Viśvala, 988 fn 2, 1069, 1070
- Vigraharāja IV, Cāhamāna king of Śākambharī, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1081, 1145, 1146
- Vihāra, 983, 1125
- Vihāra, country, 809
- Vijā (see Vijayaśakti), Candella prince, 669 fn 4
- Vijada, same as Vijada-Daśasyandana, 1126
- Vijada-Daśasyandana, also known as Vijada and Devarāja, founder of the *Devada* (Deora) branch of the Cāhamānas, 1126-27
- Vijaisī, son of Ālhana Cāhamāna king of Nadol, 1134, 1135, first conquered Sanchor, 1134
- Vijambā, wife of Rāstrakūṭa king Indra III, 756, 761
- Vijaya (also called Vijjā, Vijā and Vijayaśakti), Candella prince, 669 fn 4, 670
- Vijaya, a *Sāmanta*, 988
- Vijaya, *Adhurāja*, 824, 831
- Vijayā, daughter of the poetess Sītā, 844
- Vijayadeva, Kalacuri king, 728
- Vijayāditya, Cālukya king of Veṅgi, 754, 787
- Vijayakīrti, Jaina sage, 832
- Vijayapāla, Candella king, 694, 695, 698, 700, 732, 773
- Vijayapāla, Kacchapaghāta king of Dubkund, 831, 832
- Vijayapāla, Gurjara-Pratihāra king of Kanauj, 823
- Vijayapāla, an unknown ruler; taken by some to be a Kacchapaghāta, his Ignoda stone inscription, 885
- Vijayarāja, Paramāra prince of Banswara (Vāgada), 923, 923 fn 4, 924, 971 fn 3
- Vijayaśakti (Vijā, Vijjā, Vijaya), Candella prince, 666, 669, 671, 706, 713, 723, 732
- Vijayasimha (Vijasi), founder of the Cāhamāna dynasty of Sanchor (Satyapura), 1135
- Vijayasimha, Guhila king, 791, 1178, 79, also called Virasimha II, 1178 fn 4
- Vijayasimha, Kalacuri king of Dāhala, 728, 797, 798, 800
- Vijayaśrī, daughter of Gurjara king Jayasimha, 898
- Vijayaśrī, see *Pārijāta mañjarī*, 997, 1022 fn 4
- Vijayavarman, another name of Paramāra king Vindhavarman, 894
- Vijjā (see Vijayaśakti), Candella prince, 669 fn 4
- Vijjala *munī* (holy person), 785
- Vijjala, Paramāra king of Jalor, 924
- Vijñānika Jalhana, 707
- Vijñānin (skilful artist), 715
- Vikāma-sī, Cāhamāna king of Sanchor, 1135
- Vikaura, *viṣaya* (mod Beekore), 714
- Vikrama, *mantrin*, writer of Cintra *prasasti*, 1041
- Vikrama (year), see Vikramāditya, era of, 718
- Vikramāditya, a *biruda* used by great kings 780, 803, *biruda* of the Haihaya (Kalacuri) king Gāṅgeyadeva of Dāhala, 772, 773
- Vikramāditya, era of, 976, it starts from 58 B C
- Vikramāditya of tradition, possibly the Gupta emperor Candragupta Vikramāditya, 856
- Vikramāditya I, Cālukya king of Kalyānī, according to Fleet Vikramāditya V, 867
- Vikramāditya II, Cālukya king of Bādāmi, 756 fn 4
- Vikramāditya IV, Cālukya king, 766
- Vikramāditya V, Tribhuvanamalla, Cālukya king of Kalyānī, according to R. G. Bhandarkar Vikramāditya I, 774, 867 fn 4
- Vikramāditya VI, Cālukya king of Kalyānī, son of Śomeśvara I, 781, 787 fn 5, 789, 826, 857, 875, 876, 878, 972
- Vikramakesarī, same as Vikramasimha, 1179
- Vikramānka *deva carita* of Bilhana, 699 fn 1, 780 fn 2, 865 fn 5, 867 fn 6, 868, 874 fn 4, 875 fn 1
- Vikramārka, same as the Vikramāditya, the traditional founder of the era which starts from 58 B C, 828
- Vikramasimha, also called Vikramakeśarī, Guhila king of Mewar, 1179
- Vikramasimha, Kacchapaghāta king of Dubkund, 689, 832, 833, 870
- Vikramasimha, lord of Candrāvatī, 914, 990

Vikramasambha *Mahārāja-kula* last Paramāra king of Abu 919
 Vikramasambha (same as Vikrama-sa) Cāhamāna king of Sanchor 1135
 Vikrama satsara 731
 Vikrauni (?) Vijaya 733
 Vilāsapura place of residence of the Candella Paramardi 715 716
 Vilhaka the *Veṭaka*, 1128
 Vilhapaḍava *Rājaputra* 909
 Vilohaja village of 605
 Vimala ruler of Abu the *Daṇḍapati* of the Caulukya Buṣma I 963
 Vimānapura (?) 770
 Viṣṭopaka probably a kind of coin 1113 in 5
 Viṇḍyaka (*Gaṇasa*) 733
 Vināyakaṇḍa (also of Mahipāla) Gurjara Pratihāra emperor 970 in 1 678
 Vinḍhyas 660 711 794 879 986 1076
 Vinḍhya *maṇḍala* 593
 Vinḍhyāṇṇpati possibly another name of the Śākambhari Cāhamāna Vāṇḍakirāja 1068
 Vinḍhyavarman Paramāra king; another name of Vijayavarman 894 895
 Vinīścitarāśi, a proper name 1179
 Vipra (Brāhman) 1061
 Vipra *kula-nandana* an epithet of Bappa, 1155
 Vira Ballala II Hoysaja king 899
 Viradhavala, Vāghela Caulukya prince of Dholka (Dha alaka-puri Dharavalka-nagari) in Ahmedabad district son of Lāṇḍigadeva (*Lāṇḍyaprasāda*) 909, 918 in 2 1030 1031 1034 1037 1028 1029 1030 1032, 1037 1043 1044 1057 1129 1131 1132, 1166 1187 1189
 Virama Cāhamāna prince of Banthambor 1097
 Virama Rāṇḍ son of Rāṇḍ Lāṇḍapāda 1015
 Virama son of Viradhavala 1031 1032 1033, 1036
 Virameśvara temple of 1015
 Viramgam taluka, 964 in. 2
 Virāṭka village 862
 Virāṇḍyāṇṇ Cāhamāna king of Banthambor 1096
 Virāṇḍhā (*Mahāvira*) temple of 1110
 Virāṇḍendra Coja king 778 in 4
 Virastha of Karpādradhārā 1135
 Virasṭhha of Narwar 821 833 834 in. 1
 Virasṭhha II same as Vijaya ṭhha 1178 in. 4
 Virasṭhha see Durakṣharā's III 1069
 Viśiṭhha Vāghela chief of Daṇḍahideva 1046 in 1
 Virāḍī wife of the Varman king Jātavarman daughter of the Dāhala Kalacuri king (*Lakṣmī*) Karpā 773
 Viravarman Candella king 697 703 104 737 729 734
 Viraka composer of the Rewa stone-inscription (*prastuti*) of (*Lakṣmī*) Karpā 738
 Viryārāma Cāhamāna king 1069
 Viradhavala (father of Dhāṇḍadeva) 1011 1133

Vīrala Paramāra king of Jalor 924
 Vīrala see Vīgraharāja III 1062 1070
 Vīśaladeva, Vāghela Caulukya king 903 1016 1028 1033 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1191 sometimes known as Vīśvamalla Vīśala or Vīśala 1037 in 5
 Vīśaladeva Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of Candravarī feudatory of Śārāṇḍadeva 1013 in 4
 Vīśaladeva (Vīgraharāja IV) Cāhamāna king of Śākambhari 1074 1076 1081 1145 1146 1148
 Vīśalpur near Rajmal in the Jaipur State, 1084
 Vīśalpur stone-inscription of Prthivirāja III 1064
 Vijaya an administrative division 676 in. 1 701 714 715 716 723 741 744 798 819 889 942, 949 963 1056 1068 1111
 Vijaya *paṭhaka* 1035
 Vīśa official title 701 701 in 2, 729 733
 Viṣṇu god 673 675, 684 697 703 718 727 734 748 751 753, 68 789 800 834 881 900 910 1033 in 3 1165 temple of 1069 1148 1192
 Viṣṇukunḍas 776 in 2
 Viṣṇu Śārī 881
 Viṣṇu *Ṭhakkura Dāpaka* 849
 Vīśvakarma architect of the gods, 793 1065
 Vīśvala see Vīgraharāja III 1070
 Vīśvala same as Vāghela Caulukya king Vīśaladeva 1037 in 5
 Vīśvamalla (also called Vīśaladeva) Vāghela Caulukya king of Aṇahila-pāṭaka 1037 1037 in 5 1041
 Vīśvāmītra sage, 848, 877
 Vīśvāmītra Mahāmaṇḍara-*rājaka*, the head of a *Māṭha* 1034-35
 Vīśvānātha temple of (at Bhaṭṭarāho) 639
 Viśvarūpa a donor 783
 Viśvarūpa, Śaiva ascetic of the Lakṣmī Pāṭapata sect 1065
 Viśvarūpa spiritual guide of Hammira, 1100
 Vīśvaṇṭk Purāṇapurāṇa 664
 Vīśvavaraṇḍa a great Pāṭapata priest 1076
 Vītastā river 874 in. 3
 Vītibotras a branch of the Haihayas, 738
 Vīśka struggle with Mahāmaṇḍa 935
 Vīzagaṇṭam in Madras, 1216
 Voḍḍar part of Narmadapura-pratijāgera-*gaṭka* 693
 Vairapadyaka Rāṇḍ Lakṣmaṇa ruling at 965
 Voserin *Kāyastha Mahākaṣapaṭhaka Ṭhakkura* 1007
 Vyāghrapalli village of 1037 1028 situated about 10 miles S. W. of Aṇahila-pāṭaka from the name of this village is derived the vernacular form Vāghela a section of the Caulukya (*Solāṅkī*)
 Vyākura *maṇḍala* 881
 Vyāpāra (office) 731
 Vyāsa Kalacuri king (Gorakṣpar) - *Kahla* branch 744; 747
 Vyayakarāya Mahāmaṇḍa (Treasury officer) 966

Vyāyoga, an one act drama, 918, 1085, 1131
Vyomakeśa, a name of the god Śiva, 881, 1064

W

Wadhwan (Vardhamāna), 969 fn 4, 1099
 Wainganga, river, 781
 Warda, river, 779, 781, 799
 Watson Museum, Rajkot, 966 fn 2
 Western India, 1213
 Western *Ksatrapa*, 1056
 Western Malwa, 894
 Wilford, 783 fn 1
 Wilkinson, 894 fn 5, 896 fn 1,
 Wilson, H H (Prof), 810 fn 1

Y

Yādava, 752, 938 fn 4
 Yādavas of Devagiri, 10347, 103, 1057, 1053
 Yādu, 738, 743 fn 1, 748
 Yajñā, queen of Saṅkaragana, 1199
 Yama (god) 977
Yamala-patra (draft of a treaty), 1024, 1028
 Yamīnīs, of Ghazni, 681, 682, 683, 747, 773, 825, 880, 1069, 1074, 1077, 1078, 1086, 1149, Sultānate of, 1216, 1217
 Yamīn ud-Daulah (Maḥmūd of Ghazni), 690, 691
 Yamunā, Jumna, river 684, 703, 752, 838
 Yaśah-Karna, Kalacuri king of Dāhala, 699, 702, 706, 711, 752, 769, 771, 772, 777, 782, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 807, 880, 972
 Yaśahpāla, a dramatist, 995
 Yaśahpāla, Kalacuri feudatory chief, 798
 Yaśahpāla, of Karra inscription, 784 fn 2,
 Yaśahpuṣṭa, a prince of the Dadhīcika line age, 1068
 Yaśobhaṭa, *alias* Rāmāṅgada, minister of Sindhuraja, 859
 Yaśobhaṭa, a proper name, 1165
 Yaśodeva Digambarārka, a poet in all languages, 827
 Yaśodeva, *Nirgranthanātha*, 828
 Yaśodhara, *Bhaṭṭa*, priest of the royal household, donee of two grants by Dhaṅga, 686
 Yaśodhavala, *Mahāmātya*, 892
 Yaśodhavala, Paramāra king of Candrāvati, 887, 913-15, 990-91

Yasolekhyadevī, wife of Kalacuri king Saṅkaragana (III), 744
 Yaśomatī, wife of Varāhasimha, 1165
 Yaśorāja, a king, who was killed by Cāhamāna Ajayarāja, 1071
 Yaśorāja (king of Malwa?), 940
 Yaśovarman, feudatory to Paramāra king Bhoja, 863, 864 fn 4, 867
 Yaśovarman (*alias* Laksavarman), Candella prince, 666, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 684, 685, 698, 699, 712, 713, 760
 Yaśovarman, (*alias* Kirtivarman), Guhila king, 1175, 1176
 Yaśovarman, Paramāra king, 710, 882, 883, 884, 886, 887, 889, 890, 891, 894, 966, 969, 970, 971, 1071
 Yaśovīra, a Seth of the Śrīmāla family, 1125
 Yātra (festival), 1108
 Yauvnaśrī, wife of the Pāla king Vīgrahapālā III, daughter of the Dāhala Kalacuri king Karna, 779
Yayapara-maṇḍala, 805
 Yayāti, a mythical king, 738, 743 fn 1, 748
 Yewur, find spot of an inscription, 739
 Yogarāja, *Talāra*, 1185, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1192, 1193
 Yogarāja, Guhila king of Mewar, 1175 fn. 7
 Yogarāja, possibly a Cāpotkaṭa ruler, 848, 850
 Yogarājesvara, god (Śiva), 1192
 Yogarājesvarī, consort of Śiva, 1192
Yogaśāstra, 1032
 Yogeśvarī, a female ascetic, 1008 fn 8
 Yoginīpura (Delhi), 801, 1095 1145 fn 7
 Yota, *donja*, 910
 Yuan Chwang, Chinese pilgrim, 670
Yugalikā (couple of posts), 792
Yuvarāja, 780, 858, 1009, 1109, 1114
 Yuvarāja Kacchapaghāta king of Dubkund, 829, 830, 832
 Yuvarāja I, Haihaya (Kalacuri) king of Dāhala, also called king of Tripurī, 675, 757, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 770, 780
 Yuvarāja II, Haihaya (Kalacuri) king of Dāhala, also sometimes called ruler of Tripurī, 753, 755, 766 fn 3, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 780, 796, 854

Z

Zafar ul-Wāḥ, 1045
Zam-ul-Akhbr, 955, 958, 960, 961, see *Kutāb Zam ul-Akhbar* of Gardhī

INDEX TO MAPS

IN

VoIs I & II

(Ancient and Mediaeval Names)

[The Latitudes and Longitudes are in most cases only approximate but it is hoped they will help in locating the places on the maps. After the name the volume of the work is indicated in Roman and then the number of map in Arabic integers; last of all come Lat & Long]

A

Ab-i-Zerah I, 2 33N 60E.
 Abhisaravataka. I 5 28N 88E.
 A fan t a I 1 30N 65E.
 Aghata II 3 II 4 II, 5; II, 6; II 8—
 26N 72E; II 9 25N 70E.
 Ahicchatra II 3 II, 6 II, 7; II, 8, 30N
 78E.
 Ahicchatrapura (in Rajputana) II 3 30N
 74E.
 Ajaya R. I, 6 23N 80E.
 Ajayameru II 8 II, 6; II 9 38N 74E;
 II, 10 30N 75E.
 Al-Ahwar I 1 35N 70E; I, 2 33N 74E.
 Alor I 1 II, 9—30N 65E.
 Akara, II, 1; II 2 II 4 II 5,—24N 70E.
 Amarakanataka, town, II 1; II 2—24N
 80E.
 Amarevara I, 3 35N 75E.
 Anabhis-pataka, II 3; II 4; II, 5; II 6;
 II, 8—24N 73E. II 9 II 10—25N
 70E.
 Anandapura II 3 II 4; II, 5—24N 72E.
 Ananiasaga I, 3 34N 75E.
 Anarta (also spelt Anartta) I 9 I
 10 II 9,—25N 66E; II 4; II 5; II
 8,—24N 68E.
 Andhra, I, 7 II 9,—18N 80E; I 9; I 10,
 —30N 80E.
 Anga I 6 I 8,—26N 86E; I, 9 30N
 83E.
 Antarvedi, I 3 II 1 II, 3 II, 6,—30N
 76E.
 Andpa, II, 1 II 2; II 3; II 4 II, 5—22N
 68E.
 Aparanta II, 4; II, 5—20N 73E.
 Arbuda (Abu), II 5 26N 72E.
 Arbuda giri II 3; II, 4 II 5 II 6 II, 6,
 —26N 72E.

Arbuda-margala II 3; II, 4; II, 5; II, 6,—
 26N 72E.
 Armabil I 1 30N 65E.
 Ar Rdr I, 1; II 9—30N 65E.
 Asikni II 6 II 8—32N 70E.
 Admaka I 9; I, 10—30N 75E.
 Asni I 8 28N 80E.
 As-Sind I, 2, 30N 68E I 10, 30N 65E.
 Admaka, II 2, 20N 74E.
 A-tian-p'o-chih lo I 1 25N 63E.
 Avanti I 9; I 10—25N 75E; II 1 II 2
 II 4 II 8—24N 76E.
 Avantipura, I, 8 34N 75E.
 Ayodhya, II 3, 28N 62E.

B

Badghis, I, 2, 36N 60E.
 Bagdi, I, 6 34N 88E. I 6 34N 86E.
 Bahliih (or Bahliah) I, 1 35N 70E; I, 2,
 34N 73E.
 Bahlika II, 9; II 10—40N 65E.
 Bahmanabad, I, 1 30N 65E.
 Baimin I, 1 35N 70E.
 Bakb-al-Bahiyah I 9 33N 66E.
 Bamiyan I 1, 35N 65E. I, 2 36N 68E.
 Banaikis I 3 34N 75E.
 Bannab, I, 1 35N 70E.
 Baran I, 10 30N 75E.
 Barway I 1 23N 70E.
 Ba Urab I 1, 30N 70E.
 Bhagwat, I 3, 26N 82E. II, 10, 26N 80E.
 Bhailasramin, II 1 II 3; II 4; II, 5; II,
 6 II 8,—24N 76E.
 Bhaktapur, I 4, 28N 84E. (also called
 Bhaktagrāma)
 Bhaktigrāma I 4 30N 84E.
 Bhartula I 3 34N 76E.
 Bhikavat II 1; II 2; II 3; II 4; II, 5;
 II, 6; II 8,—24N 86E.

Bhātīāh (same as Bahātīh), I, 1, 35N. 70E ,
I, 2, 34N 72E
Bhatindah, I, 2, II, 6,—32N 74E , I, 1,
35N 70E
Bhauttarāstra, II, 9, 35N 75E
Bhīmakeśava, I, 3, 34N 75E
Bhūlī, I, 8, 26N 82E , II, 10, 25N 80E
Bhramaravadra, II, 2, 23N 84E
Bhrgukaccha, II, 3, II 4, II, 5, II, 8,—
22N 72E
Bhuteśvara, I, 3, 35N, 74E
Bhuṭtas, I, 3, 35N 75E
Bhuṭtarāstra, I, 4, I, 8,—32N 80E , I, 9,
II, 10,—35N 75E
Bhuṭtarāstradhvan, I, 3, 35N 73E
Bolyāsaka, I, 3, 35N 73E
Budabab, I, 1, 30N 65E
Buhayarah Zarab, I, 2, 32N 60E
Bukhārā, I, 2, 40N 64E
Bust, I, 2, 32N. 64E

C

Cadobha, II, 3, 26N 76E
Cakrakūta, I, 7 , II, 2,—20N. 80E
Campā (mod Chamba), I, 2, 34N 76E
Campā (mod Bhagalpur), I, 6, 26N 86E ,
I, 9, 30N 85E
Campāpurī, I, 4
Campāranya, I, 6, I 8, II, 1,—28N 84E
Candrabhāgā, I, 3, 33N 74E
Candradvīpa, I, 5, I, 6,—24N 90E
Carmanvatī, R. , II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 6,
II, 8,—28N 76E ; II, 4, II, 5,—25N
74E Cedi, I, 9, 25N 80E
Che-li-to-lo (Caritra?), I, 6, I, 7,—22N , 86E
Cittrakūta (mod Chitor in Mewar), II, 1, II,
3, II, 4; II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—26N 74E ,
I, 9, I, 10,—25N 70E , (mod Citrakut in
Banda district, U P), II, 3, II, 3, 26N
80E
Citrotpālā, I, 7, 22N 84E

D

Dāhala, II, 1; II, 3, II, 4, II, 6,—24N 78E
Daivahā, R., II, 3, 28N 82E
Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, I 6, I, 7, II, 2, II, 3,—
24N 82E , I, 9, I, 10,—25N 80E , II, 1,
22N 82E.
Dakṣiṇapārā, I, 3, 35N 75E
Dāmodarasūda, I, 3, 34N 74E
Daṇḍa-bhukti, I, 6, I, 7,—22N 86E
Dandaka, II, 1, 22N 74E , II, 2, 20N 74E
Dantapura, II, 2, 20N 84E
Daraddeśa, I, 3, 35N 74E
Darbhābhīśāra, I, 3, 34N 74E
Daśapura, I 9, I, 10,—25N 75E , II, 1, II,
3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—26N 74E
Daśārṇa, country, II, 1, II, 2, II, 4,—24N
76E , II, 3, II, 6,—24N 78E , river, II,
1, II, 2, II, 6,—26N 78E
Dawar, I, 2, 32N 64E
Dhātīāh (same as Bahātīh), I, 1, 35N. 70E ,
I, 2, 34N 72E

Devagiri, II, 1, II, 4,—20N 74E , II,
10, 25N 75E
Devasarasa, I, 3, 34N 74E
Dhanakaṭaka, I, 7, 18N 80E
Dhārā, II, 1, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—24N
74E , II, 10, 25N 76E
Dhavalakka-nagarī, II, 10, 25N 70E
Dhavalapura, II, 6, 28N 76E
Dhūlikā, II, 3, II, 6, II 8,—30N 76E , II,
7, 29N 76E , II, 9, II, 10,—30N 75E
Dīw-kot, II, 10, 30N 85E
Dorasamudra, II, 10, 15N 75E
Drṣadvatī, II, 6, II, 7,—30N 74E
Dudhai, II, 1, 26N 78E
Dugdhaḥāta, I, 3, 35N, 74E
Dugdhasindhu, I, 3, 31 N 74 E
Dvāra, I, 3, 34 N 74 E
Dvārakā, II, 4, II, 5, 24 N 68 E
Dvāravati, I, 3, 35N 73E

E

Ekāmra, I, 7, 22 N 84 E
Elāpura, II, 4, II 5,—22 N 78 E
Ekaśūlānagarī, I, 7, II 2,—18 N 74 E , II,
10, 20N 75E

F

Fa la-na, I, 2, 34 N 68 E
Farghānah, I 2, 42 N 70 E

G

Gādhinagara, II, 3, 28 N 80 E
Gādhīpura, I, 8, 28 N 78 E
Gambhūrā, I, 3, 34 N 75 E
Gandhāra, I, 2, 36 N 70 E , I, 3, 34 N
73 E , I, 9, I 10—35 N 70 E
Gangā, R, I, 3, 35N 74 E , I, 6, 26 N
82 E , I, 8, 26 N 86 E , II, 1, II, 2, II,
3,—26 N 82 E , II, 6, 23 N 80 E , II,
7 27 N 80 E , II, 8, 30 N 78 E
Gangāikopḍa-Colapuram, II, 10, 15 N 75 E
Garhā Katanka, II, 1, II, 2 —28 N 78 E.
Garhā Mandlā II, 1, II, 2 —24 N 80 E
Gauda, I, 5, 26 N 88 E
Ghārāpurī, I, II, 4, 20 N 72 E
Ghargharā, R, II, 3, 28 N 80 E
Gharj-ash-Shār (Gharjstān), I, 2, 36 N 64
E
Gharjstān, I, 2, 36 N 64 E
Ghaznah (also spelt Ghaznīn, Ghaznī and
Ghazni), I, 1, 35 N 65 E , I, 2, 34 N
68 E
Ghaznī, II, 9, II, 10,—35 N 65 E
Ghūr, II 10, 35 N 65 E
Girinagara, II, 4, 22 N 70 E
Godāvarī, II, 2, II, 4,—20 N 78 E , II, 5,
20 N 74 E
Gondwāna, II 2 24 N 76 E
Gopādrī (Gwalior), II, 1, II, 3, II, 6, II, 8—
28 N 72 E , II, 9, II, 10, 20 N 75 E

Gopādrī (in Kashmir) I 3 35 N 74 E.
 Gopāgrī (Gwalior) I 8 II 1; II 3 II 6
 II 8—28 N 78 E. I, 9 I 10—30 N
 75 E.
 Gopālapura I 3 31 N 75 E.
 Gopālikera II 3 23 N 78 E.
 Gotama-Gaṅgā I 7 II *—20 N 80 E.
 Govardhana khāra II 4 22 N 71 E.
 Govardhana II 5 23 N 73 E.
 Gurjaratī I 9; I 10—25 N 70 E II 3
 21 N 72 E.
 Gwāliyūr II 1 28 N 78 E.

H

Haramukuta I 3, 35 N 74 E.
 Harikela I 6 24 N 90 E.
 Hariyāpa II 7 23 N 76 E.
 Hari Rōd I 2, 36 N 60 E.
 Hārūpēśvara I 5 23 N 90 E.
 Haṣṭakupḍī I 9 30 N 70 E.
 Hāstinapura II 6 II, 8—30 N 78 E.
 Herāt town I 2, 36 N 63 E river I 2
 38 N 60 E.
 Hujamba I 5 26 N 92 E.
 Hindamand R I 2 34 N 64 E.
 Ho-si na (Ghasnah) I 2, 31 N 68 E.
 Huṣkapura I 3 35 N 74 E.

I

Inrapraatha I 8 II, 3 II 6; II 8—30 N
 76 E.

J

Jabal Qutā, I 1 25 N 60 E.
 Jāhnavī II 1 II 3—26 N 82 E.
 Jāhnoḥ sutā II 1 28 N 80 E.
 Jājālanagarī II 2 28 N 82 E.
 Jālandhara I 2 32 N 76 E.
 Jāṅguladada II 3 II 6—28 N 72 E.
 Javālipura II, 5 II 4 II, 5 II 6 II, 8,—
 26 N 78 E.
 Jaxartes I, 2 42 N 68 E.
 Jayadurga II 2, 26 N 80 E.
 Jay pura I 3 33 N 74 E.
 Jayapuradurga II, 1, 26 N 80 E.
 Jayapur maḍḍala, II, 2, 24 N 82 E.
 Jayhūn river I 2, 88 N 66 E.
 Je 4 bhukti I 8 II 1 II 2; II 3 II 4
 II, 6—26 N 78 E.
 Jirpānagara II 4 20 N 72 E.

K

Kābul, I 1 I 9—85 N 65 E.
 Kābulistān I, 2, 36 N 66 E.
 Kaccha II 4 II 5—24 N 68 E. II 8
 24 N 70 E.
 Kajara II, 1 26 N 78 E.
 Kajurāha I 8; II 1—26 N 78 E. I, 10
 25 N 75 E.

Kakajidaha II 1 II 1—26 N 78 E.
 Kākayara dafa II 1 23 N 80 E.
 Kākareṣṭhā II 1; II 2—26 N 80 E.
 Ka la tu R I 5 26 N 83 E.
 Kālindī II 1 II 3 II 8—23 N 78 E II
 6 23 N 76 E.
 Kālinda tsunā II 1 23 N 78 E.
 Kālīḍga I 7 24 N 82 E I 9 I 10—
 28 N 80 E II 1 II 2—22 N 80 E.
 Kālīḍganagara I 7; II 9 II 10 II 10—
 20 N 84 E.
 Kālāhara I 8 I 10 II 1 II 2 II 3 II
 6 II 9 II 10—26 N 80 E.
 Kalpi II 1 23 N 78 E.
 Kalyāpa I 9 I 10; II, 10—20 N 75 E.;
 same as Kalyāpt.
 Kalyāpa (near Bombay) II 4 20 N 72 E.
 Kalyānapura I 3 31 N 74 E.
 Kalyāpt same as Kalyāpa, see above.
 Kāmākhyā I, 5 28 N 90 E. II 10 II 10—
 30 N 90 E.
 Kāmardpa, I 6 I 6—26 N 88 E.; I 9 I
 10 II 10—30 N 85 E.
 Kāmhoja I 9 I 10—25 N 70 E.
 Kāmpīya II 3 II 6 II 7—28 N 78 E.
 Kālci II 9; II 10—15 N 80 E.
 Kāndap I 3 34 N 75 E.
 Kānkanapura I 3, 35 N 74 E.
 Kaniṣkapura I, 3 35 N 74 E.
 Kāntipura I 4 II 9—28 N 64 E.
 Kan to lo I, 2 36 N 70 E.
 Kānyakubja I 4 I 8 II 1 II, 3; II, 6 II,
 7—28 N 78 E. I, 9 II, 9 II 10—
 30 N 76 E.
 Kapāśdeva, I 3 31 N 75 E.
 Kapilavasthu I 4 28 N 82 E.
 Kāpila I 2 36 N 70 E.
 Karmāta I 11 24 N 90 E.
 Karpāha I, 3 35 N 73 E.
 Karuṣasturpa I 6 26 N 68 E. II, 9 25 N
 65 E.
 Karṇāta I 9; I, 10—20 N 75 E.
 Karṇavati, R. II, 1; II, 2; II, 8—26 N
 80 E. town II, 2, 24 N 78 E.
 Kāśī, I, 6; I 8 II, 1 26 N 82 E. II 9 II
 10—20 N 80 E.
 Kāśīkā II, 1 26 N 82 E.
 Kāśmīra, I 9 I 10 II 9 II, 10—25 N 70 E.
 Kāśhānapada, I 4, 28 N 64 E.
 Kāśhāvatī I, 2, 34 N 74 E I, 3 31 N
 75 E.
 Kaśaka bhukti I, 7 23 N 84 E.
 Kaudāmbī I 8 II, 3—26 N 80 E.
 Kaudānt, R I, 4 I 6 I, 6—28 N 86 E.
 Kayal II, 9 II, 10 10 N 75 E.
 Kaudaviva I 6 34 N 86 E.
 Kerala (in Orissa) II, 2 23 N 84 E.
 Kerala II, 10 10 N 75 E.
 Kharjūravāhaka I, 8; I, 10 II, 1; II, 2 II,
 4 II 4 II, 6—26 N 78 E; II 9 25 N
 75 E.
 Khadāli I 3 34 N 75 E.
 Khawāsh R I 1 31 N 60 E.
 Khatakapura II 4 24 N 72 E.
 Khurākhā I, 2 33 N 60 E. II, 9 II, 10, 40 N
 60 E.

Kia-pi-shi, I, 2, 36N 70E
 Kikān, I, 2 30N 66E , II, 9, 30N 65E
 Kinnauj, I, 8, 28N 78E
 Kirāj, I, 1, 25N 65E
 Kirāṭakūpa, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6,—26N 70E
 Kirmān I, 1, II, 9, II 10,—30N 55E
 Kirtigiri, II, 1, II, 2, II, 4, II, 5 —26N 78E
 Kish, I, 2, 40N 66E
 Kiz, I, 1, 30N 60E
 Kizkānān (or Kikān), I, 1, 30N 65E
 Koch-Bihār, I, 5 28N 88E
 Konā-Kona, I, 7, 20N 86E
 Konkana, II, 4, II 5,—20N 72E
 Kosala (North), I, 4, 28N 80E , I, 6, 28N 82E, (South), I, 6, II, 2, 22N 82E , I, 7, 22N 80E
 Kosala (Uttara), I, 8, II 1, II, 3,—28N 82E , I, 9; I, 10 —30N 80E
 Koṭivarṣa I 5, 26N 88E , I, 6, 26N 88E
 Kratha II, 1, II, 2,—22N 78E
 Kṛṣṇā, R, I, 3 35N 73E
 Kukura, II, 4, 26N 70E
 Kuṅgāda, I, 7, II, 2,—20N 84E
 Kuṇḍina II, 2, II 4, II 5,—22N 78E
 Kuṇḍina pura II, 1, 22N 78E
 Kuru, I, 8, II 6, II, 8,—30N 76E , I, 9, I, 10,—30N 75E
 Kurukṣetra, II, 6, II, 7 —30N 74E.
 Kuśika, I, 8, II, 3,—28N 78E
 Kusinārā, I, 4, 28N 82E

L

Lahara, I, 3, 35N 74E
 Laharakoṭṭa, I, 3, 35N 74E
 Lahūr, I, 2, I, 3 —34N 74E
 Lakhuāwatī, II, 10, 15N, 85E
 Lakṣmanāvatī, I, 6, 26N 88E
 Lalitapattana, I, 4, 28N 84E
 Lamghān, I 2, 36N 70E , II, 9, 35N 65E
 Lang-ka-lo I, 1, 30N, 65E
 Laṅṣikā maṇḍala, II, 2, 24N 80E
 Lan-po I, 2, 36N 68E
 Laṭṭalur, I, 9, I, 10 —20N 75E
 Lauhitya R, I, 5, I 6,—28N 90E
 Lauhitya Sindhu, I, 5, 28N 92E
 Lāta, I, 9, I 10—25N 70E , II, 3, 24N 72E
 Ledarī, R, I, 3,—34N, 75E
 Lohara I, 3, 34N, 74E
 Loharakoṭṭa I, 2, I, 3,—34N 74E
 Lohkot, I, 2, I, 3,—33N 74E

M

Madanapura, II, 1, II, 4 —26N 78E
 Madhumatī, I 3, 35N 74E
 Madhuvana, II, 1, 24N 76E
 Madra, I, 3, 33N 74E
 Madurā, II 10, 10N 75E
 Magadha, I, 6, I, 8, II, 1, II, 2,—26N 84E
 Mahācina, I, 4, 30N 86E , I, 8, 28N 86E , I, 9, II, 9,—30N 85E , II, 10, 30N 90E
 Mahā-Kosala, I, 6, I, 7,—24N 82E

Mahānadī, R , I, 7, 22N 82E , II, I, II, 2,—22N, 80E
 Mahārāṣṭra, II, 4, II, 5,—22N 74E.
 Mahendra, I, 9, I, 10,—20N 80E , II, 1, 22N, 82E.
 Mahendragiri, I, 7, II, 2,—20N 84E
 Mahī, R II, 1, II, 3, II, 5, II, 8,—24N 74E
 Māhīmatī, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—24N 76E
 Mahotsavanagara, II, 1, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—26N 78E
 Mahurī, R, I, 9, 35N 74E
 Mālava, I, 9, I, 10,—25N 70E , II, 4, II, 5, 8,—24N 72E
 Mālavaka, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—24N 72E
 Mālavanadī, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8, 24N 76E
 Mālibah, I, 1, 25N, 75E
 Mallabhūmi, I, 4, 36N 82E
 Maṇḍadyapura, I, 10, 30N 70E , probably a mistake for Māṇḍavyapura
 Nandal, I, 1, 30N 70E
 Māṇḍavyapura, II, 3, II, 6, II, 8 —28N 72E
 Mānapura, I, 9, I, 10,—25N, 75E
 Maṇḍapikā, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—24N, 74E, I, 10, 25N, 75E
 Mānkir, I, 10, 20N, 75E
 Maṅgūrah, I, 1, I 10, II, 9, II, 10 —30N, 65E
 Mānyakheṭṭaka, I, 9, I, 10, II, 9,—20N 75E
 Mārtāṇḍa, I, 3, 34N 75E
 Maru, I, 9, I, 10,—30N 70E , II, 3, 28N 72E , II, 4, 26N 72E , II, 6, II, 8,—28N 70E , II, 7, 29N 74E
 Marv, I, 2, 38N 60E
 Mary-āb, I, 2 36N 62E
 Mathurā, II, 3, II, 6, II, 7,—28N 76E
 Mātṛgrāma, I 3 35N 74E
 Matsya, I, 8, II, 1, II, 3, II, 6, II, 7, II, 8,—28N, 76E, I, 9, I, 10,—30N 70E
 Medapāta, II, 1, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—26N 72E., I, 9, I, 10,—25N 70E
 Mekala, I, 7, II, 1, II, 2,—24N, 80E
 Mekalasutā, II, 1, II, 2,—24N 80E , II, 3, 24N, 76E, II, 4, 24N, 78E
 Mirmad, I, 1, 30N, 70E
 Mithilā, country I, 4, I, 8,—28N 84, E , city, I, 4, I, 4,—28N 86E
 Mo-la po, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—24N 72E
 Mudagiri, I, 6, 26N 86E
 Mukran, I, 1, II, 9, II, 10,—30N 60E
 Mulaka, I, 9, 20N, 75E, II, 2, 20N 72E
 Mūlasthanapura, II, 9, II, 10,—35N 70E , II, 6, 32N 70E
 Multān, I, 1, II, 10,—35N 70E , I, 2, II, 6,—32N 70E

N

Naddūla II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—26N 72E
 Nadūladāgikā, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—26N 72E
 Nāgadrahapura II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—26N 72E , II, 9, 25N 7E

Nāgapura II 3, 26N 72E.
 Nahrīaryab I 4 40N 70E.
 Nahr Mūhrān I 1; II 9 II 10—30N 65E.
 Nahr Nishah I 9 32N 69E.
 Nagarkot, I 9 34N 76E.
 Nakhlo I 9 33N 70E.
 Nālandā I, 6 26N 81E.
 Nalapura, II 1; II, 3; II 5; II 6—26N 76E.
 Nāsarūp 6 28N 64E.
 Navadelpa I 6 24N 86E.
 Nandanab I 9 34N 72E.
 Nandikētra I 3, 35N 75E.
 Nānnura I 6 24N 86E.
 Narmadā II 1 II 2,—24N II 8 II, 4;
 II 5 II 8—24N 74E.
 Nasaf I 2, 40N 66E.
 Navasāri I 1 25N 70E.; same as Navasāri
 kā below
 Navasārikā II, 4 II 5; II 8,—23N 72E.
 Nepālā I 4 I 6; I, 8,—23N 84E I, 9; I
 10 II 10,—30N 85E.
 Nūlab I 2, 34N 70E.
 Nurwur II 10 30N 75E.

Q

Qdra II 2, 22N 81E.
 Qdgā R. I 7; II 1; II, 2—22N 82E.
 Oxus river I 1; I, 2,—40N 65E.

P

Padmspura, I 3 35N 74E.
 Padmāvati B. I 6 26N 88E.
 Palt II 2, 24N 69E.
 Pāfāllā I 1 II, 8; II, 7,—26N 78E.; I 4
 26N 78E.; I 8, 30N 78E.; I 9; I 10—
 30N 75E.
 Pāfāllādhārā I, 8 34N 74E.
 Pāfāgahvara I 8 34N 74E.
 Pāpdyā II 9; II 10—10N 75E.
 Parāhāspura, I 8 35N 74E.
 Paryātra mountain I 1 24N 74E. II 4
 II 5 II 8—26N 75E.
 Parpāā (or Parpāā) R. II I II 3 II 4;
 II 5—26N 74E.
 Parpota I 2; II, 3,—34N 74E.
 Parāhwar I 2; II 9; II 10—35N 70E.
 Parapā II 6, 33N 72E.
 Pāthaputra I 6 36N 84E.; II 9 30N 85E.
 Pāvā, I, 4 28N 84E.
 Payōnā, II, 1 II 2; II 4 II 5—B. 22N
 76E.
 Piṣṭapura I 7 18N 80E.
 Pichī I 8, 26N 84E. II 10 25N 85E.
 Pī-to-shih-lo I 1 30N 65E.
 Prāthāa II 4; II 5—22N 70E.
 Prāgijyōtiṣā, I 5 28N 83E.
 Prāthāhānā II 2 II, 4 II 5—20N 74E.
 Prayāga, II 1 II 2 II 3—26N 80E.
 Pribhāka II 5 II 7 II, 8—30N 76E.
 Pūndra I, 6 26N 88E.
 Pūndravardhana, I, 5 I, 6, 26N 88E.; I
 9 I 10 30N 85E.

Parāpādhāhānā I, 3 35N 74E.
 Pūrva Sāgara II 1 20N 81E.
 Puṣṭara II 3; II 6 II, 3—38N 74E.
 Purupottama I 7 II 9 II 10—20N 85E.
 Puṣyānāṇḍa I 3 31N 74E.

Q

Qanbal I 1 30N 65E.
 Qandabil I 1 30N 65E.
 Qandahār I 2 32N 64E.
 Qannashār I 1 30N 60E.
 Qandj I 1; I 8 I 10—38N 80E.
 Qandar I 1 30N 65E.

R

Rāghā I 5 24N 83E I, 7 24N 86E. I
 9 I 10 25N 85E.
 Rājagṛha, I 6, 21N 84E.
 Rājamahendri II 9 20N 80E.
 Rājapuri I 3 34N 74E.
 Rāmāvatī, I 6 26N 83E.
 Ramapūṣṭavi R. I 3 31N 74E.
 Rapastambhapura II 3; II 6 II 18; II
 10—29N 75E.
 Ratnapura I 7 II, 2 II 10 24N 82E.
 Ravā B. I, 7 24N 80E.; II 1 II 2; II,
 5—24N 78E. II 3 II, 4—24N 76E.
 Rkṣa II 1 II 3; II 8,—24N 76E. some-
 times spelt Rkṣavat.
 Rkṣavat II, 4 II, 5—24N 76E. sometimes
 called Rkṣa.
 Rukhhaḥ I, 1 35N 65E.; I, 2, 32N 64E.

S

Sahya I 9 I 10—20N 10E. II 4 II 5—
 22N 74E.
 Sakala, I 8 33N 74E.
 Sakambhari II 3 II 5 II, 6 II 8—23N
 74E.; II 10, 30N 75E.
 Samāla I 3 35N 74E.
 Samatata I, 5 I, 6 I, 9 I 10—24N 90E.
 Sang hopo-lo I, 2 34N 72E.
 Sankarapura I 3 35N 74E.
 Sankosh I, 5 28N 88E.
 Sapādālakha in Rajputna II, 3 II, 7 II,
 8,—26N 74E.
 Sarabhapura II, 2, 22N 82E.
 Saraharagadh II 2, 22N 82E.
 Sarasvatī R. in Gujarat II 3 24N 75E
 II, 4 II 5 II 6 II 8—24N 70E. River
 in the Panjab and Baggotana II, 7 30N
 75E.
 Sarayō, R. II 3 26N 80E.
 Satsat; Is II 4 II 5—20N 72E.
 Satsyapa II, 4 II, 5 II, 6—26N 70E.
 Sanbhāgyapura II, 2, 24N 80E.
 Saurāstra I, 9; I, 10—25N 70E.; II 10,
 25N 70E. same as Saurāstra.
 Savira I 9 I 10—30N 65E.
 Savara I, 7 23N 78E.

Varadā, R. II 1; II 2—28N 78E; II 4; II 5—22N 78E
 Varāhamdā I, 8 35N 74E
 Vārāṇasī, I, 8; I, 9; II, 1; II 2,—3dN 82E.
 II 9 II, 10—30N 90E
 Vardhamāna, II, 4; II 5 II 8—24N 70E.
 Vardhamānapura, I 10 23N 70E
 Varendri I 5 I, 6—26N 88E.
 Vāridurga, II, 1 23N 80E
 Varṇāśī R.; sometimes spelt Parṇāśī II, 1
 II 8; II 4; II 5; II 6—26N 74E
 Vartula I, 3 31N 75E
 Vātāpi pura I 9 I 10—30N 75E.
 Vatas I 8; II 8—26N 80E.
 Vaylagarh, I 7 II 2,—33N 80E.
 Vedgi, town I 7 I 9; I 10—30N 80E;
 country I 7; II 9 II 10—20N 80E
 Veeḷi, I, 4, 23N 84E.
 Vetravati R. II 1 II 2 II 3; II 4; II 5
 II 6 II 8—24N 78E.
 Vidarbha I 5; 23N 94E; I 7 22N 80E;
 II 8 II 4—22N 78E II, 5 22N 76E;
 II, 9 25N 75E.
 Videha I, 4 I 6 I 8—26N 84E I 9; I
 10—30N 85E.
 Vijayapura, I, 6, 31N 88E.
 Vikramapura, I 6, 31N 90E II. 10 25N
 90E.
 Vindhya, name loosely applied to the whole
 chain of hills ranges from Gujarat to Raj-
 mahal lying on both sides of the Narmadā
 II 1 II, 3 II 4; II 5—24N 74E
 strictly speaking it denoted the range of
 hills lying to the south of Narmadā II 1
 II, 4 II, 5—22N 76E

Virāṇaka I 3 35N 73E
 Viśālāṣā I, 3 31N 75E.
 Viśākā I 3 31N 75E.
 Vitastā I, 3, 34N 73E
 Vitastatra I, 3 31N 75E
 Vodaṁmaydā I 8, 30N 78E.; I 9; I 10,—
 30N 75E
 Vṛddhanagara II, 5 21N 72E
 Vyaghra R. I 7 29N 82E.
 Vyāghrapallī II, 5 21N 72E.
 Vyāghratattīmapāḍā I 5 21N 88E; I 6,
 24N 88E

W

Wādī Farah I 2 31N 60E
 Wahind I 2, 26N 72E.
 Wayhand II 9 35N 70E.

Y

Yakṣadhara I, 3 35N 73E.
 Yamunā I 1; II 3—23N 76E.; II 1; II 6;
 II 8.—28N 78E.; II 7 26N 80E.
 Yayātīnagara II 2 22N 82E.
 Yoginipura, II 3 II 6 II 7 II 8 II 9
 II 10—30N 76E

Z

Zibullatan, I, 1 35N 65E I 2, 31N 64E.
 Zamīn I, 2, 33N 64E.
 Zaranj I 2, 31N 60E

CORRIGENDA

P. 666, l. 8	for Purāṇa puruṣa	read Pūraṇa puruṣa
Pp. 668, 679 & 697	„ Kharjjuravāhaka	„ Kharjjuravāhaka
P 670, l 2, fn 1	„ Bīrūnī's	„ Bīrūnī's
P. 677, l 12	„ Lalitpur district of U P.	„ Lalitpur Tahsil, Jhansi district of U P
P 678, l 2, fn 2	„ Gopagiri	„ Gopagiri
P 681, l 12	„ Mahmūd	„ Maḥmūd
P 686, l 15	„ <i>Saṃvat</i> 1008	„ <i>Saṃvat</i> 1058
P 690, l 10 from foot	„ pursuit of Bīdā,	„ pursuit of Bīdā
P 699, l 14	„ Kahirha grant	„ Khairha grant
P 700, l 3 fn 3	„ Chanderi	„ Chanderi
P 702, l 9, fn 2	„ Caulukyās, the traditional enemy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see	„ Caulukyās, see
P 713, l 12	„ Sagar district	„ Saugor district
P 718, l 3, fn 1	„ Baṣeṣṭar stone inscription	„ Baṣeṣṭar stone-inscription
Pp 724 & 725	„ Rewa grant	„ Rewah grant
P 727, l 4 from foot	„ in the west	„ in the east
P 732, l 11	„ <i>Saṃvat</i> 1237	„ <i>Saṃvat</i> 1337
P 735, l 11	„ 1544 in A D	„ 1544 A D
P 736, l 3	„ Chandravarman	„ Candravarman
P 745 l 6 from foot	„ Kokkalla (c 860-900)	„ Kokkalla (c 875-925 A D)
P 745 fn 2, l 6	„ Rāṣṭrakūṭa	„ Rāṣṭrakūṭa
P 749, l 10	„ Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa I	„ Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa II
Pp 762 & 772	„ Rewa	„ Rewah
Pp 769, 844, 845, 847, 850 & 952	„ Udaipur <i>praśasti</i>	„ Udayapur <i>praśasti</i>
P 811, l 17	„ Brahmaravadra	„ Bhramaravadra
P 828, l 18	„ Nīgranthanātha	„ Nīgranthanātha
P 834, fn 1	„ Ranastambhapura	„ Ranastambhapura
P 842, l 1 from foot	„ Kīrātakūpa	„ Kīrātakūpa
P 853, l 18	„ Narwar grants at Narwar, a village	„ Narwar (Narwal, Narwahl) at Narwar (Narwal, Narwahl), an estate
P 854, l 1 from foot	„ o the	„ to be
P 864, ll 9-10 from foot,	„ An image in the	„ An image in the
P 876 l 2	„ (c 1158-60 to 1187 A D)	„ (c 1159 60 to 1187 A D)
P 892, fn 4	„ <i>AI</i> , Vol LXI	„ <i>IA</i> , Vol LXI
P 903, fn 6	„ The <i>Aṣṭu</i> P 56, No 2111	„ Omit this portion
P 904, l 1 from foot	„ Balvan plates of Hammīra	„ Balvan inscription of Hammīra
P 908, l 18	„ Paramāras	„ Pramāras
P 914, l 6 from foot	„ Jodhpur State	„ Sirohi State
P 916, l 1	„ Kāśīśvara	„ Kāśeśvara
P 921, l 2	„ Panhera	„ Panahera
P 928, l 1	„ (c 1192-1200 A D ?)	„ (c 1136-1144 A D ?)
P 929 l 13 from foot	„ Dambarasimhā	„ Dambarasimha
P 930, l 2	„ Vākpātīrāja	„ Vākpātīrāja
P 967, l 19	„ Bopāṇava-stambhana	„ Bopāṇava sthabhana
P 977, l 3 from foot	„ <i>Pandita</i> Prasarvadnya	„ <i>Pandita</i> Prasarvajña
P 979 fn 2	„ Kad district	„ Kadī district
P 1028, l 12 from foot	„ authors of	„ author of
P 1041, fn 4	„ Karohapa	„ Kārohaṇa
P 1046, fn 1	„ Rūdādevī	„ Rūdādevī
P 1049, ll 5-6	„ ad-Dabbāk	„ ad-Dabbāk
P 1056, l 12	„ as the date of Mahīśvaradāma	„ as the date of the beginnings of the family of Bhartṛvadḍa II
„ fn 5	„ (= Dhruvabhata)	„ (= Dhruvabhata)
P 1059, l 19	„ Ujjain	„ Ujjain
P 1062, fn 1	„ Tanjore	„ Tanjore
„ fn 3	„ Ajayapāla	„ Ajayarāja
P. 1066, l 11	„ Mayurapadma	„ Mayūrapadma
„ fn 9	„ Cāhavāṇa	„ Cāhavāṇa

	<i>for donatory position</i>	<i>read donatory portion</i>
P 1067 l. 2	Ajayapāla	Ajayadava
P 1071 fn. 6	Ajayapāla's queen	Ajayadava's queen
P 1072 l. 5	Śāraṅgadhara's	Śāraṅgadhara's
P 1077 fn. 1	country of	country of
P 1083 l. 16	Ghurī	Gūrī
P 10 6 l. 13	Shāhī	Shāhī
P 1101 l. 1 from foot	TV Vol I	TN Vol II
P 1103 fn. 2	(c. 1110-55 A.D.)	(c. 1010-55 A.D.)
P 1104 l. 2 from foot	Shanderaka-gaccha	Shanderaka-gaccha
P 1109 l. 3 from foot	Boparavastabhana	Boparavastabhana
P 1110 l. 10	Lakṣmaṇa at Varipadyaka	Lakṣmaṇa at Varipadyaka
P 1120 l. 3	differences are	difference is
P 1135 l. 7 from foot	Ajayapāla	Ajayarāja
P 1137 l. 5	(6) Cākhmānas of Naddula	(7) Cākhmānas of Naddula
P 1139	(7) Cākhmānas of Jārdhīpura	(8) Cākhmānas of Jārdhīpura
P 1140	(8) Cākhmānas of Satyapura	(9) Cākhmānas of Satyapura
P 1141	Muḥammad Tughluq	Muḥammad ibn Tughluq
P 1145 l. 7 from foot	Hariyānaka	Hariyānaka
P 1146 l. 6	(c. 803-90 A.D.)	(c. 803-907 A.D.)
P 1147 l. 4	Ghap(āvarā)	Ghap(āvarā)
P 1160 l. 7	p. 1171 fn. 4	p. 1172, fn. 4
P 1174 fn. 2	(alias Nṛvarman)	(also called Nṛvarman)
P 1175 l. 9		

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. **The Dynastic History of Northern India Early Mediaeval Period.** With a Foreword by Dr L. D. Barnett, Vol I 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp xl + 664 + 11, tricolour maps 10 Calcutta University Press, 1931 Rs. 10. Foreign 15s.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, October, 1933 — "In this work Dr H. C. Ray gives us one of the most important contributions to Indian history that has appeared in recent years. The period covered is the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the age of transition from Hindu to Muslim sovereignty in Northern India. It is the flourishing period of the Rajput dynasties, for whose history we have hitherto been too much dependent on late tradition or Muslim sources. These are now corrected from epigraphical and Hindu literary records. It is the period of contact and interaction of Muslim and Hindu cultures, and a critical investigation of the mutual influences and borrowings is most important for our comprehension of the history of the later period. Dr Ray has studied the very considerable material for the history of the period which is available in Hindu and Muhammadan, literary and epigraphic sources. He has digested it with great critical ability and given a consecutive and coherent account of the various kingdoms into which Northern India was divided.

This volume, the first of three, deals with Sind, the Panjab, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam, Kanauj, Bengal and Orissa. The greater part of the ground is covered for the first time. It is only rarely, as in the case of the Pālas and Gurjaras, that Dr Ray has had a path made for him, but in such cases also he is able to throw much new light on a complicated story. One does not know what to admire most, the skill with which Dr Ray has pieced together the scattered Muslim references in Arabic sources and reconciled them with the scanty Indian records in dealing with Sind and the North-west, or his critical treatment of the Kashmir, Nepal, and other chronicles, or his command of the extensive epigraphical material in his treatment of the eastern part of the area he covers in this volume.

The admirably clear maps are a feature of the book, and the genealogical lists add to its value, while it has an unusually satisfactory index. The book has been printed with care which it merits. It is readable, comprehensive, and accurate. Dr Ray has undertaken a heavy task, and this first volume shows that he will carry it through most successfully. We need say no more for, referring to Dr Ray's modest quotation in his preface, it will take a very clever man with a very fine sieve to find faults in his book. We are also grateful to the Calcutta University for making this great work fully accessible."

Lusac's Oriental List and Book Review Quarterly, Vol XLIII, No 4, Oct-Dec, 1932 "In Dr Hemchandra Ray's 'Dynastic History of Northern India,' Vol I of which has been published we have a contribution to Indian History of the first rank. Dr Ray has utilised the vast amount of material in the sources very thoroughly, sifted it most completely, and given us a consecutive history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India in this period, so thoroughly and satisfactorily that one forgets the tremendous amount of preliminary labour involved. A feature of the book is the valuable maps and genealogical tables. Dr Ray's mastery of Arabic sources is well seen in his chapters on Sind and on the Shahis of Kandahar, his critical judgment in dealing with Hindu literary sources is well seen in his account of Kashmir, while in dealing with Bengal he shows his command of the epigraphical material for the history of India, and reveals an uncanny skill in making a consecutive story out of what are only really incidental references. The author's courage in undertaking this great task is only equalled by the uniform success with which he has achieved his aim. We shall look forward to the two concluding volumes of the work, which put its author in the front rank of writers on Indian History. "The Dynastic History of Northern India" is the most important contribution to the Indian history that we have noticed in these pages for many years. It is readable, accurate and exhaustive, and it is a matter of pride to us in London that the book is a product of the School of Oriental Studies."

Prof P W Thomas (Oxford) : It is a very full in fact so far as I am aware exhaustive assemblage of all materials relating to one of the most obscure periods whether contained in Indian or extra Indian (Persian Arabic etc.) sources. The work seems to me to testify to great care and accuracy and it would be a valuable aid to study and book of reference for scholars at every stage.

Dr L D Barnett (British Museum) : I consider that Dr Ray's work is the most valuable history of India that has appeared for many years and cordially congratulate him and the University of Calcutta on the publication of the first volume. A book of this character was urgently needed both in India and in the West. There exists no general history of India which treats the subject with such fullness in detail and the present work is equally marked by soundness of judgment and synoptic width of view.

Prof Dr M Winternitz (Prague) : This is certainly one of the most valuable publications issued from the Calcutta University Press and the most comprehensive work I know of, on an important period (c 918 to 1206 A.D.) of Indian History. As it is based on a careful examination of literary epigraphic and numismatic materials it will be indispensable to every student of Indian history. The coloured maps the genealogical tables the synchronistic table at the end of the volume, and the full index will be found extremely useful. I am looking forward with great interest, to the continuation of the work and more especially to the third volume which is to deal with the economic, social and religious and literary history of the time.

Prof Jules Bloch (Paris) : "I shall find this book very useful indeed: I admire that vast knowledge of the author and the thorough and critical way he has dealt with a bewildering mass of texts, mainly epigraphical. I am also very thankful for the ten maps carefully prepared by the author himself where old names are distinguished by special ink they add a lot to the value of the book, valuable as the text is.

Prof A Bernadale Keith (Edinburgh) : Dr Ray's treatise manifests every sign of careful research and historical skill in the estimation of the value of evidence as well as ability to present an ordered narrative with precision and lucidity and I shall look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the remaining volumes which will constitute a most notable contribution to our knowledge of an obscure and important epoch of the history of the northern dynasties.

Prof H J Rapson (Cambridge) : Please accept my sincere congratulations on your success in exploring all the various sources for the history of Northern India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest, and on the clear and scholarly manner in which you have recorded the results of your investigations.

Sir Thomas Arnold : "This carefully compiled treatise based on a searching examination of materials that have not hitherto received sufficient attention from historical students, constitute a really important addition to the literature on the history of India.

J Allen (British Museum) : "Its thorough and critical examination and comparison of all the sources for the period literary and epigraphical, Muslim and Hindu, render it a mine of information on a very complicated and obscure period.

Sir D Ross : "I consider it a most valuable contribution to the history of a period which has not been hitherto treated from the Hindu and the Muslim point of view.

Prof H. H. Dodwell (School of Oriental Studies, London) "Ray's work on the Dynastic History of Northern India will be exceedingly useful to all students of the period"

Prof V. Minorsky (Paris) "I see what an amount of work it represents! You must be sincerely congratulated on the results"

Prof Dr F. O. Schrader (Kiel) "The impression I have received from the book is a most favourable one. This is, indeed, an admirable work on the publication of which the University must be congratulated. I shall feel much obliged to you for sending me also the subsequent volumes, of which the third one, as it deals with the social and economic conditions, will be particularly interesting for me"

Dr E. J. Thomas (Cambridge) "There is no doubt of the need of such an undertaking, and the way in which you are carrying it out with such clearness of statement and fulness of references and soundness of judgment and also with such high sense of requirements of historical research fully justifies all the appreciative notices that you have had. I am glad that the work is to the honour of India and I trust that it will have an important influence on the advance of Indian historical research generally"

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge Band 18, Leipzig, 1934,— . So ist ein recht nützliches Nachschlagewerk entstanden

2 Notes on War and Espionage in Ancient India, Parts I & II. *Calcutta Review*, 1926, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol XIV, 1927 Calcutta University Press.

The History of Ancient Indian war and military movements as well as espionage is a highly interesting study. Here are the first two instalments of a comprehensive study on the subject.

3 Economic Policy and Functions of the Kautilian State. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol XIII, 1926 Calcutta University Press

This is the revised and enlarged version of the author's paper—"Was State Socialism known in Ancient India?" Published in 1922 in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol III, Part I, *Orientalia*. The author has drawn attention to an interesting parallel between the economic systems of Germany of Bismarck and the Kautilian State.

4 Madra. *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Vol XVIII, 1922.

This paper for the first time drew the attention of scholars to the need of making a thorough study of the Tribal Janapadas of Ancient India. It traces the history of Madra from the earliest times to the eleventh century when it was incorporated in the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni.

Varadh, B. II 1; II 2,—38N 78E; II 4; II 5—23N 78E.
 Varāhamāla I 3 35N 74E.
 Vārṇasī, I 8; I, 9; II 1; II 2—31N 81E; II 9; II 10,—30N 80E.
 Vardhamāna, II, 4; II 5 II, 8—24N 70E.
 Vardhamānapura, I 10 25N 70E.
 Varendri, I 5 I, 6—23N 68E.
 Vāridurga, II 1 23N 80E.
 Varpāśā R. sometimes spelt Parpāśā II 1; II 3 II 4 II 5; II 6—20N 74E.
 Vartula I, 3, 34N 78E.
 Vātāpi pure I 9 1 10,—20N 76E.
 Vates I 8 II 3—28N 80E.
 Vayiragath I 7; II 3,—32N 80E.
 Venṭi, town I 7 I, 9 I 10—20N 80E.
 country I 7; II 9 II 10—20N 80E.
 Vesāli, I 4 23N 81E.
 Vetravati, B II 1 II 2; II 3 II 4; II 5; II 6 II 8—24N 78E.
 Vidarbha I, 5 38N 94E I 7 22N 80E.
 II 3 II 4—32N 78E; II 5 22N 78E.
 II 9 25N 78E.
 Videha I, 4 I 6 I 8—26N 84E; I 9 I 10—30N 85E.
 Vijayapura I, 4, 24N 83E.
 Vikramapura I 6 24N 90E II 10 25N 90E.
 Vindhya, name loosely applied to the whole chain of hills ranges from Gujarat to Rajasthan lying on both sides of the Narmadā II 1 II, 8 II, 41 II 5—24N 74E strictly speaking it denoted the range of hills lying to the south of Narmadā II, 1; II, 4 II 5—22N 76E.

Virāṇaka, I 3 35N 73E.
 Viśālāṣā I, 3 31N 78E.
 Viśākā, I 3 34N 78E.
 Vītastā I 3 34N 78E.
 Vītastatira I 8 34N 76E.
 Vodaṁmayūṭā I 8 30N 78E. I 9; I 10,—30N 78E.
 Vṛddhanagara II, 5 24N 72E.
 Vyaghra R. I 7 22N 82E.
 Vyāghrapallā II 5 24N 79E.
 Vyāghratīrī mapṇḍā I, 5 24N 88E I 6 24N 88E.

W

Wādī Farah I 2 31N 60E.
 Wabind I 9 20N 71E.
 Wayhaud II 9 35N 70E

Y

Yakṣadhara I, 3 35N 73E.
 Yamunā, I 1; II 3—23N 76E; II 1 II 6; II, 8—23N 78E; II, 7 23N 80E.
 Yayātinagara II 2 22N 81E.
 Yoginipura, II 3 II, 6 II 7 II, 8 II, 9 II 10—30N 76E

Z

Zābulistan, I 1, 35N 65E; I 2, 31N 64E.
 Zamin I 2, 32N 64E.
 Zaranj, I 2, 31N 60E

CORRIGENDA

P 666, l. 8	for	Purāna puruṣa	read	Pūrana puruṣa
Pp. 668, 679 & 687	„	Kharjjuravāhaka	„	Kharjūravāhaka
P. 670, l. 2, fn 1	„	Birūnī's	„	Bīrūnī's
P 677, l. 12	„	Lalitpur district of U P	„	Lalitpur Tahsil, Jhansi district of U P
P. 678, l. 2, fn 2	„	Gopagiri	„	Gopagiri
P 681, l. 12	„	Mahmūd	„	Mahmūd
P 686, l. 15	„	Samvat 1008	„	Samvat 1058
P 690, l. 10 from foot	„	pursuit of Bīdā,	„	pursuit of Bīdā
P 699, l. 14	„	Kahirha grant	„	Khairha grant
P 700, l. 3 fn 3	„	Chanderi	„	Chanderi
P 702, l. 9, fn 2	„	Caulukyās, the traditional enemy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, see	„	Caulukyās, see
P 713, l. 12	„	Sagar district	„	Saugor district
P 718, l. 3, fn 1	„	Baṣeṣvar stone inscription	„	Baṣeṣvar stone-inscription
Pp 724 & 725	„	Rewa grant	„	Rewah grant
P 727, l. 4 from foot	„	in the west	„	in the east
P 732, l. 11	„	Samvat 1237	„	Samvat 1387
P 735, l. 11	„	1544 in A D	„	1544 A D
P 736, l. 3	„	Chandravarman	„	Candravarman
P 745 l. 6 from foot	„	Kokkalla (c 860-900)	„	Kokkalla (c 875 925 A D)
P 745 fn 2, l. 6	„	Rāṣṭrakūṭa	„	Rāṣṭrakūṭa
P 749, l. 10	„	Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa I	„	Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa II
Pp 762 & 772	„	Rewa	„	Rewah
Pp 769, 841, 845, 847, 850 & 952	„	Udaipur prasasti	„	Udayapur prasasti
P 811, l. 17	„	Brahmaravadra	„	Bhramaravadra
P 828, l. 18	„	Nīgranthanātha	„	Nīgranthanātha
P 834, fn 1	„	Ranastambhapura	„	Ranastambhapura
P 842, l. 1 from foot	„	Kīrātakūpa	„	Kīrātakūpa
P 853, l. 18	„	Narwar grants at Narwar, a village	„	Narwar (Narwal, Narwahl) at Narwar (Narwal, Narwahl), an estate
P 854, l. 1 from foot	„	o the	„	to be
P 864, ll 9-10 from foot,	„	An image in the	„	An image in the
P 876 l. 2	„	(c 1158-60 to 1187 A D)	„	(c 1159 60 to 1187 A D)
P 892, fn 4	„	AI, Vol LXI	„	IA, Vol LXI
P 903, fn 6	„	The Aṣṭu P 56, No 2111	„	Omit this portion
P 904, l. 1 from foot	„	Balvan plates of Hammīra	„	Balvan inscription of Hammīra
P 908, l. 18	„	Paramāras	„	Pramāras
P 914, l. 6 from foot	„	Jodhpur State	„	Sirohi State
P 916, l. 1	„	Kaśīśvara	„	Kāśeśvara
P 921, l. 2	„	Panhera	„	Panahera
P 928, l. 1	„	(c 1192-1200 A D ?)	„	(c 1196-1144 A D ?)
P 929 l. 13 from foot	„	Dambarasimbhā	„	Dambarasimha
P 930, l. 2	„	Vakpatirāja	„	Vākpatirāja
P 967, l. 19	„	Bopapava-stambhana	„	Bopapava sthabhana
P 977, l. 3 from foot	„	Pandita Prasavardnya	„	Pandita Prasavardnya
P 979 fn 2	„	Kad district	„	Kadi district
P 1028, l. 12 from foot	„	authors of	„	author of
P 1041, fn 4	„	Karohana	„	Kārohana
P 1046, fn 1	„	Rudādevī	„	Rūdādevī
P 1049, ll 5 6	„	ad-Dahbāk	„	aḍ-Dahbāk
P 1056, l. 12	„	as the date of Mahīśvaradāma	„	as the date of the beginnings of the family of Bhartṛvaḍḍa II
„ fn 5	„	(=Dhruvabhata)	„	(=Dhruvabhata)
P 1059, l. 19	„	Ujjain	„	Ujjain
P 1062, fn 1	„	Tanjore	„	Tanjore
„ fn 3	„	Ajayapāla	„	Ajayarāja
P. 1066, l. 11	„	Mayurapadra	„	Mayūrapadra
„ fn 9	„	Cāhavāna	„	Cāhavāṇa

	<i>for</i>	<i>donatory position</i>	<i>read</i>	<i>donatory position</i>
P 1067 l. 3		Ajayapāla		Ajayadeva
P 1071 fn. 6		Ajayapāla s queen		Ajayadeva s queen
P 1072, l. 5		Śārṅgadhara s		Śārṅgadhara s
P 1077 fn. 1		country of		country of
P 1082, l. 16		Ghurī		Gūṛī
P 10 6 l. 12		Shāhi		Shāhi
P 1101 l. 1 from foot		TV Vol. I		TN Vol. II
P 1103 fn. 2		(c. 1110-55 A.D.)		(c. 1010-55 A.D.)
P 1104 l. 2 from foot		Shanderaka gaccha		Shanderaka gaccha
P 1169 l. 3 from foot		Bopapavastabhana		Bopapava-sibabhana
P 1110 l. 10		Lakṣmaṇa at Varipadyaka		Lakṣmaṇa at Varpadyaka
P 1120 l. 3		differences are		differences is
P 1135 l. 7 from foot		Ajayapāla		Ajayarāja
P 1137 l. 5		(6) Cāhamānas of Nadda		(7) Cāhamānas of Naddula
P 1139		(7) Cāhamānas of Jācāhpura		(8) Cāhamānas of Jorāhpura
P 1140		(8) Cāhamānas of Satyapura		(9) Cāhamānas of Satyapura
P 1141		Muḥammad Tughluq		Muḥammad ibn Tughluq
P 1145 l. 7 from foot		Harīyāpaka		Harīyāpaka
P 1146 l. 6		(c. 863-900 A.D.)		(c. 863-907 A.D.)
P 1147 l. 4		Ghaṇṭāvaraḥ		Ghaṇṭāvaraḥ
P 1160 l. 7		p. 1171 fn. 4		p. 1171, fn. 4
P 1174 fn. 6		(alias Nṛvarman)		(also called Nṛvarman)
P 1175 l. 2				

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. **The Dynastic History of Northern India Early Mediaeval Period.** With a Foreword by Dr L. D. Barnett, Vol I $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp xl+664+n, tricolour maps 10 Calcutta University Press, 1931 Rs. 10. Foreign 15s.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, October, 1933 —“ In this work Dr H C Ray gives us one of the most important contributions to Indian history that has appeared in recent years. The period covered is the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the age of transition from Hindu to Muslim sovereignty in Northern India. It is the flourishing period of the Rajput dynasties, for whose history we have hitherto been too much dependent on late tradition or Muslim sources. These are now corrected from epigraphical and Hindu literary records. It is the period of contact and interaction of Muslim and Hindu cultures, and a critical investigation of the mutual influences and borrowings is most important for our comprehension of the history of the later period. Dr Ray has studied the very considerable material for the history of the period which is available in Hindu and Muhammadan, literary and epigraphic sources. He has digested it with great critical ability and given a consecutive and coherent account of the various kingdoms into which Northern India was divided.

This volume, the first of three, deals with Sind, the Panjab, Kashmir, Nepal and Assam, Kanauj, Bengal and Orissa. The greater part of the ground is covered for the first time. It is only rarely, as in the case of the Palas and Gurjaras, that Dr Ray has had a path made for him, but in such cases also he is able to throw much new light on a complicated story. One does not know what to admire most, the skill with which Dr Ray has pieced together the scattered Muslim references in Arabic sources and reconciled them with the scanty Indian records in dealing with Sind and the North-west, or his critical treatment of the Kashmir, Nepal, and other chronicles, or his command of the extensive epigraphical material in his treatment of the eastern part of the area he covers in this volume.

The admirably clear maps are a feature of the book, and the genealogical lists add to its value, while it has an unusually satisfactory index. The book has been printed with care which it merits. It is readable, comprehensive, and accurate. Dr Ray has undertaken a heavy task, and this first volume shows that he will carry it through most successfully. We need say no more for, referring to Dr Ray's modest quotation in his preface, it will take a very clever man with a very fine sieve to find faults in his book. We are also grateful to the Calcutta University for making this great work fully accessible.”

Lusac's Oriental List and Book Review Quarterly, Vol XLIII, No 4, Oct-Dec, 1932 “ In Dr Hemchandra Ray's 'Dynastic History of Northern India,' Vol I of which has been published we have a contribution to Indian History of the first rank. Dr Ray has utilised the vast amount of material in the sources very thoroughly, sifted it most completely, and given us a consecutive history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India in this period, so thoroughly and satisfactorily that one forgets the tremendous amount of preliminary labour involved. A feature of the book is the valuable maps and genealogical tables. Dr Ray's mastery of Arabic sources is well seen in his chapters on Sind and on the Shahis of Kandahar, his critical judgment in dealing with Hindu literary sources is well seen in his account of Kashmir, while in dealing with Bengal he shows his command of the epigraphical material for the history of India, and reveals an uncanny skill in making a consecutive story out of what are only really incidental references. The author's courage in undertaking this great task is only equalled by the uniform success with which he has achieved his aim. We shall look forward to the two concluding volumes of the work, which put its author in the front rank of writers on Indian History. “ The Dynastic History of Northern India ” is the most important contribution to the Indian history that we have noticed in these pages for many years. It is readable, accurate and exhaustive, and it is a matter of pride to us in London that the book is a product of the School of Oriental Studies.”

Prof F W Thomas (Oxford) : " It is a very full in fact so far as I am aware exhaustive assemblage of all materials relating to one of the most obscure periods, whether contained in Indian or extra Indian (Persian Arabic, etc) sources. The work seems to me to testify to great care and accuracy and it would be a valuable aid to study and book of reference for scholars at every stage

Dr L D Barnett (British Museum) : " I consider that Dr Ray's work is the most valuable history of India that has appeared for many years and cordially congratulate him and the University of Calcutta on the publication of the first volume. A book of this character was urgently needed both in India and in the West. There exists no general history of India which treats the subject with such fullness in detail and this present work is equally marked by soundness of judgment and synopsis width of view

Prof Dr M Winternitz (Prague) : This is certainly one of the most valuable publications issued from the Calcutta University Press and the most comprehensive work I know of on an important period (c 918 to 1196 A.D.) of Indian History. As it is based on a careful examination of literary epigraphic and numismatic materials it will be indispensable to every student of Indian history. The coloured maps the genealogical tables, the synchronistic table at the end of the volume and the full index will be found extremely useful. I am looking forward with great interest to the continuation of the work and more especially to the third volume which is to deal with the economic social and religious and literary history of the time.

Prof Jules Bloch (Paris) : " I shall find this book very useful indeed : I admire that vast knowledge of the author and the thorough and critical way he has dealt with a bewildering mass of texts, mainly epigraphical. I am also very thankful for the ten maps carefully prepared by the author himself where old names are distinguished by special ink they add a lot to the value of the book, valuable as the text is.

Prof A Bernadose Keith (Edinburgh) : Dr Ray's treatise manifests every sign of careful research and historical skill in the estimation of the value of evidence as well as ability to present an ordered narrative with precision and lucidity, and I shall look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the remaining volumes which will constitute a most notable contribution to our knowledge of an obscure and important epoch of the history of the northern dynasties.

Prof E J Rapson (Cambridge) : Please accept my sincere congratulations on your success in exploring all the various sources for the history of Northern India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest, and on the clear and scholarly manner in which you have recorded the results of your investigations.

Sir Thomas Arnold : This carefully compiled treatise based on a searching examination of materials that have not hitherto received sufficient attention from historical students, constitute a really important addition to the literature on the history of India.

J Allan (British Museum) : " Its thorough and critical examination and comparison of all the sources for the period literary and epigraphical, Muslim and Hindu, render it a mine of information on a very complicated and obscure period

Sir D Ross : " I consider it a most valuable contribution to the history of a period which has not been hitherto treated from the Hindu and the Muslim point of view

Prof H. H. Dodwell (School of Oriental Studies, London) "Ray's work on the Dynastic History of Northern India will be exceedingly useful to all students of the period"

Prof. V. Minorsky (Paris) "I see what an amount of work it represents! You must be sincerely congratulated on the results"

Prof Dr F. O. Schrader (Kiel) "...The impression I have received from the book is a most favourable one. This is, indeed, an admirable work on the publication of which the University must be congratulated. I shall feel much obliged to you for sending me also the subsequent volumes, of which the third one, as it deals with the social and economic conditions, will be particularly interesting for me."

Dr E. J. Thomas (Cambridge) "...There is no doubt of the need of such an undertaking, and the way in which you are carrying it out with such clearness of statement and fullness of references and soundness of judgment and also with such high sense of requirements of historical research fully justifies all the appreciative notices that you have had. I am glad that the work is to the honour of India and I trust that it will have an important influence on the advance of Indian historical research generally."

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge Band 18, Leipzig, 1934,—, So ist ein recht nützliches Nachschlagewerk entstanden

2 Notes on War and Espionage in Ancient India, Parts I & II.
Calcutta Review, 1926, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIV, 1927 Calcutta University Press.

The History of Ancient Indian war and military movements as well as espionage is a highly interesting study. Here are the first two instalments of a comprehensive study on the subject.

3. Economic Policy and Functions of the Kautilian State *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIII, 1926 Calcutta University Press

This is the revised and enlarged version of the author's paper—"Was State Socialism known in Ancient India?" Published in 1922 in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part I, *Orientalia*. The author has drawn attention to an interesting parallel between the economic systems of Germany of Bismarck and the Kautilian State.

4 Madra *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Vol. XVIII, 1922.

This paper for the first time drew the attention of scholars to the need of making a thorough study of the Tribal Janapadas of Ancient India. It traces the history of Madra from the earliest times to the eleventh century when it was incorporated in the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni.

- Vikramasindhya *Mahārāja-kula* last Paramāra king of Abu 910
 Vikramasindhya (same as Vikāmaśi) Cāhamāra king of Sanchor 1135
 Vikrama vatsara 731
 Vikraunt (?) *Vijaya* 733
 Villāsapura place of residence of the Candella Paramār 715 716
 Vilhāka the *Vejaka*, 1129
 Vilhāpadeva *Rājaputra* 990
 Vilhāja village of 865
 Vimala ruler of Abu the *Dondapati* of the Caulukya Bhīma I 963
 Vīmānapura (?) 770
Vindopaka probably a kind of coin 1113 fn 5
 Vindhyaka (Gaṇesa) 733
 Vindhyakapāla (alias of Mahipāla) Gurjara Pratihāra emperor 676 fn 1 878
 Vindhya 669 711 794 879 986 1076
 Vindhya maṇḍala 503
 Vindhyanapati possibly another name of the Śākambhari Cāhamāna Vākpaturāje 1063
 Vindhya-varman Paramāra king; another name of Vijaya-varman 894 895
 Vinīśāntarīdī, a proper name 1173
 Vipre (Brāhman) 1001
 Vipra kula *nandana* an epithet of Bappa, 1155
 Vira Ballāla II Hoysaja king 899
 Viradhavala, Vāghela Caulukya prince of Dholka (Dha alaka-puti Dhaavalakka-nagari) in Ahmedabad district; son of Lūṅgadeva (Lāvanyasprāsāda) 903 918 fn 3 1090 1091 1094 1037 1038 1020 1030 1032, 1037 1042 1044 1067 1123 1181 1182, 1186 1187 1189
 Virama Cāhamāna prince of Ranthambhor 1097
 Virama Rājā, son of Rājā Lūṅgapāda 1016
 Virama son of Viradhavala 1031 1032 1033, 1036
 Virāmeśvara temple of 1015
 Viramgam taluka 984 fn. 2
 Virāṅka, village 832
 Virāṇṭāyapa Cāhamāna king of Ranthambhor 1095
 Virāṇṭhā (Mahāvira) temple of 1110
 Virāṇṭendra Coja king 778 fn 4
 Virāṇṭh of Karpūradhārī 1185
 Virāṇṭh of Narwar 821 833 834 fn. 1
 Virāṇṭh II same as Vijayaṇṭh 1178 fn 4
 Virāṇṭh see Durlobhārāja III 1069
 Virāṇṭha Vāghela chief of Dandābhīṇḍa 1046 fn 1
 Virārī wife of the Verman king Jātavarman daughter of the Dāhala Kalacuri king (Lakṣmī) Karpa 778
 Viravarman Candella king 897 703 704 737 729 784
 Viruka composer of the Rewa stone-inscription (*prafasti*) of (Lakṣmī-) Karpa 785
 Viryārāma Cāhamāna king 1069
 Viradhavala father of Dhāndhaladeva 1011 1123
 Visala Paramāra king of Jalor 924
 Visala see Vighrabhārāja III 1069 1070
 Visaladeva, Vāghela Caulukya king 903 1016 1028 1033 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1101 sometimes known as Viśvamalla Viśvala or Visala 1037 fn 5
 Visaladeva Mahāmandaladeva of Candri valī; foundatory of Śāraṅgadeva 1042 fn 4
 Visaladeva (Vighrabhārāja IV) Cāhamāna king of Śākambhari 1074 1076 1081 1145 1146 1148
 Visalpur near Rajmal in the Jaipur State 1084
 Visalpur stone-inscription of Pythvīrāja III 1084
 Viśaya an administrative division 676 fn 1 701 714 715 716 723 741 744 798 819 860 949 949 963 1066 1066 1111
 Viśaya pathaka 1035
 Viśaya official title 701 701 fn " 729 733
 Viśva god 673 676 684 697 709 718, 797 781 748 751 752, 768 789 800 824 881 900 910 1053 fn 3 1165; temple of 1069 1148 1192
 Viśvakupḍina 776 fn 2
 Viśva Śarī 831
 Viśva Thakkura Dāpaka 840
 Viśvakarma architect of the gods 793 1065
 Viśvala see Vighrabhārāja III 1070
 Viśvala same as Vāghela Caulukya king Visaladeva 1037 fn. 5
 Viśvamalla (also called Visaladeva) Vāghela Caulukya king of Apahila-pāṭaka, 1037 1037 fn. 5 1011
 Viśvāmītra sage, 843, 877
 Viśvāmītra Mahādevārāṭra rājakula, the head of a *Majha* 1034-85
 Viśvāṇṭha temple of (at Khajuraho) 683
 Viśvarūpa a devotee 783
 Viśvarūpa, Śai a ascetic of the Lākṣmīśa Pāṭapata sect 1066
 Viśarūpa spiritual guide of Hammira 1100
 Viśvaśarī Purāṇapurṇa 664
 Viśveśvarapūjā a great Pāṭapata priest 1076
 Viśatā river 674 fn. 3
 Viṭhōtra a branch of the Haihayas 738
 Viśvika struggle with Mahāmoha 695
 Viśvapatam in Madras, 1216
 Viśvaśarī part of Narmadapura-pratiṣṭhāgaya-gaka 898
 Vompadyaka Rājā Lakhamana ruling at, 965
 Voraṇi Kāyastha Mahākṣapāṭalika, Thakkura 1007
 Vyāghrapallī village of, 1027 1028 situated about 10 miles S W of Apahila-pāṭaka from the name of this village is derived the vernacular form Vāghela, a section of the Caulukyas (Śai ākila)
 Vyākura maṇḍala, 881
 Vyāpāra (office) 781
 Vyāsa Kalacuri king (Gorakhpur) - Khabla branch 744; 747
 Vyayakaraya Mahāmātya (Treasury officer) 966

Vyāyoga, an one act drama, 918, 1085, 1131
Vyomakeśa, a name of the god Śiva, 881, 1064

W

Wadhwan (Vardhamāna), 969 fn 4, 1099
 Wainganga, river, 781
 Warda, river, 779, 781, 799
 Watson Museum, Rajkot, 966 fn 2
 Western India, 1213
 Western *Kastrapa*, 1056
 Western Malwa, 894
 Wilford, 783 fn 1
 Wilkinson, 894 fn 5, 896 fn 1,
 Wilson, H H (Prof), 810 fn 1

Y

Yādava, 752, 938 fn 4
 Yādavas of Devagiri, 10347, 103, 1057, 1053
 Yadu, 738, 743 fn 1 748
 Yajñā, queen of Sankaragana, 1199
 Yama (god) 977
Yamala patra (draft of a treaty), 1021, 1028
 Yamīnīs, of Ghazni, 681, 682, 683, 717, 773, 825, 880, 1069, 1071, 1077, 1078, 1086, 1149, Sultānate of 1216, 1217
 Yamīn ud-Daulah (Mahmūd of Ghazni), 690, 691
 Yamunā, Jumna, river 681, 703, 752, 838
 Yaśah-Karna, Kalacuri king of Dāhala 699, 702, 706, 711, 752, 769, 771, 772, 777, 782, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 807, 880, 972
 Yaśahpāla, a dramatist, 995
 Yaśahpāla, Kalacuri feudatory chief, 798
 Yaśahpāla, of Karra inscription, 781 fn 2,
 Yaśahpusta a prince of the Dadhīka line age, 1068
 Yaśobhaṭa, *alias* Rāmāṅgada, minister of Sindhuraja, 859
 Yaśobhaṭa a proper name, 1165
 Yaśodeva Digambarārka, a poet in all languages, 827
 Yaśodeva, *Nirgranthanātha*, 828
 Yaśodhara, *Bhaṭṭa*, priest of the royal household, donee of two grants by Dharmāga, 686
 Yaśodhavala *Mahāmātya*, 893
 Yaśodhavala, Parināraka king of Candravati, 887, 913-15, 930 91

Yasolekhyadevi, wife of Kalacuri king Saṅkaragana (III), 741
 Yaśomatī, wife of Varāhasimha, 1165
 Yaśorāja, a king, who was killed by Cāhamaṇa Ajayarāja, 1071
 Yaśorāja (king of Malwa?), 910
 Yaśovarman, feudatory to Paramāra king Bhoja, 863, 864 fn 1, 867
 Yaśovarman (*alias* Lakṣavarman), Candella prince, 666, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 679, 681, 685, 698, 699, 712, 713, 700
 Yaśovarman, (*alias* Kīrtivarman), Guhila king, 1175, 1176
 Yaśovarman, Paramāra king, 710, 882, 883, 884, 886, 887, 889, 890, 891, 891, 906, 909, 970, 971, 1071
 Yaśovīra, a Seth of the Śrīmāla family, 1125
 Yātra (festival), 1108
 Yauvanaśrī, wife of the Pāla king Vīraghapālī III; daughter of the Dāhala Kalacuri king Karna, 779
 Yayapara *maṇḍala*, 805
 Yayāti, a mythical king, 738, 743 fn 1, 749
 Yewur, find spot of an inscription, 739
 Yogarāja, *Tālāra*, 1185, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1192, 1193
 Yogarāja, Guhila king of Mewar, 1175 fn 7
 Yogarāja, possibly a Cāpoṭkaṭa ruler, 848, 850
 Yogarājesvara, god (Śiva) 1192
 Yogarājesvari, consort of Śiva, 1192
Yogasūtra, 1032
 Yogeśvari, a female ascetic, 1003 fn 8
 Yoginīpura (Delhi), 801, 1095 1115 fn 7
 Yoṭa, *deṭṭa*, 910
 Yuan Chwang, Chinese pilgrim, 670
 Yugalkā (couple of poets) 792
 Yucarāja, 780, 858, 1000, 1100, 1111
 Yuvārāja Kacchapaghāta king of Dubkund, 829, 830 832
 Yuvārāja I, Haṭhaya (Kalacuri) king of Dāhala, also called king of Tripurī 675, 757, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 770, 780
 Yuvārāja II, Haṭhaya (Kalacuri) king of Dāhala, also sometimes called ruler of Tripurī, 753 755 766 fn 3, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 780, 796, 851

Z

Zafar ul-Hak, 1045
 Zaim ul-Hak, 155 253 100, 101, 102
 Zaim ul-Hak, 1000 of Gardal

INDEX TO MAPS

IN

Vols I & II

(Ancient and Mediaeval Names)

[The Latitudes and Longitudes are in most cases only approximate but it is hoped they will help in locating the places on the maps. After the name the volume of the work is indicated in Roman and then the number of map in Arabic integers; last of all come List & Long]

A

Ab-i Zarab I, 9 82N 60E.
 Abhu'Urawajaka, I 5 28N 88E.
 A fau-t a, I 1, 30N 65E.
 Aghāta II 3 II 4 II 5; II, 6; II 8 —
 28N 72E; II 9 25N 70E.
 Ahicobatrā II 3 II 6; II, 7; II, 8, 30N
 78E.
 Ahicobatrāpura (in Rajputana) II 8 28N
 7E.
 Ajaya R. I, 6 26N 84E.
 Ajayameru II 8; II 6; II 8 28N 74E;
 II, 10 30N 78E.
 Al Ahwar I 1 35N 70E; I, 2 82N 74E.
 Alor I 1 II, 9 —30N 65E.
 Akara, II 1 II, 2; II 4; II 5, —34N 76E.
 Amarakajaka town, II, 1; II 2, —34N
 80E.
 Amarewara I 3 35N 78E.
 Apahla-pātake II, 3; II 6; II, 5 II 6;
 II 8 —24N 79E; II 9 II 10, —25N
 70E.
 Anandapura II, 8 II 4; II, 5 —24N 72E.
 Anantānaga, I 3 34N 75E.
 Anarta (also spelt Anartā) I 9; I,
 10 II 9, —25N 65E; II 4 II 5; II
 8 —44N 68E.
 Andhra, I, 7; II 2, —18N 80E; I 9; I 10,
 —90N 80E.
 Adga I 6; I 8, —26N 86E; I 9 80N
 85E.
 Antarvedi, I 8; II 1; II, 3; II, 6 —30N
 76E.
 Andpa, II 1 II 2; II, 3; II 4 II, 5 —23N
 76E.
 Aparānta II 4; II, 5 —20N 72E.
 Arbuda (Abu), II 5 26N 72E.
 Arbuda giri II 8; II, 4 II 5 II 6 II 8
 —26N 72E,

Arbuda-mandala, II 3; II 4; II, 5; II, 6 —
 26N 72E.
 Armahil I 1 30N 65E.
 Ar Rār I 1; II 9 —80N 65E.
 Asikni II 6 II 8 —33N 70E.
 Asmaka, I 9 I, 10 —20N 75E.
 Asni, I 8 28N 80E.
 As-Sund I, 2 30N 68E; I 10, 30N 65E.
 Asmaka, II, 2, 30N 74E.
 A tiao-p'o-chih-lo I, 1 25N 65E.
 Avanti, I, 9; I 10 —25N 75E; II 1 II, 2;
 II 4 II 8 —24N 76E.
 Avantipura, I 8 34N 75E.
 Ayodhya, II 3, 36N 82E.

B

Badghis, I, 2, 36N 60E.
 Bāgdī, I, 5 24N 83E; I 6 24N 88E.
 Bahātib (or Bāshāh) I, 1 35N 70E; I 2,
 34N 79E.
 Bahlika, II, 9 II 10, —40N 65E.
 Bahmanabad, I, 1 30N 65E.
 Baidmān I, 1 25N 70E.
 Balh-al Bahiyah I, 2 88N 66E.
 Bāmiyān I, 1, 35N 65E. I 2 80N 66E.
 Bānadā I 8 34N 75E.
 Bannab I, 1 35N 70E.
 Baran I, 10 30N 75E.
 Barwas I 1 25N 70E.
 Ba'rab I 1, 30N 70E.
 Bhagwat I 8 26N 92E. II, 10, 25N 80E.
 Bhālsarvāmta, II 1 II 3; II 4 II, 5; II
 6 II 8, —24N 75E.
 Bhaktāpurī, I 4, 28N 84E. (also called
 Bhaktagrāma)
 Bhaktigrāma I 4 28N 84E.
 Bhartala I 3 34N 75E.
 Bhāsvat II 1 II 2 II 3 II 4 II, 5;
 II, 6; II, 8 —24N 84E.

Bhātīāh (same as Bahātīh), I, 1, 35N 70E ,
I, 2, 34N 72E
Bhatindah, I, 2, II, 6,—32N 74E , I, 1,
35N 70E
Bhauttarāṣṭra, II, 9, 35N 75E
Bhīmakeśava, I, 3, 34N 75E
Bhūlī, I, 8, 26N 82E , II, 10, 25N 80E
Bhramaravadra, II, 2, 22N 84E
Bhrgukaccha, II, 3, II 4, II, 5, II, 8,—
22N 72E
Bhuteśvara, I, 3, 35N, 74E
Bhuṭtas, I, 3, 35N 75E
Bhuṭtarāṣṭra, I, 4, I, 8,—32N 80E ; I, 9,
II, 10,—35N 75E
Bhuṭtarāṣṭradhvan, I, 3, 35N 73E
Bolyāsaka, I, 3, 35N 73E
Budahah, I, 1, 30N 65E
Buhayarah Zarah, I, 2, 32N 60E
Bukhārā, I, 2, 40N 64E
Bust, I, 2, 32N 64E.

C

Cadobha, II, 3, 26N 76E
Cakrakūta, I, 7, II, 2,—20N 80E
Campā (mod Chamba), I, 2, 34N 76E
Campā (mod Bhagalpur), I, 6, 26N 86E ,
I, 9, 30N 85E
Campāpurī, I, 4
Campāranya, I, 6, I 8, II, 1,—28N 84E
Candrabhāgā, I, 3, 33N 74E
Candradvīpa, I, 5, I, 6,—24N 90E
Carmavati. R. II, 1, II, 2, II, 3; II, 6,

Devagiri, II, 1, II, 4,—20N 74E , II,
10, 25N 75E
Devasarasa, I, 3, 34N 74E
Dhanakṛtaka, I, 7, 18N 80E
Dhārā, II, 1, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—24N
74E , II, 10, 25N 76E
Dhavalakka nagari, II, 10, 25N 70E
Dhavalapura, II, 6, 28N 76E
Dhūlhā, II, 3, II, 6, II 8,—30N 76E , II,
7, 29N 76E , II, 9, II, 10,—30N 75E
Dīw-kot, II, 10, 30N 85E
Dorasamudra, II, 10, 15N 75E
Drṣadvatī, II, 6, II, 7,—30N 74E
Dudhai, II, 1, 26N 78E
Dugdhaḥāta, I, 3, 35N 74E
Dugdhasindhu, I, 3, 3' N 74 E
Dvāra, I, 3, 34 N 74 E
Dvārakā, II, 4, II, 5, 24 N 68 E
Dvāravatī, I, 3, 35N 73E

E

Ekāmra, I, 7, 22 N 81 E
Elāpura, II, 4, II 5,—22 N 78 E
Ekaśīlānagarī, I, 7, II 2,—18 N 74 E , II,
10, 20N 75E

F

Fa la na, I, 2, 34 N 68 E
Farghānah, I 2, 42 N 70 E

Gopādrī (in Kashmir) I 3 35 N 74 E.
 Gopagiri (Gwalior) I 8 II 1; II 3 II 6
 II 8—28 N 78 E; I, 9 I 10—30 N
 75 E.
 Gopālapura I 3 31 N 75 E.
 Gopālikera II 3 25 N 78 E.
 Gotama-Gaṅgā I 7 II 3—20 N 80 E.
 Govardhana ābāra II 4 29 N 71 E.
 Govardhana II 5 23 N 73 E.
 Gurjaratrā I 9 I 10—25 N 70 E II 3
 21 N 73 E.
 Gwāṇḍr II 1 28 N 78 E.

H

Haramnaka I 3, 35 N 74 E.
 Harikela I 8 24 N 90 E.
 Hariyāpa II 7 29 N 76 E.
 Harī Būd I 2, 36 N 60 E.
 Hārḍḍeśvara I, 5 28 N 90 E.
 Hāṣṭakūṇḍī I 9 30 N 70 E.
 Hāṣṭinapura II 6 II 8—30 N 78 E.
 Herāt town I 2, 36 N 62 E; river I 2,
 88 N 60 E.
 Hijaṃba I 5 26 N 92 E.
 Hindamand R. I 2 32 N 64 E.
 Hoi-na (Ghasnah) I 2 31 N 68 E.
 Hoṣṭapura I 3 35 N 74 E.

I

Indraprastha I 8 II 3; II 6 II 8,—30 N
 76 E.

J

Jabal Qufi I 1 25 N 60 E.
 Jāhnavī II 1 II 3—3 N 89 E.
 Jābnoḥ sūtā, II, 1 26 N 80 E.
 Jājālanagari, II 2, 22 N 82 E.
 Jālandhara I 2 33 N 76 E.
 Jāṅgaladada II 8 II, 6—26 N 72 E.
 Jāvālipura II 8 II, 4 II, 5 II 6 II, 8,—
 26 N 74 E.
 Jaxartes I 2, 42 N 68 E.
 Jayadurga II 2, 26 N 80 E.
 Jay pura I 8 35 N 74 E.
 Jayapuradurga II, 1 26 N 80 E.
 Jayapur maṇḍala II 2, 24 N 82 E.
 Jayhūn river I 2, 33 N 66 E.
 Jek bhukti I 8 II 1 II 2 II 3; II 4
 II 6—26 N 78 E.
 Jirpaugara II 4 20 N 72 E.

K

Kābul, I 1 I 2—35 N 65 E.
 Kābulistān I . 36 N 66 E.
 Kaccha II 4 II 5—24 N 68 E; II 8
 4 N 70 E.
 Kājura II 1 26 N 78 E.
 Kājura II 8 II 1—26 N 78 E. I 10
 23 N 75 E.

Kakajidaha II 1 II 1—25 N 78 E.
 Kākayara dēda II 2 23 N 80 E.
 Kakkareṇḍika II, 1 II 2—30 N 80 E.
 Kalatū R. I 5 26 N 83 E.
 Kālindī II 1 II 3 II 8—28 N 78 E II
 6, 28 N 70 E.
 Kālinda tanayā II 1 28 N 78 E.
 Kālīdga I 7 21 N 83 E; I 9 I 10—
 25 N 80 E II 1; II 3—32 N 80 E.
 Kālīdganagara I 7 II 2 II 9 II 10—
 20 N 84 E.
 Kālīdajara I 8 I 10 II 1 II 2 II, 9 II
 6; II 9 II 10—26 N 80 E.
 Kālpr II 1 28 N 78 E.
 Kalyāpa I 9 I 10; II 10—20 N 75 E;
 same as Kalyāṇḍ.
 Kalyāpa (near Bombay) II 4 26 N 78 E.
 Kalyānapura I 3 31 N 74 E.
 Kalyāṇī same as Kalyāpa see above.
 Kāmākhya I 5 28 N 90 E II 9; II, 10—
 30 N 90 E.
 Kāmārūpa I 5 I 6—26 N 88 E; I 9 I
 10 II, 10—30 N 85 E.
 Kāmboja I, 9 I 10—35 N 70 E.
 Kāmpilya II 8 II 6 II 7—28 N 79 E.
 Kāncī II 9; II 10—15 N 80 E.
 Kāndap, I 8 34 N 75 E.
 Kāṇḍanapura, I 8 35 N 74 E.
 Kāṇḍālapura I 3 35 N 74 E.
 Kāṇḍipura I 4 II 9—26 N 84 E.
 Kan-to-lo I 2 36 N 70 E.
 Kāṇḍakubja I 4 I 8; II, 1 II, 8; II 6 II
 7—26 N 78 E. I, 9; II, 9 II 10,—
 30 N 75 E.
 Kapāśevāra I, 3 34 N 75 E.
 Kapālayatibū I 4, 28 N 89 E.
 Kāpāla I, 2 36 N 70 E.
 Karmānta I 24 N 90 E.
 Karpāba, I 8 38 N 78 E.
 Karasavarga I, 6 26 N 88 E. II, 9 25 N
 85 E.
 Karnāta I 2 I, 10—20 N 75 E.
 Karavati, R. II 1; II, 3 II, 6—26 N
 80 E. town II 2, 24 N 78 E.
 Kātī, I, 8; I 8 II, 1 26 N 89 E. II, 9 II,
 10—30 N 80 E.
 Kāṭikā II 1 26 N 82 E.
 Kāṇḍmīra I 9 I, 10 II 9 II, 10—35 N 70 E.
 Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapa I 4 28 N 84 E.
 Kāṣṭhāṇḍa I 2 34 N 74 E. I, 3 34 N
 75 E.
 Kāṣṭha bhukti I, 7 22 N 84 E.
 Kauṣāmbī, I 5 II 3—26 N 80 E.
 Kauṣāṇḍī, R. I, 4 I 6; I 8,—23 N 86 E.
 Kayal II 9 II 10 10 N 78 E.
 Kodayāṇḍa I 6 34 N 86 E.
 Korala (in Orissa) II 2, 23 N 84 E.
 Korala II, 10 10 N 75 E.
 Kharjūrāvāhaka I 8 I 10 II, 1 II 2 II
 9 II 4; II, 6—26 N 78 E II, 9 26 N
 75 E.
 Khasāṇḍī I 3 34 N 75 E.
 Khavāṇḍ R. I 1 32 N 60 E.
 Kheṭākapura II, 4 34 N 73 E.
 Khurāṇḍ, I, 8 33 N 60 E; II, 9 II 10 40 N
 60 E.

- Kia-pi-shi, I, 2, 36N 70E.
 Kikān, I, 2, 80N 66E, II, 9, 30N. 65E
 Kinnauj, I, 8, 28N 78E
 Kirāj, I, 1, 25N 65E
 Kirātakūpa, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6,—26N 70E
 Kirmān I, 1, II, 9, II 10,—30N 55E
 Kirtagiri, II, 1, II, 2, II, 4, II, 5 —26N 78E
 Kish, I, 2, 40N 66E
 Kiz, I, 1, 30N 60E
 Kizkānān (or Kikān), I, 1, 30N 65E
 Koch-Bihār, I, 5, 28N 88E
 Konā-Kona, I, 7, 20N 86E
 Konkana, II, 4, II 5,—20N 72E
 Kosala (North), I, 4, 28N 80E, I, 6, 28N 82E, (South), I, 6, II, 2, 22N 82E, I, 7, 22N 80E
 Kosala (Uttara), I, 8, II 1, II, 3,—28N 82E, I, 9, I, 10 —30N 80E
 Koṭivarṣa I 5, 26N 88E I, 6 26N 88E
 Kratha, II, 1, II, 2,—22N 78E
 Kṛṣṇā, R, I, 3, 35N 73E
 Kukura, II, 4, 26N 70E
 Kuṅgāda, I, 7, II, 2,—20N 81E
 Kuṇḍina II, 2, II 1, II 5,—22N 78E
 Kuṇḍina pura II, 1, 22N 78E
 Kuru, I, 8, II 6, II, 8,—30N 76E, I, 9, I, 10,—30N 75E
 Kurukṣetra II, 6, II, 7 —30N 71E.
 Kuśika, I, 8, II, 3,—28N 78E.
 Kusinārā, I, 4, 28N 82E
 Mahānadi, R, I, 7, 22N 82E, II, I, II, 2,—22N, 80E
 Mahārāstra, II, 1, II, 5,—22N 71E.
 Mahendra, I, 9, I, 10,—20N 80E, II, 1, 22N, 82E.
 Mahendragiri, I, 7, II 2,—20N 81E
 Mahī, R II, 1, II, 3, II, 5, II, 8,—21N 71E
 Māhīmatī, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—24N 76E
 Mahotsavanagara, II, 1, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—26N 78E
 Mahurī, R, I, 9, 35N 71E
 Mālava, I, 9, I, 10,—25N 70E, II, 1, II, 5, 8,—21N 72E
 Mālavaka, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8,—21N 72E
 Mālavanadi, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8, 21N 76E
 Mālibih, I, 1, 25N, 75E
 Mallabhūmi, I, 1, 30N 82E
 Mandadyapura, I, 10, 30N. 70E, probably a mistake for Māndavyapura
 Mandal, I, 1, 30N. 70E
 Māndavyapura, II, 3, II, 6, II, 8,—29N 71E
 Mānapura, I, 9, I, 10,—25N, 75E
 Mandapikā, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, II, 4, II, 5, II, 8,—21N, 71E, I, 10, 25N, 75E
 Mānkīr, I, 10, 20N, 75E
 Maṅgūrah, I, 1, I 10, II, 9, II, 10 —20N, 75E
 Mānyakheta, I, 9, I, 10, II, 9,—20N 75E
 Mārtānd, I, 3, 31N 75E
 Maru, I, 9, I, 10,—30N 70E, II, 3, 28N, 72E
 II, 4, 26N 72E, II, 6, II, 8,—28N 70E
 II, 7, 29N 71E
 Marv, I, 2, 38N 60E

Prof F W Thomas (Oxford) : " It is a very full in fact so far as I am aware exhaustive assemblage of all materials relating to one of the most obscure periods, whether contained in Indian or extra Indian (Persian Arabic etc.) sources. The work seems to me to testify to great care and accuracy and it would be a valuable aid to study and book of reference for scholars at every stage.

Dr L D Barnett (British Museum) : " I consider that Dr Ray's work is the most valuable history of India that has appeared for many years and cordially congratulate him and the University of Calcutta on the publication of the first volume. A book of this character was urgently needed both in India and in the West. There exists no general history of India which treats the subject with such fullness in detail and the present work is equally marked by soundness of judgment and synoptic width of view.

Prof Dr M Winternitz (Prague) : " This is certainly one of the most valuable publications issued from the Calcutta University Press and the most comprehensive work I know of on an important period (c 916 to 1196 A D) of Indian History. As it is based on a careful examination of literary epigraphic and numismatic materials it will be indispensable to every student of Indian history. The coloured maps the genealogical tables the synchronistic table at the end of the volume and the full index will be found extremely useful. I am looking forward with great interest to the continuation of the work and more especially to the third volume which is to deal with the economic, social and religious and literary history of the time.

Prof Jules Bloch (Paris) : I shall find this book very useful indeed : I admire that vast knowledge of the author and the thorough and critical way he has dealt with a bewildering mass of texts, mainly epigraphical. I am also very thankful for the ten maps carefully prepared by the author himself where old names are distinguished by special ink they add a lot to the value of the book valuable as the text is.

Prof A Bernadete Keble (Edinburgh) : Dr Ray's treatise manifests every sign of careful research and historical skill in the estimation of the value of evidence as well as ability to present an ordered narrative with precision and lucidity and I shall look forward with pleasure to the appearance of the remaining volumes which will constitute a most notable contribution to our knowledge of an obscure and important epoch of the history of the northern dynasties.

Prof E J Rapson (Cambridge) : Please accept my sincere congratulations on your success in exploring all the various sources for the history of Northern India on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest, and on the clear and scholarly manner in which you have recorded the results of your investigations.

Sir Thomas Arnold : This carefully compiled treatise based on a searching examination of materials that have not hitherto received sufficient attention from historical students constitute a really important addition to the literature on the history of India.

J Allan (British Museum) : " Its thorough and critical examination and comparison of all the sources for the period literary and epigraphical Muslim and Hindu render it a mine of information on a very complicated and obscure period.

Sir D Ross " I consider it a most valuable contribution to the history of a period which has not been hitherto treated from the Hindu and the Muslim point of view.

Prof. H. H. Dodwell (School of Oriental Studies, London) "Ray's work on the Dynastic History of Northern India will be exceedingly useful to all students of the period"

Prof. V. Minorsky (Paris) "I see what an amount of work it represents! You must be sincerely congratulated on the results"

Prof. Dr F. O. Schrader (Kiel) "The impression I have received from the book is a most favourable one. This is, indeed, an admirable work on the publication of which the University must be congratulated. I shall feel much obliged to you for sending me also the subsequent volumes, of which the third one, as it deals with the social and economic conditions, will be particularly interesting for me"

Dr E. J. Thomas (Cambridge) "There is no doubt of the need of such an undertaking, and the way in which you are carrying it out with such clearness of statement and fullness of references and soundness of judgment and also with such high sense of requirements of historical research fully justifies all the appreciative notices that you have had. I am glad that the work is to the honour of India and I trust that it will have an important influence on the advance of Indian historical research generally"

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Neue Folge Band 18, Leipzig, 1934,— . So ist ein recht nützliches Nachschlagewerk entstanden .

2 Notes on War and Espionage in Ancient India, Parts I & II. *Calcutta Review*, 1926, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol XIV, 1927 Calcutta University Press.

The History of Ancient Indian war and military movements as well as espionage is a highly interesting study. Here are the first two instalments of a comprehensive study on the subject.

3 Economic Policy and Functions of the Kautilian State *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol XIII, 1926 Calcutta University Press.

This is the revised and enlarged version of the author's paper—"Was State Socialism known in Ancient India?" Published in 1922 in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol III, Part I, *Orientalia*. The author has drawn attention to an interesting parallel between the economic systems of Germany of Bismarck and the Kautilian State.

4 Madra *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series)*, Vol XVIII, 1922.

This paper for the first time drew the attention of scholars to the need of making a thorough study of the Tribal Janapadas of Ancient India. It traces the history of Madra from the earliest times to the eleventh century when it was incorporated in the Turkish kingdom of Ghazni.

8 Position of the Brahmana in Kautilya's Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, 1922

This paper reveals a picture of the position of the Brāhmana in the Hindu Polity which in many respects is materially different from the sectarian representations. It will be of some interest to the student of Indian Social History

6 Antiquarian Pamphlets

- (i) Lala—a Note, *JASB* 1921 No 7
- (ii) The first Scientific Excavation in Bengal, *Calcutta Review* 1923.
- (iii) The Andhan inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary* 1923 Vol LII
- (iv) Why did not Alexander cross the Beas ? *JASB* 1923 No. 8.
- (v) The Indian Alphabet, *Indian Antiquary* 1921, Vol LII.



PRINTED BY BHUPENDRALAL BANERJEE
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, SEWATH HOUSE, CALCUTTA.